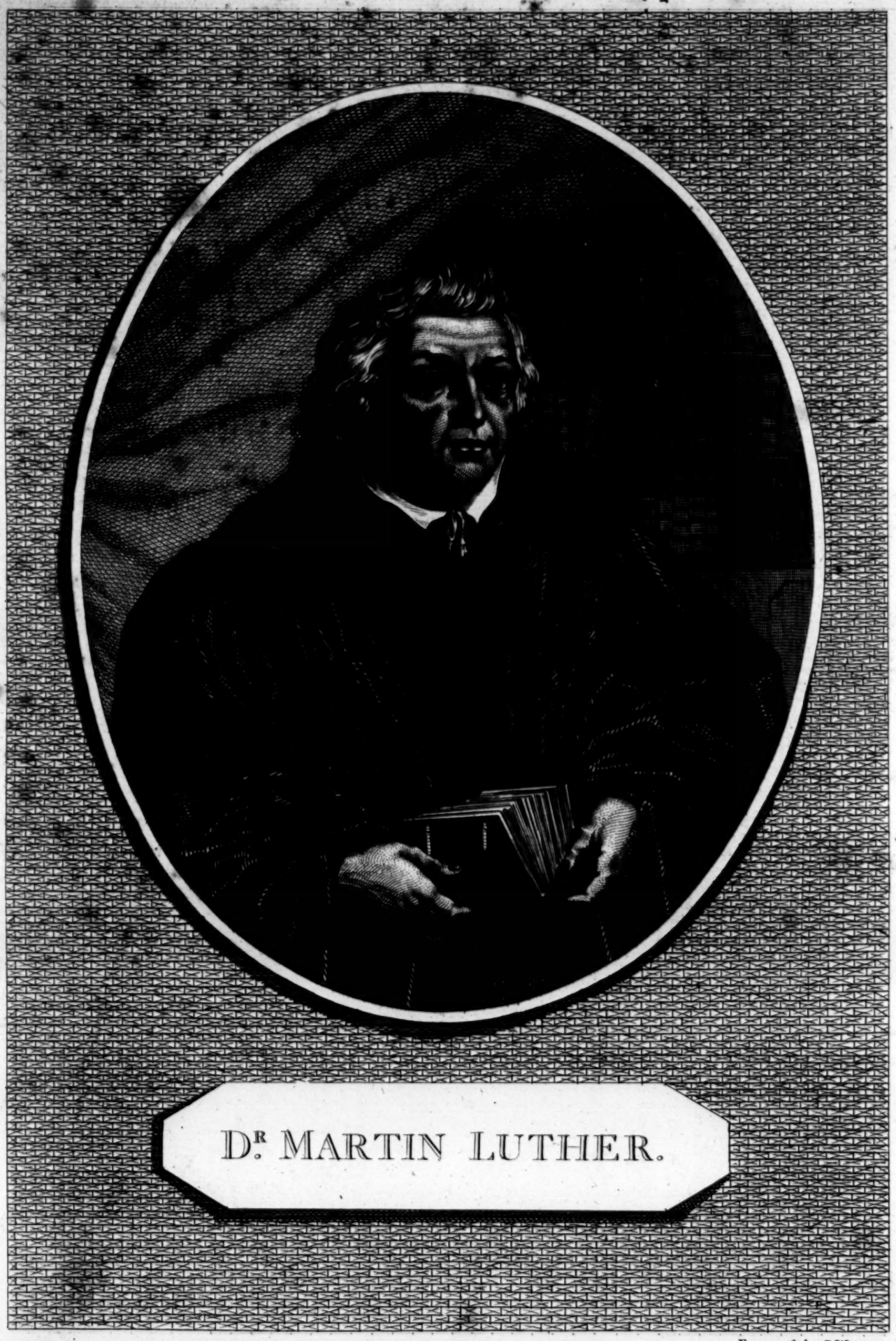


Dr MARTIN LUTHER.

Engraved by C.Warren.

COLLOQUIA MEN

OR, THE

FAMILIAR DISCOURSES

OF

DR. MARTIN LUTHER

At his Table,

Which in his Lifetime he held with divers Learned Men,

SUCH AS WERE

PHILIP MELANCHTHON,
CASPARUS CRUCIGER,
JUSTUS JONAS,
PAULUS EBERUS,
VITUS DIETERICUS,
JOHANNES BUGENHAGEN,
JOHANNES FORSTERUS,
AND OTHERS.

CONTAINING

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Touching Religion and other main Points of Doctrine;

AS ALSO

MANY NOTABLE HISTORIES,

AND ALL SORTS OF

LEARNING, COMFORTS, ADVICES, PROPHECIES, ADMONITIONS, DIRECTIONS, and INSTRUCTIONS.

Collected first together by DR. ANTONIUS LAUTERBACH,

And afterwards disposed into certain Common-places by JOHN AURIFABER, D. D.

TRANSLATED FROM THE HIGH GERMAN INTO THE ENGLISH TONGUE,

BY CAPTAIN HENRY BELL.

SECOND EDITION.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

The LIFE and CHARACTER of DR. MARTIN LUTHER:

BY

JOHN GOTTLIEB BURCKHARDT, D. D.

MINISTER OF THE GERMAN LUTHERAN CONGREGATION AT THE SAVOY, IN LONDON.

GATHER UP THE FRAGMENTS THAT NOTHING BE LOST.

JOHN, vi. 12.

LONDON:

Printed for the Proprietor, W. HEPTINSTAL, No. 3, Wood-street, Spa Fields, Clerkenwell.

MDCCXCI.



FAMILIAR DISCOURSES

ON THE

COLLOQUIA MENSALIA:

A

PICTURE OF POPERY;

OR,

A Clear VIEW of the corrupt PRINCIPLES of the PAPISTS:

BEING

The POPISH CREED, *drawn from their own Books,*

By the Rev. JOHN RYLAND, A. M.

And prefixed by way of PREFACE to LUTHER'S DISCOURSES.

I. Of the SUPREMACY of the POPE.

THAT the Pope is the head of the Church; ſupreme monarch on earth. This is the corner ſtone in their building, the very baſis and foundation of all the Popiſh religion. This is the moſt fundamental point in Popery; and we do not wrong them in ſtating it thus: "That the Pope, as ſucceſſor of Saint Peter, and heir of the promiſes made to him, is abſolute ſovereign over all the churches on earth, their Kings, their Biſhops, their people; and this by a divine, indefeaſable right. That he is ſupreme, unlimitable, and unaccountable.—That this is really their doctrine, might be proved from hundreds of their own moſt celebrated writers.

1. See the Trent Catechiſm.

2. See the Creed of Pope Pius IV. article xxiii.

3. See Dr. Barrow's maſculine Treatiſe againſt the Pope's Supremacy, 4to. 1680. I wiſh this was reprinted in weekly numbers. He hath ſaid enough to ſilence this controverſy for ever.—See Dr. Tillotſon's preface.

4. See the excellent Mr. Benjamin Bennet's Sermons againſt Popery, page 13—46.

5. Mr. Daniel Neal's Sermon, on the Pope's Supremacy, in Salters-hall Lectures, vol i. 8vo.

6. Mr. Matthew Henry's admirable Sermon on Popery a Spiritual Tyranny, juſt reprinted, and ſold by Buckland, price 6d.

7. See the Morning Exerciſes againſt Popery, 4to. 1675. Serm. i. ii.

In all theſe Proteſtant authors the Pope's Supremacy is utterly overthrown; but Dr. Barrow, Mr. Bennett, and Mr. Neal, ought eſpecially to be read with great attention and perpetual reviews.

II. Of the INFALLIBILITY of the POPE.

In the Trent Catechiſm they teach, "That the viſible church, whoſe rector is the Pope of Rome, never hath erred, never can err."—See the article, Of the Church, queſt. 15.

Bellarmine affirms, (1.) "That the Pope, when he teacheth the whole church, can in no caſe err in things pertaining to faith. (2.) Not only the Pope of Rome, but the particular church of Rome, cannot err in faith. (3.) The Pope of Rome cannot err, not only in decrees of faith, but alſo not in precepts of manners"—See Bellarmine on the Roman Pontiff, book iv. chap. iii. iv. v. vi.

1. Read Mr. Benjamin Bennett on the Infallibility of the Pope and Church, page 46—66.

2. The Church of Rome's claim of authority and infallibility examined, in a ſermon at Salters-hall, Jan. 30, 1735, by G. Smyth, A. M.

N. B. The above two grand points of Popery, the Supremacy and Infallibility, are the chief pillars of their mighty building. If theſe be taken away, all tumbles to the ground at once: therefore, in all our controverſies with the Papiſts, it is requiſite, firſt, to remove theſe two main props out of the way, and then our adverſaries are brought on a level with other men; and we may be allowed to examine what they ſay.

III. Of the HOLY SCRIPTURES.

The Council of Trent declares, "That the doctrine of the Goſpel is contained in the written word, and in unwritten traditions; and that they do receive and honour the unwritten traditions, whether pertaining to faith or manners, with the ſame reverence and holy affection as they do all the books of the Old and New Teſtament.—See the Decrees of the Council of Trent, Seſſ. iv.

That doctrine is moſt horrid and pernicious which the Papiſts hold, "that their church has a power, and even a ſovereignty over the Scriptures." Indeed and in truth the Holy Scripture is with them more the word of the Pope than the word of God. For,

1. They make the Scriptures entirely dependent on their church.—See Mr. Bennett's ſermons againſt Popery, page 66—67.

2. They aſſume to themſelves the power of fixing and declaring the Canon of Scripture. They pretend

they are the only judges what books muſt be received by the Church as inſpired, and what muſt be rejected: and accordingly the Council of Trent has furniſhed us with a new Bible, by making a very conſiderable addition to the old one.

3. They determine what copy of the Holy Scriptures is authentic. As we can have no Bible without their teſtimony and authority, ſo we muſt receive from them the genuine reading of it.—See Mr. Bennett, page 72.

4. They make themſelves the only interpreters of Scripture. When you know which is the Bible you are never the better, till they have put a ſenſe upon it. The Council of Trent declares, that it belongs to the Church to judge of the true ſenſe and interpretation of Scripture. Seſſ. iv.—See Mr. Bennett, page 76.

5. They keep the Scripture locked up in an unknown tongue, from the common people. The poor laity muſt by no means be ſuffered to read it without leave from their church governors.—See the excellent Mr. Bennett, page 79.

6. After all the injury they have done the Scripture in other reſpects, they proudly accuſe it of inſufficiency; and therefore to help it out where it is wanting, to ſupply its defects, they bring in a monſtrous bundle of their own traditions.—See the clear and judicious Bennett, page 92, who propoſes ſeven conſiderations againſt the above vile doctrine, ſo deſtructive of all religion, ſo dangerous to the ſouls of men, and ſo injurious to the dignity and perfection of the ſacred Scriptures, page 95—105.

Thus we have viewed and conſidered the FOUNDATION of POPERY; and ſurely you muſt ſee Popery ſtands upon a rotten foundation. The famous Mr. Matthew Pool ſays, that all the controverſies of Popery have (what Caligula wiſhed the people of Rome might have) but one neck, the church's INFALLIBLE AUTHORITY: ſo that if we can deprive her of that, ſtrip her of the high and mighty ſovereignty ſhe claims, our work in the main is done.—See Bennett, page 107.

IV. The DOCTRINE of JUSTIFICATION.

The Popiſh doctrine of merit and juſtification by works is the life-blood of Popery. 'Tis one of the grand hinges on which our controverſy with the Papiſts turns. We are for the juſtification of our ſouls purely by the obedience and ſatisfaction of Chriſt, without any thing of our own: they are for juſtification by their own inherent ſanctification, joined with the obedience and death of Chriſt.

The Council of Trent, which was confirmed by the Pope, and is generally received as the STANDARD of MODERN POPERY, aſſerts, "that the good works of a juſtified perſon are not ſo the gifts of GOD; that they are not alſo the MERITS of the juſtified perſon: and that he, being juſtified by the good works performed by him through the grace of GOD and merits of Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe living member he is, does truly merit increaſe of grace and eternal life."—See the Decrees of the Council of Trent, Seſſ. vi. Can. 32.—See Mr. Bennett's ſermons, page 156—163.—See Mr. Newman's ſermon at Salters-hall, preached March 20, 1735, vol. ii.—See Morning Exerciſes againſt Popery, ſerm. xii. See the excellent ſermon, by the zealous Mr. Doolittle, in the ſame volume, intitled, Popery a Novelty, page 195—I wiſh this admirable ſermon was reprinted: it contains a view of the whole body, ſoul, and face of Popery; with a glorious confutation of every part of it.

V. The Idolatrous WORSHIP of the CHURCH of ROME.

Here Mr. Bennett ſtates the true notion of idolatry. That it is a miſapplication of worſhip; or an action, whereby we transfer the honour and adoration to the creature, which is due alone to the CREATOR, page 231.—See Dr. Stillingfleet on the idolatry of the Church of Rome, page 49.—See Dr. Whitby on the idolatry of the Church of Rome; being a vindication and confirmation of Dr. Stillingfleet's book, 8vo. 1674—See Dr. Tenniſon on the idolatry of the Papiſts, page 176, 296, 4to. 1678.

Mr. Bennett proceeds to give an account of the Pagan idolatry, page 240—246; and goes on to prove, that the Church of Rome is guilty of idolatry in her worſhip: he gives the hiſtory of their practice, in the regard and honour they pay to Saints—the Virgin Mary—to Angels—to conſecrated images—to relics—and to the Hoſt, or conſecrated bread, ſee page 302. He proceeds to anſwer all Popiſh evaſions, page 305; and then demonſtrates the infinite evil of this ſin, page 310—311; and concludes this head with ſome awful reflections, page 321.

VI. The Hypocritical WORSHIP of the CHURCH of ROME.

Here Mr. Bennett runs the parallel between the hypocritical Phariſees, in the time of Chriſt's perſonal Miniſtry, and the Papiſts, page 338. He proceeds to repreſent the worſhip of our modern Phariſees, the Papiſts, page 347: here he treats of that moſt horrid principle which they hold, concerning ATTENTION, or non-attention, in worſhip, page 349—359. He ſhews that Popery is a religion corrupted in its vitals, page 373; and gives you a dreadful form in which the Pope curſes the allum-workers in England every year, page 374—377.

VII. The horrid IMMORALITIES of the CHURCH of ROME.

Here Mr. Bennett opens a moſt ſhocking ſcene, page 383. He treats on their doctrine of INTENTION, which has the moſt dreadful tendency, page 402.—See the Provincial Letters, or the Myſtery of Jeſuitiſm; which unravels all the horrid ſcenes of wickedneſs.—See Mr. David Clarkſon's Practical Divinity of Papiſts, 4to. 1676; where he ſhews at large how they outrage every one of the Ten Commandments; with plentiful quotations from their own authors.—See Mr. Bennett's Abridgment of Clarkſon, 408—412. This is a moſt aſtoniſhing ſcene of all manner of uncleanneſs! He goes on to conſider the terrible ſentence of GOD on ſuch practices, page 418—424—Of their wicked indulgences ſee Mr. Bennett, page 163—175. Of the filthy conſequences of forbidding marriages to all the tens and hundreds of thouſands of Popiſh Prieſts, ſee Mr. Bennett, page 185; and the horrid ſcene at Waltham Abbey, ſee page 191. To all theſe add the book which has paſſed through many editions, 12mo. which a friend of mine lately bought at the price of one guinea, (viz.) The TAX BOOK of the ROMAN CHANCERY; and you ſee at what price a man may commit all kinds of ſin and wickedneſs that the mind or body is capable of committing.

VIII.

VIII. The CORRUPTION of BAPTISM and the LORD'S SUPPER in the CHURCH of ROME.

See Mr. Bennett, page 107—156. He ſhews, from the learned Monſ. Claude's hiſtorical Defence of the Reformation, page 35, that if the INTENTION of the Prieſt was wanting, the baptiſm of the Pope, adminiſtered by his hand, would be a nullity. With reſpect to that monſter called TRANSUBSTANTIATION, the Council of Trent, in Seſſ. xiii. chap. viii. can. 1. curſes all to hell who will not believe it. Theſe are their words: "If any ſhall deny that the body and blood of Chriſt, with his SOUL and DIVINITY, are contained in the Sacrament, really, truly, ſubſtantially, &c. let him be ACCURSED."—Read Dr. Tillotſon againſt tranſubſtantiation, in his ſermons.—Dr. Wm. Harris's two excellent Sermons at Salters Hall, vol. i. 8vo. 1735. He ſhews, in ſerm. i. p. 35, that this monſter was not fully eſtabliſhed till the Council of Trent 1545—1563.

IX. The PERSECUTING SPIRIT and bloody CRUELTY of the CHURCH of ROME.

The eloquent Dr. Groſvenor has well defined the true nature of PERSECUTION.—It conſiſts in hurting a man in any of his natural or civil rights, without any civil forfeiture or crime, merely on account of the faith he believes, or the worſhip he practiſes, when that faith and worſhip have nothing in them inconſiſtent with the civil intereſts of the community, and the peace of the public, and the man is able and ready to give all LEGAL SECURITY to the Government for PUBLIC PEACE.

This is a clear and juſt deſcription of the nature of perſecution. See Dr. Groſvenor's admirable ſermon at Salters Hall, April 10, 1735. vol. ii. 8vo.

Mr. BENJAMIN BENNETT, in his aſtoniſhing ſermon on the PERSECUTION and CRUELTY of the CHURCH of ROME, ſets out with this obſervation, that the apoſtate church of Rome is a perſecuting church, filled with the blood of the ſaints and martyrs of Jeſus. Rev. xvii. 6. He proves that this is a true and juſt character of the church of Rome; and in order to this he

1. Sets before us ſuch principles of theirs as lead to perſecution.

2. And then he gives an hiſtory of their practice, agreeable to their cruel principles.

I. Their known avowed PRINCIPLES are theſe,

1. That the Pope is head of the church, univerſal, ſupreme, infallible, p. 438.

2. That the Pope has authority to determine all points of faith; and that every one is to be ſubject to him, and reſt in his deciſions, on pain of damnation, page 441.

3. They are for wholeſome ſeverities in matters of religion. 'Tis a principle with them, "that the obſtinate and heretical muſt be conſtrained to their duty: if they will not be wiſe, they muſt be made ſo whether they will or not."

4. They maintain, that diſobedience to the laws of the church not only cuts men off from Chriſt, but is a forfeiture of all civil rights.—This is a moſt infernal principle!

5. They account it no ſin to deſtroy heretics—Pope Urban II. declared, that they are not guilty of murder that kill any that are excommunicated: and we know all Proteſtants are excommunicated. And the Pope once a year curſes all the heretics in the world.

II. The BLOODY PRACTICES of the church of Rome are exactly agreeable to their perſecuting, cruel principles.—But it would fill many volumes in folio to give a full hiſtory of their perſecutions.—Fox's Book of Martyrs, in folio; Lockman's excellent compendium on Popiſh perſecutions, 12mo. Dr. Doddridge's admirable ſermon on the abſurdity and iniquity of perſecution, 1735; with the Rev. Caleb Evans's ſtriking ſermon on the remembrance of former times, juſt publiſhed, price 6d. Buckland and Dilly. To theſe may be added, Dr. Walch's compendious Hiſtory of the Popes, 8vo. 1759; and the Hiſtory of Popery, 2 vols. 4to. Dilly. Theſe all ſhew the infernal rage of the Popiſh ſpirit in a dreadful light.—Mr. Bennett, in page 450, ſhews that the Papiſts,

1. Have made laws for the utter deſtruction of all whom they curſe as heretics.

2. For the better diſpatch of their bloody work, they oblige princes in their communions to engage in their quarrels.

3. The Pope has erected a ſpiritual court in all places of his dominions where he could: i. e. the Holy Inquiſition.—See Father Paul's hiſtory of it; and Limborch's Hiſtory of the Inquiſition, tranſlated by Dr. Chandler, 4to. 1731.

4. They have turned the church into a SHAMBLES, and filled the world with blood and ſlaughter. See Mr. Bennett, page 445.

5. They have not contented themſelves with bare killing, but have contrived to do it in the moſt barbarous manner, page 460.

6. All this barbarity, as it is covered with a zeal for God, ſo it is often accompanied with the groſſeſt treachery and perfidiouſneſs to men, page 462.

7. They take pleaſure, and glory in all this ſtrange inhumanity. The renowned Admiral Coligni's head was carried as a trophy to Rome, as Thuanus, a faithful and learned French hiſtorian tells us, and was a moſt welcome preſent to his holineſs.—See Thuanus's Hiſtory of Charles IX.

In ſhort, the very heart and ſoul of the Papiſts appear to be in this bloody work.—See the admirable Bennett, page 466.

Engliſhmen! Britons! Fellow-Proteſtants, let me intreat you never for one moment to forget, "that every Popiſh Biſhop in the world ſwears, at his conſecration, that he will perſecute heretics to the utmoſt of his power." One part of the oath is, Hæreticos, ſchiſmaticos, aut rebelles eidem domino noſtro, vel ſucceſſoribus, prædictis, pro poſſe perſequar et impugnabo. Pontificale Roman. Edit. Antwerp, 1626, page 59—86.

X. The ARTS of the CHURCH of ROME.

1. Aſſuming great names. 2. Slandering Proteſtants. 3. Impudent confidence. 4. Claiming the Fathers. 5. Keeping ſouls in ignorance. 6. Aſſerting the Bible to be obſcure. 7. Enſlaving people to the Pope. 8. Boaſting of the Council of Trent. 9. Pretence of unity. 10. Suiting religion to ſinners luſts. 11. Tales about viſions, ſaints, and angels. 12. Uſing force and violence, and the temporal ſword.—All theſe are to be found at large in the incomparable ſermons of the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Bennett of Newcaſtle, 8vo. 1714. I wiſh they were reprinted

printed in ten weekly numbers, and ſpread all through the three Kingdoms.

There is an excellent book juſt publiſhed, in ten dialogues, by the Rev. James Smith, vicar of Alkham, in Kent, who was converted from Popery twelve years ago.

The Picture of Popery, repreſented in the preceding pages is an Introduction to *Luther's Familiar and Divine Diſcourſes*, juſt publiſhed by *Mr. Heptinſtall*, a zealous friend to Luther's writings. Theſe familiar Diſcourſes are very well adapted to inſtruct the riſing generation of Proteſtants in Great Britain. Our young people are exceedingly ignorant of the grand evidences and contents of Chriſtianity, and they are equally ignorant of the deteſtable nature of Popery.

People in general are in a ſtate of barbariſm. There is hardly one in a thouſand that is well acquainted with the good old argument, which is equally convincing to a ploughman and a philoſopher. The argument is this: The Bible muſt either be the invention of good men or angels, bad men or devils, or muſt be given by the inſpiration of God. Now, firſt, it cannot be the invention of good men or angels; for they neither would nor could make a book, and tell lies all the time they were writing it, ſaying, "Thus ſaith the Lord." when it was their own invention. Again, it could not be the invention of bad men or devils; for they would not make a book which commands all duty, forbids all ſin, and condemns their own ſouls to hell to all eternity. We muſt therefore conclude, the Bible was given by Divine inſpiration. This plain and popular argument ought to be taught in all our Sunday Schools, and to every day-labourer in Great Britain.

If our young people of both ſexes were well inſtructed in the evidences and beauties of the Chriſtian religion, they would be filled with horror at the deformity and odiouſneſs of the whole body of Popery. This book of Luther's is equally adapted to promote both theſe ends; and as ſuch, I cannot but warmly recommend it to the young people of my country. If they have any ſentiments of real honour—if they have any prudence with reſpect to their true intereſt—if they have any taſte for beauty and pleaſure—if they have any hatred of the deformity of error, they will read with inſtruction and delight theſe Familiar and Divine Diſcourſes.

The candid reader will make all juſt allowances for a poſthumous work. He will ſee that every page and paragraph is not of equal importance; therefore every paragraph that he may think trivial and unimportant, he will paſs over with an uncenſorious temper; but at the ſame time, he will conſider that this book was nearly loſt in the Engliſh nation, and in a few years more perhaps a copy could not have been found: he will therefore feel gratitude to the Publiſher, who has reſcued this book from a total oblivion. He will conſider the work as a monument of the ſentiments of our famous Reformer. He will look back to the times when darkneſs and error ſpread all over Europe: he will ſurvey his preſent ſurrounding circumſtances: he will look forwards to that happy moment, when the "*time* for the exiſtence of Popery *ſhall be no longer*."

Nov. 9. 1791.

JOHN RYLAND.

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER,

BY

J. G. BURCKHARDT, D. D.

MINISTER OF THE GERMAN LUTHERAN CHAPEL, IN THE SAVOY, *LONDON.*

CONTENTS OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF LUTHER.

CHAP. I. *Observations on the State of the Christian Church before the Time of Luther.*—CHAP. II. *Luther's Birth and Education.*—CHAP. III. *The Beginning of the Reformation, by Luther's opposing the Sale of Indulgences, in the Year* 1517.—CHAP. IV. *Proceedings of the Diet at Worms, and Luther's Concealment in the Castle of Wartburg,* 1521.—CHAP. V. *The Origin of the Name of Lutherans and Protestants, and the Transactions at the Diet of Augsburg,* 1530.—CHAP. VI. *Death and Interment of Luther, and his Character, both as a Reformer and a Christian.*

CHAP. I.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE STATE OF THE CHURCH BEFORE THE TIME OF LUTHER.

OF all the events in the history of mankind, none has extended its influence so universally over all Europe as the Reformation of the Church in the sixteenth century, which *Martin Luther* was appointed, and qualified from above, to effect. The study of history is no other than the study of supreme wisdom, power, and goodness, displayed in the government of the world; where we often see good spring from evil, and great effects proceed from small causes, which may be exemplified, by innumerable instances, in the History of the Church, and of its Reformation. Before I give an account of Luther's Life and Character, I will make some general observations on the state of the Christian Church before his time.

What Isaias said of the state of the world before the advent of the Messiah: that *darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people*, may be equally applied to the darkness of ignorance, idolatry, and superstition, eclipsing the light of the Gospel, many hundred years after our Lord's ascension. The state of the Church, in the centuries preceding the Reformation, was indeed deplorable. Since the time of *Constantine*, who declared in favour of Christianity, introducing the distinctions of the state and civil government into the discipline of the Church, there had been a perpetual contention for supremacy, or superiority, between the Bishops of Constantinople and Rome, till, in the ninth century, the Eastern, or the Greek Church, was entirely separated from that of the West, and the Pope of Rome, in the eleventh century, established his authority, so prejudicial both to Church and State. From that time the Popes of Rome, as the pretended Vicars of Christ, assumed a power little short of Omnipotence itself, and shewed their despotic and domineering spirit in political as well as ecclesiastical concerns, presuming to have the sovereignty over men upon earth, over the angels in heaven, and over the devils in hell. They dictated to the world a system of doctrines and morality, suitable to their selfish views, and not conformable, but contrary to the Word of God, which was forgotten, and forbidden to be read by laymen. The authority and infallibility of the Pope, was the first article of the Christian belief; and the false opinions of indulgences, purgatory, relics, pilgrimages, celibacy, &c. were more respected than the essential doctrines of the Gospel. The Bible was not read by the laity, nor understood by the clergy. The worship of God was confined to some ceremonies of

religion; as the maſs, the auricular confeſſion, the obſervance of penitences, the adoration of ſaints, &c. The people was impoſed upon by the fictitious relics of perſons and things which never had exiſted: *viz.* a piece of ground from which the firſt man was made; bones of the calf from which a meal was made at the joyful reception of the prodigal ſon; a ſtep of the ladder which Jacob had ſeen in the dream; a lamp of one of the fooliſh virgins; a ſkeleton of a child killed at Bethlehem, &c. and many waggon loads of inſtruments uſed at the crucifixion of Chriſt.

The hiſtory of the Popes, and of the dignified clergy, at thoſe times, is the hiſtory of the moſt horrid crimes; and Rome was the ſchool of political intrigue, and the ſeat of falſehood, adultery, avarice, lewdneſs, and homicide. There was nothing which could not be bought for ready money at the court of Rome; even the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt were ſold to the higheſt bidder, and it was cuſtomary to buy, to ſell, or exchange prebendaries and livings as any other eſtate. The lower clergy being forbidden to marry, were however allowed to violate their vows of celibacy for paying a certain ſum, which was called the *milk tax*. Theſe, and many other errors and abuſes, were brought into the Church by the papal ſyſtem or hierarchy, which Roman writers themſelves do not deny.

The neceſſity of a Reformation of the Church, of the Pope, and of the clergy, was acknowledged, and wiſhed for on every ſide, and four general Convocations and Diets of the Empire were held for that purpoſe; the firſt at *Piſa*, in Italy, 1409; the ſecond at *Conſtance*, in Switzerland, from 1414—1418, where John Huſs, that celebrated martyr, was burnt alive in the moſt unjuſt and cruel manner; the third at *Siena*, 1423, and the fourth at *Baſil*, 1431. The Popes, however, always found means to elude that ſalutary deſign; and though, in all the national aſſemblies, the neceſſity of a Reformation was proved and felt, the work itſelf, and the manner in which it was to be begun, or effected, was a taſk too difficult for the wiſeſt and beſt of men of that age; till God, in mercy to his Church, took it into his own hands, and ſent Luther to deliver the world from a darkneſs and bondage which had been more oppreſſive than that of Egypt, and no leſs detrimental to Society than deſtructive to Religion.

Some ſteps indeed had been taken before, preparatory to it. The ſimplicity and purity of the evangelical doctrine had been preſerved among a few in the midſt of horrid perſecutions, and the blood of martyrs was a ſeed from which more profeſſors ſprung. When Conſtantinople, the reſidence of the Chriſtian Emperors, was taken by the Turks in the year 1453, many learned men were driven to the weſtern parts of Europe, where, particularly in Italy and Germany, they found an aſylum for the ſtudy of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, ſo neceſſary and uſeful in tranſlating and explaining the literal ſenſe of the ſacred writings. About the year 1440, the important Art of Printing was invented, to which the work of the Reformation owes its more rapid progreſs; for, by theſe means, the printed Bibles, and the writings of Luther, and other eminent Reformers, were diſperſed into many thouſand hands, that people could ſee with their own eyes. The foundation being laid, the great work itſelf begun, and was carried on with ſuch evident marks of a divine interpoſition, that we have reaſon to *give thanks unto the Father, who has delivered us from the power of darkneſs, and has tranſlated us into the kingdom of his dear Son.* What ſo many powerful and wiſe men, during centuries before, had tried in vain to ſet on foot, was ſuddenly effected by an Auguſtinian Friar, MARTIN LUTHER, whoſe great work, from an inconſiderable beginning, roſe to an immenſe fabric, extending over all the world. The more enemies he had to oppoſe, the more he was encouraged to go on, till the good cauſe was victorious, and true Religion was reſtored to, and eſtabliſhed in, the viſible Church of Chriſt.

CHAP. II.

LUTHER'S BIRTH AND EDUCATION.

LUTHER was born Nov. 10, 1483, at Eiſleben, a town formerly belonging to the county of Mansfield, in Thuringia, but at preſent ſubject to the Elector of Saxony. His father was a miner, and took particular care of the education of his ſon; during the progreſs of which he gave many indications of uncommon vigour and acuteneſs of genius.

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When he was at ſchool at Magdeburg, the attention of an elderly rich lady of the family of Cotta was directed to him, and his parents being poor, ſhe ſupported him in his literary purſuits; ſo that he was ſent, in the 18th year of his age, to the Univerſity at Erford to finiſh his education. His father had deſigned him for the law; but God directed it otherwiſe. When he was Bachelor of Arts, he fell ſick, and his ſpirits were much depreſſed; but an old Prieſt viſiting him, told him—" *Be of good cheer, for you will not die, but be a great* " *man to the comfort of many.*" His mind being naturally ſuſceptible of ſerious impreſſions, and tinctured with ſomewhat of that religious turn, which delights in the ſolitude and devotion of a monaſtic life, he reſolved to retire into the convent of Auguſtinian Friars. Matheſius, Luther's intimate friend, informs us of two awful accidents, which he thinks confirmed him in taking that reſolution. The firſt was, that Alexius, an acquaintance of Luther, was ſtabbed; and the ſecond, that he was ſtruck down by the lightning in a thunder ſtorm. Be this as it will, Luther aſſumed the habit of that monaſtic order, without ſuffering the intreaties of his parents to divert him from what he thought his duty to God. It is however obſervable, that it is not uncommon, in the diſpenſations of Divine Providence, to awaken and call, by a heart-changing power and in a particular manner, ſuch perſons as he intends for the ſervice of the Church, or to carry on a great work in the world. *Saul* by ſuch an inſtance of divine mercy was made an Apoſtle, from a moſt inveterate enemy and perſecutor of the church. St. *Auguſtin* became a convert to piety by reading the ſtriking paſſage, Rom. xiii. 11—14. *Galenus*, by contemplating the wiſdom diſplayed in the ſtructure of a human ſkeleton, from an Atheiſt was turned into a Believer; and it has often been remarked, that the moſt profligate wretches were rouſed by ſome awful accident in nature, or by ſerious diſcourſes; and that thoſe who came to ſcoff, remained to pray. Something of that kind we have either experienced in our own lives, or muſt experience it ſtill.

Luther ſoon acquired great reputation, not only for piety, but for his love of knowledge, and his unwearied application to ſtudy. He had been taught the ſcholaſtic philoſophy and theology; but having found a copy of the Latin Bible, which lay neglected in the library of his monaſtery, he abandoned all other purſuits, and devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of it, with ſuch eagerneſs and aſſiduity as aſtoniſhed the Monks, who were little accuſtomed to derive their theological notions from that ſource. To detain him from that uncommon courſe of ſtudy, they employed him in the meaneſt ſervices of the convent, from which he was releaſed by the interceſſion of Staupitz, who recommended him to the Elector of Saxony, Frederic, to teach philoſophy, and afterwards theology, at the univerſity of Wittemberg on the Elbe; where he was much admired, and made Doctor and Profeſſor of Divinity, by the deſire and at the expence of the Elector his maſter. This was of great comfort to him in many ſtorms which gathered around him at the progreſs of his undertaking; and when his enemies diſputed his right to reform the Church, and aſked who had given him that authority, his anſwer was, That he was lawfully called; and in taking his degree had ſworn, not only to teach the ſound doctrine of the Goſpel, and of the Prophets and Apoſtles, but to defend its purity againſt vain and heretical tenets.

It was then, by the Bible, his eyes were opened; and men of experience and foreſight propheſied the revolution this man would effect in the Church, becauſe he ſtudied the ſacred records ſo long neglected. It is one of the firſt principles of the Reformation on which Luther acted, and every Chriſtian ought to act, that the word of God is the only ſtandard of truth; the only rule of our faith and conduct. This book then was the ſource of his doctrine; the foundation of his faith; the bulwark of his ſafety. With this ſword of the Spirit, in his heart and in his hands, he defied the fierce attacks of his innumerable enemies. Having ſpent many a night in reading its holy contents in his ſolitary cell at the monaſtery, in the character of a public teacher he began to explain it to the ſtudents at Wittemberg; and the firſt book which he expounded was the Epiſtle to the Romans, in which the words, Ch. i. 17, *The juſt ſhall live by faith*, made a deep and laſting impreſſion upon his mind; and by writing his Comment on the Epiſtle to the Galatians, his knowledge and ſenſe of juſtification by faith was augmented. In the year 1510, he undertook a journey to Rome, as a Commiſſioner of his Order, to ſettle there ſome affairs. During his ſtay at Rome, he had an opportunity of being an eye-witneſs of the degenerate ſtate and ignorance of the clergy. To find reſt for his ſoul, and what was called indulgences, he crept often upon his knees up the ſteps upon which it was ſaid Chriſt had aſcended to the tribunal of Pilate; but it was always as if the words, *The juſt ſhall live by faith*, reſounded

with the voice of a thunder in his mind. Being returned to Wittemberg, he continued to preach the Goſpel, with uncommon eloquence and power to liſtening multitudes; and being commiſſioned, in the year 1516, by Staupitz, to hold viſitations in the monaſteries of the Auguſtine Order, as an Under-vicar, he recommended to the Friars the reading of the Bible; and the ſeed thus ſcattered in different places, by his good advice and counſels, did not fail to produce the moſt ſalutary fruits.

CHAP. III.

THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION, BY LUTHER'S OPPOSING THE SALE OF INDULGENCES, IN THE YEAR 1517.

LEO X. who filled at that time the Papal throne, finding the revenues of the Church exhauſted by the vaſt projects of his ambitious predeceſſors, and by his own extravagances, tried every device to encreaſe his finances; and, among others, had recourſe to a ſale of *Indulgences*, which Luther, from laudable motives, had the boldneſs publicly to oppoſe. Since it was from that ſource that all the mighty effects of the Reformation flowed, it deſerves to be conſidered with a more minute attention. Dr. Robertſon, in the Hiſtory of Charles V. vol. ii. p. 105, gives the following account of the origin and nature of Indulgences; a ſubject unknown in Proteſtant countries, and little underſtood at preſent in ſeveral places where even the Roman Catholic religion is eſtabliſhed.—"According to the doctrine of the Romiſh Church, all the good works of the Saints, over and above thoſe which were neceſſary towards their own juſtification, are depoſited, together with the infinite merits of Jeſus Chriſt, in one inexhauſtible treaſury. The keys of this were committed to St. Peter, and to his ſucceſſors, the Popes, who may open it at pleaſure, and by transferring a portion of this ſuper-abundant merit to any particular perſon, for a ſum of money, may convey to him either the pardon of his own ſins, or a releaſe for any one, in whoſe happineſs he is intereſted, from the pains of purgatory. Such indulgences were firſt invented in the eleventh century, by Urban II. as a recompence for thoſe who went in perſon upon the meritorious enterpriſe of conquering the Holy Land. They were afterwards granted to thoſe who hired a ſoldier for that purpoſe; and, in proceſs of time, were beſtowed on ſuch as gave money for accompliſhing any pious work enjoined by the Pope. Julius II. had beſtowed indulgences on all who contributed towards building the church of St. Peter at Rome; and as Leo was carrying on that magnificent and expenſive fabric, his grant was founded on the ſame pretence."

Albert, Elector of Mentz, and Archbiſhop of Magdeburg, having been empowered by the Pope to promulgate indulgences in Germany, employed Tetzel, a Dominican Friar, of licentious morals, to retail them in Saxony. This infamous traffic was conducted in a manner which gave general offence. The Roman Chancery publiſhed a book, containing the preciſe ſum to be exacted for the pardon of every particular ſin*. A Deacon guilty of murder, was abſolved for twenty crowns. A Biſhop, or Abbot, might aſſaſſinate for three hundred livres. Any Eccleſiaſtic might violate his vows of chaſtity for the third part of that ſum. Tetzel violated all the laws of decency in recommending the purchaſe of indulgences; the efficacy of which, he ſaid, was ſo great, that as ſoon as the money tinkled in the cheſt, the ſouls eſcaped from the torments of purgatory; and that the moſt heinous ſins, even if one ſhould violate the Mother of God—a crime which is impoſſible, and can only exiſt in the impure imagination of a Caſuiſt—would be remitted by them. Some traders in Indulgences, beſides ſuch extravagant expreſſions, had recourſe to the expoſing of relics; as, a plume from the wing of the angel Michael; ſome hay, upon which Chriſt was laid after his birth; ſome coals, upon which St. Ignatius had been burnt, &c. Indulgences could be had not only for paſt, but future ſins, which Tetzel, however, in one inſtance, found to be to his own diſadvantage. For a ſoldier having purchaſed the day before indulgence for a ſin which he intended to commit, attacked him the next day in a foreſt, taking from him the cheſt of money, under the pretence of having bought before of him the right to rob him. They carried on however this extenſive and lucrative traffic among the credulous and the ignorant for ſome time; and immoralities and crimes increaſed by the facility with which pardon could be obtained. For the deluded people being

* Taxa Cancellar. Romanæ, edit. Francof. 1651.

being taught to rely for the pardon of their ſins on the indulgences, did not think it neceſſary either to ſtudy the doctrines, or to practice the duties of Chriſtianity.

Such was the deplorable ſtate of the Chriſtian Church, when Luther made his firſt appearance. He found the evil effects of the ſale of indulgences in the immoral lives of his pariſhioners. When they came to the auricular confeſſion, he told them in the words, Luke, xiii. 3. *Except ye repent, ye ſhall all periſh*; a doctrine which they could not, or would not underſtand, ſince they had the ſeal of their pardon in their pockets. When Tetzel was informed that Luther oppoſed his trade in private, he was ſo much exaſperated, as to preach publicly againſt him, and all thoſe that dared to reſiſt the authority of the Pope. Luther, who was at the height of his reputation, and whoſe pious zeal was warm and active, wrote to Albert, and remonſtrated warmly againſt the falſe opinions, as well as wicked lives of the preachers of Indulgences; but he found that Prelate too deeply intereſted in their ſucceſs to correct their abuſes, and was given to underſtand not to meddle with them. Being aſtoniſhed at ſuch an anſwer, he publiſhed ninety-five Theſes, containing his ſentiments with regard to Indulgences; fixing them on the Great Church at Wittemberg, October 31, 1517, before the day of All-Saints, when the people flocked to that church to ſee the relics expoſed; and challenging any one to oppoſe them, either by writing or diſputation. The firſt of theſe Theſes was: *Our Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt commanding repentance, requires that the whole life of his believers upon earth is to be a perpetual repentance without intermiſſion.*—Theſe Theſes, indeed, were not yet perfectly free from his implicit ſubmiſſion to the authority of the Apoſtolic See; but they were ſpread in a fortnight's time over all Germany with aſtoniſhing rapidity; they were tranſlated and read with the greateſt eagerneſs, and all admired the boldneſs of the man who ventured to oppoſe a power at which all the Princes of Europe trembled; and which they had long, though without ſucceſs, been endeavouring to overturn. Some hiſtorians, Popiſh as well as Proteſtant, have aſſerted that the Auguſtinians had before been employed in preaching Indulgences, but that this truſt had been tranſmitted to the Dominicans; and that Luther was at firſt prompted to oppoſe Tetzel and his aſſociates, by a deſire of taking revenge for this injury offered to his Order. But theſe aſſertions cannot be proved; and Luther's oppoſition proceeded from more laudable motives. The Secular Princes, indeed, had reaſon to be jealous of the growing power of Papal authority and its exactions, draining their credulous ſubjects of their wealth. But in the Elector of Saxony, the wiſeſt Prince at that time in Germany, it was not ſo much intereſt as the love of truth and juſtice, to ſupport Luther, and to ſcreen him from the violence of his enemies. It is remarkable, that this Prince, Frederic the Wiſe, of Saxony, about that time had a dream, where he ſaw a Friar writing with a pen, the length and extremity of which reached to the Papal throne, and touched the Pope's mitre in ſuch a manner, that it was tottering and ready to fall from his head, though the Prelates around him were anxious to ſupport it.

No ſooner had Luther given the ſignal to an attack upon the overbearing power of the Pope, than a general attention was excited all over Germany, how the boldneſs of the meaſure would end. While Popiſh ſophiſts, as Eccius, Prierias, wrote againſt, others roſe in ſupport of Luther. The Court of Rome firſt little regarded this controverſy; but the progreſs of Luther's opinions ſoon appeared too ſerious to be deſpiſed, and Leo ſummoned him to appear at Rome. But Luther had his reaſons to decline this invitation, and wiſhed rather to be tried in Germany. The Univerſity, as well as the Elector of Saxony, interceded in his behalf with the Pope, who ſo far gratified them, as to empower his Legate in Germany, Cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, to try the cauſe. It was ſtrange, however, that Luther, in the letter of the Pope to Cajetan, was already declared an Heretic, and condemned before he was heard and tried. Luther arrived at Augſburg October the 8th, 1518; and under the ſafe conduct of the Emperor, but much more of his own native intrepidity and juſt cauſe, waited on the Cardinal, who, in a haughty manner, inſiſted upon a ſimple recantation, and deſired him to abſtain for the future from the publication of new and dangerous doctrines; ſuch as, that the merit and atonement of Chriſt did not belong to the treaſury of the Church, and had nothing to do with the ſale of indulgences; and that faith was required in receiving the holy ſacrament worthily. The Cardinal declared in private, that, if Luther was ready to recant in the point of indulgences, the doctrine about faith was of no great matter; which is a plain proof that money was of higher value at Rome than faith. Luther declared, that he could not renounce opinions founded in reaſon, and derived from Scripture; that he was willing to ſubmit to the

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mediation of ſome Univerſities; and at the ſame time delivering a formal proteſt, the Cardinal aſked—"What do you mean? Do you rely on the force of arms? When the juſt puniſhment and the thunder of the Pope's indignation break in upon you, where do you think to remain?" His anſwer was—"*Either in Heaven, or under Heaven.*" At laſt the Cardinal forbad him to appear again in his preſence; and ſince there was ſtrong reaſon to ſuſpect that he was not ſafe, he was prevailed upon to depart from Augſburg, and to return to Wittemberg, leaving behind an Appeal, from the Pope ill-informed, to the Pope better to be informed.

The Pope, as well as his Legate, Cajetan, did every thing to bring over the Elector, his maſter, to their deſign, that he might be ſent to Rome, and delivered up to their vindictive indignation; but that Prince was too wiſe and cautious to comply with their requeſt: and when Luther was ready to quit Saxony, not to give his Sovereign any uneaſineſs, the latter, finding it his intereſt to keep ſuch a man as an ornament to his Univerſity, aſſured him of his protection. The German Reformer, however, was in a perilous ſituation ſtill; and for his ſafety publiſhed an Appeal to a General Council, which he maintained was ſuperior to the Pope, whoſe infallibility he began to call in queſtion. He puſhed on his inquiries from one doctrine and abuſe to another; and having till now little dreamt that his actions would have ſuch an effect as to produce a revolution, he began to form higher ideas of his call, and that it was nothing leſs than to aſſert the liberty of mankind. It was a moſt impolitic ſtep in the Court of Rome to publiſh, with all formalities, a Bull of excommunication againſt Luther, June 15, 1520; in which not only himſelf, but his followers and protectors, were out-lawed and condemned as heretics, which all the Princes and ſubjects of the Empire were called upon to ſeize, and to deliver up into the hands of juſtice. Emperors had trembled at the thunder of ſuch a Bull; but Luther's undaunted ſpirit acquired additional fortitude from ſuch an inſtance of oppoſition. He complained of the impiety and injuſtice of the Pope; boldly declared him to be the Man of Sin, or Antichriſt; exhorted all Chriſtian Princes to ſhake off his yoke; and his books having been burnt in ſeveral places, he, by way of retaliation, in the preſence of a vaſt number of ſpectators, in a field near Wittemberg, with great pomp threw the Pope's Bull of excommunication, and the canon law, into the flames, with theſe words:—*Since thou haſt grieved the Holy Ghoſt, may eternal fire grieve and devour thee!*

This action, which has been cenſured by his enemies with much ſeverity, he has juſtified in a particular publication: and the reaſons he aſſigned for it, were; becauſe it was a cuſtom to burn poiſoned and hurtful writings; becauſe, as a Doctor of Divinity, he was called to deſtroy the weed grown in the Church of Chriſt; and becauſe his enemies had done the ſame with his own books. It is only for the ſupreme impartial Judge to paſs ſentence on ſuch actions; which in a Reformer of Abuſes, as Luther was, ſeem rather to be intitled to praiſe and admiration for his courage, than to be reproached for his reſentment. Even the faults of great men proceed from the ſame ſource from which their virtues are derived. In conſidering the different conduct of the Pope and of Luther, we are led to queſtion the infallibility of the former, and to admire the wiſdom and intrepidity of the latter. It was not his deſign firſt to overturn the whole ſyſtem of Papal arrogance and ſuperſtition; but the oppoſition he met with in ſuch queſtions, where truth and juſtice was unqueſtionably on his ſide, inſtigated him to proceed in the diſcuſſion of other ſubjects. The principal doctrine of Juſtification, and our acceptance with God by Faith, being once fixed, he naturally was led to enquire into the doctrines connected with it; and having overthrown the errors with reſpect to indulgences, he ſoon was convinced of the idolatry of worſhipping Saints; of the vain truſt repoſed in pilgrimages; of the deluſive terrors of Purgatory, and of other falſe doctrines and practices of the Church. It was undoubtedly a political ſoleciſm in the government of the Papal See, to defeat its own deſigns; firſt, by indolent neglect, and then, by overbearing arrogance; particularly at a time when prudence required to correct the errors and immoralities of the Clergy, which were come to an alarming degree. Waldus, Wiclef, Huſs, and other martyrs of religious truth, in the foregoing centuries, had indeed prepared the way; but they were too feeble lights, not to be extinguiſhed by the power of darkneſs. Many grievous complaints had been made known in the Diets of the Empire; but the influence of Papal Authority was grown too ſtrong to be reſiſted. The Clergy indulged themſelves in all the vices to which idleneſs and affluence naturally give birth. It was reſerved for Luther to attack boldly the prevailing corruption; and the circumſtances under which he began and effected the Reformation; the wonderful

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concatenation of ſo many cauſes; the ſeaſonable preparations made for ſpreading his opinions and tenets, evince the intervention of an higher hand, and that the ſame God who planted the Goſpel was watchful to preſerve it from utter deſtruction. The invention of Printing, half a century before, and the revival of learning, was extremely favourable to the progreſs of the Reformation; and many learned men, as Melanchthon, Eraſmus, and Reuchlin, who, on account of the timidity of their tempers, would not have ventured to wage the war with a powerful enemy, aſſiſted Luther with their learning, who, to a mind furniſhed with all the ſtores of ſolid and uſeful literature, united the courage and boldneſs of an invincible champion. I have lately diſcovered in London a collection of original letters, written to Eraſmus at the juncture of thoſe affairs, and have ſent them to the Reverend Dr. Burſcher, in Leipzig, to be publiſhed. They will no doubt throw much light on the hiſtory of that period, and on the part which Eraſmus acted.

CHAP. IV.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE DIET AT WORMS, AND LUTHER'S CONCEALMENT IN THE CASTLE OF WARTBURG, 1521.

AT the Diet of Worms, after ſome deliberations concerning political affairs of the Empire, the ſtate of religion was taken into conſideration, and Luther was ſummoned to appear, and to give an account of his writings and opinions. He had, for that purpoſe, a ſafe-conduct tranſmitted to him by the Emperor's herald, who conducted him to Worms. Some of his friends, being apprehenſive of his ſafety, adviſed him not to go to a place, where, perhaps, like Huſs, he would be burnt; but his undaunted ſpirit was ſuperior to the fear and terrors of any danger, and he replied to his friends: "*I am lawfully called to that city, and thither will I go, and defend the truth in the name of the Lord, though as many devils as there are tiles upon the houſes were there combined againſt me. The ſame Lord is ſtill living who preſerved the three men in the fiery oven.*" It was his firm reſolution rather to loſe his life than to recant.

Many princes and noblemen, together with a vaſt number of admiring and curious ſpectators, left the town to meet him upon the road. His enemies were not pleaſed with his coming; for they could, from his known ſettled character, expect nothing but that victory would be on his ſide. Many of the Popiſh Legates and Eccleſiaſtics privately inſtigated the Emperor Charles V. to imitate the example of the Council of Conſtance, and to ſilence this incorrigible heretic with the flames of a pile, or with the hands of an executioner. But the Emperor anſwered: "*I will not bluſh with Sigiſmund, my predeceſſor;*" and he, as well as other members of the Diet, were averſe to violate the public faith, and to ſtain the German name and hiſtory with another ſuch ignominious action, by which, notwithſtanding an Imperial ſafe-conduct, Huſs, an hundred years before, had been burnt.

There was, perhaps, never a trial before a higher court and a more auguſt aſſembly. It conſiſted of the Emperor and his brother Ferdinand, ſix Electors, many Princes, Dukes and States of the Empire, Biſhops, Abbots, Ambaſſadors, and Officers. Luther appeared twice before this awful tribunal; the firſt time on the 17th of April, 1521, when, on account of the crowd of the people, the herald conducted him through private apartments to the Great Hall, where, to his great ſurprize and comfort, he heard a ſpectator repeat to him the words of our Saviour: "*Ye ſhall be brought before Governors and Kings for my ſake: but when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what you ſhall ſpeak; for it ſhall be given you in that ſame hour what ye ſhall ſpeak.* Matth. x. 18, 19. Luther was not over-awed by ſuch a ſight, but behaved with great calmneſs, decency, and firmneſs. Two queſtions were put to him to anſwer: the firſt, Whether he confeſſed theſe books which lay on the ground to be his writings? and the ſecond, Whether he would recant or not? To the firſt he coolly and prudently replied, that he could not acknowledge any book to be his own unleſs they had ſpecified the titles to him; and as to the ſecond, he deſired another day to conſider of it. This being granted; at his ſecond appearance he acknowledged the books to be his productions, and, at the ſame time, that in ſome of the controverſial works he had been rather

vehement and acrimonious; but refuſed to retract his opinions, unleſs he were convinced from the word of God that they were falſe. "*I cannot* (ſaid he) *conſent to be tried by any other rule than the word of God; for Councils and Popes have erred, and are not infallible. Unleſs I am bound and forced in my own mind by arguments which convey conviction, to retract, it is not ſafe to do it. Here I am—I cannot! I dare not! I will not! So help me God. Amen.*" This was the language of a man, who, ſtanding upon Bible-ground, challenged all the world to refute him, like an unſhaken rock in the midſt of a roaring ſea and a tremendous ſtorm.

Neither the entreaties of his friends, nor the threats of his enemies, could prevail on him to depart from this reſolution. When the Elector of Saxony conſulted him, how matters could be ſettled to the ſatisfaction of both parties, he gave him the advice of Gamaliel. Curioſity, as well as high regard for the man who had ſtood the trial ſo well, and was the leader of a great party, was the cauſe of many viſits, which perſonages of the higheſt rank paid him during his ſtay at Worms; and ſome noblemen declared, that he ſhould not be burnt unleſs they would burn all his friends too. There was, however, a few days after his departure, a moſt ſevere and cruel Edict of the Emperor publiſhed againſt him, by which not only himſelf was deprived of all the privileges which he enjoyed as a ſubject of the Empire, but all Princes and perſons were forbidden, under the penalty of high treaſon, loſs of goods, and being put to the ban of the Empire, to receive or defend, maintain or protect Luther or his opinions. But his faithful and diſcerning patron, the Elector of Saxony, took a prudent precaution to ſcreen Luther from the fury of the ſtorm. For, while Luther, on his return from Worms, was paſſing near Altenſtein in Thuringia, ſome noblemen, with their attendants, in maſks, ſeized him, and carried him to Wartburg, a ſtrong caſtle, near Eiſenach, ſituate upon mountainous foreſts, and commanding a moſt beautiful proſpect of the adjacent country. While the Emperor's Edict was thundering throughout the Empire, Luther was ſafely ſhut up for nine months in this place; which he uſed to call his Patmos and Hermitage, and where he employed his time in publiſhing ſeveral treatiſes, and in tranſlating the New Teſtament into the German language; which, ſhortly after, he printed, and whereby his followers were enabled to read and judge for themſelves. People of all ranks read the tranſlation with uncommon avidity, and were aſtoniſhed to diſcover the great difference between the Doctrine of Chriſt and that of his pretended Vice-regent at Rome.

In this retreat, however, though he was ſupplied with every thing neceſſary and agreeable, he had many troubles of mind, and complained of ſevere temptations. Amongſt others, he informs us, that the Devil often had tried to fill him with deſpondency or blaſphemous thoughts, and to frighten him by outward deluſions; but that he moſtly overcame him by ridiculing his weak attacks upon a ſervant of Chriſt. Luther threw once the ink-ſtand towards that evil ſpirit; and there is ſtill ſhewn the ſpot which the ink made on the wall of the room which Luther in his retirement inhabited. But we need not to have recourſe to ſuch narratives in order to give a true picture of our hero, while ſo many indiſputable facts and occurrences of his life prove him to be that great man, who not only defied all the world, but even the powers of Hell. The ſame ſentiments are expreſſed in one of his fineſt hymns, which begins, *God is our refuge in diſtreſs*, and which he compoſed on his journey to Worms, together with the tune; for he was fond of muſic, and ſpeaks in high terms of that delightful ſcience in his Table-Converſations. Some years ago, Dr. Burney came on purpoſe to my Chapel to hear the above hymn ſung by my Congregation; and though he did not underſtand the words, he confeſſed that there was ſomething grand and heroic in the tune. It is owing to Dr. Luther's merit and taſte for muſic, that our Congregations have an abundance of hymns and ſuitable tunes, from which Handel himſelf confeſſed to have taken ſome paſſages for his ſacred and ſublime compoſitions. The largeſt collections of German hymns tranſlated into Engliſh is contained in the Hymn-Book of the Moravian brethren, who ſing them in a ſimple and delightful manner in their original tunes.

During Luther's confinement at Wartburg, Carlſtad, and ſome of his fanatic followers, began to raiſe diſturbances in ſome parts of Saxony. Luther, as a Reformer, had much wiſdom, prudence, and moderation, and prepared the minds of the people for any act of innovation; but his party, though animated with the ſame zeal, ſhewed leſs diſcernment than their Leader, and from a miſtaken notion, or rather abuſe of liberty, without the conſent of magiſtrates, broke into the churches, and threw down the altars and images. Had this tumultuous and lawleſs ſpirit of innovation not been checked, it would have given a check to the progreſs of a better Reformation; and Luther, thinking his preſence at Wittemberg

Wittemberg abſolutely neceſſary, without applying or waiting for the Elector's permiſſion, left his retreat, and, by his preaching and rebukes, ſoon ſuppreſſed thoſe riotous and fanatic proceedings. Forgetting the danger to which he expoſed himſelf and the Elector by this ſtep, he was only concerned for his cauſe. It ſhews, undoubtedly, the greatneſs of his mind and of his faith, to brave in ſuch a manner the fury of a frowning world; and rather to ruſh headlong into the moſt imminent danger, than to lie ſafely concealed in an inglorious retreat. He has expreſſed his ſentiment in a letter to the Elector, dated Aſh-Wedneſday, 1522, which is too remarkable to be omitted in the Hiſtory of his Life. He writes thus:

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"I inform your Highneſs, that I have received the Goſpel not of any man, but of Heaven, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and that I intend now to call myſelf, what I could have done long ago, a Servant and Evangeliſt of God. Having offered myſelf to be tried before any tribunal was not a proof of doubts, but of a humility, which it was proper to ſhew for the ſake of others. But finding now, that my too great ſubmiſſion would be to the diſcredit of the Goſpel, and that the devil, when allowed an inch, would occupy the whole place, I muſt, conſtrained by neceſſity and my own conſcience, proceeed in another manner.

"To ſatisfy your Highneſs, and for your ſake, I have declined appearing publicly for this year; and the devil knows very well that I did not do it on account of timidity. He ſaw my heart when I entered Worms, that I would have ruſhed with joy into a crowd of devils. Duke George is by far not ſo much as one devil; nevertheleſs, our Heavenly Father by his mercy hath made us maſters over all the devils. Your Highneſs will ſee then, that to ſuch a Father it would be a diſgrace, if we would not truſt him ſo much as to defy the wrath of Duke George. As for me, I am fully aſſured, that if matters ſtood at Leipzig as at Wittemberg, I would go thither, though many days it ſhould rain nothing but Duke Georges, and they all be many times worſe and more furious than this Duke. He thinks the Lord Chriſt to be a man of ſtraw; this my Lord and myſelf may bear for a little while, and I aſſure your Highneſs, that I often with tears have prayed, and will pray ſtill, that God may enlighten him; and I entreat your Highneſs to pray, and to cauſe others to pray for him, that the imminent judgment may be averted from him; but, however, I ſhall pray no more if he is not reclaimed. I could in an inſtant kill Duke George with one word, if this would do it.

"I write thus to your Highneſs to let you know that, *I come to Wittemberg under a much higher protection than that of the Elector's of Saxony; nor do I crave for your protection, I mean to protect you much more than you can me; and did I know that you could or would protect me, I would not come at all.* For this affair muſt and ſhall not be ſupported by any ſword or ſecular power; God alone, without any man's advice or intervention, will bring it to an iſſue; and whoever believes moſt, procures the higheſt protection in this caſe. But finding that your Highneſs is weak in faith, I cannot think you to be that man, who is powerful enough to protect and ſave me. Your Highneſs, however, being deſirous to know what you ſhould do, ſince you believe to have done too little; my humble anſwer is, that your Highneſs has already done too much. You have to do nothing at all; for God will not, nor can he bear your or my endeavours, having reſerved the care to himſelf. Thus, and no otherwiſe, it ſhall be; this is my will and pleaſure to your Highneſs. If you believe this, you will enjoy calmneſs and ſafety; if you do not believe it, I do, and with concern muſt ſee your unfaithfulneſs to be tormented with that anguiſh, which all unbelievers deſerve.

"Am I diſobedient to you? you are then juſtified before God, if I ſhould be ſeized upon and killed. You, as an Elector of the Empire, are bound to obey your ſuperiors, and to ſubmit to his Imperial Majeſty's government as far as the conſtitution of the Empire requires; nor to hinder or oppoſe this higher power in its deſign to impriſon or execute me. For to this ſuperior power no one ſhall reſiſt than he who has ordained it, if we do not wiſh to be guilty of riot againſt God.

"But I hope my enemies are ſo prudent, and know your Highneſs to be rocked in a higher cradle, as that, by their requeſt, you ſhould be my executioner. If you let the door ſtand open, and do not violate the Electoral ſafe-conduct, in caſe they ſhould come themſelves, or ſend their deputies to ſeize me, then you have done enough to ſhew your obedience. For they can have no higher claim or commands upon you than to find Luther in your country, which you may grant without any endeavour, care, or danger of your own.

For

For *Chriſt has not taught me to be a Chriſtian to any man's prejudice or injury.* Should they, however, be ſo indiſcreet as to command your Highneſs to ſeize me, then I will adviſe you what is farther to do. As for my cauſe, I promiſe you that I will keep you free and ſafe from all injury and danger of body, eſtate, and ſoul; you may believe, or not.

"I recommend you to the grace of God, and hope ſoon to have a converſation with you, if neceſſity ſhall require it. This letter I have ſent in haſte, that you may not be uneaſy or ſurpriſed at my unexpected arrival in Wittemberg; for as a Chriſtian I will and muſt be to every one, not hurtful, but profitable.

"There is another man than Duke George with whom I have to do, who knows me well, and I know him not a little. Could your Highneſs believe, you would ſee God's glory; but ſince you have no faith, you ſee nothing. To God be love and praiſe in eternity. Amen."

This letter needs no comment. It is the genuine language of a faithful Chriſtian, who regards no perſon, but truſts to be governed and ſupported, in the moſt critical ſituation, by an almighty power; it is the effuſion of a bold, open, honeſt, and generous heart. Luther knew too well the character of Frederic, as that he ſhould not hope the letter would be received graciouſly; and as for Charles V. he was too deeply engaged in foreign wars to put in execution his edict againſt Luther, which he had publiſhed only to gratify the Pope. Frederic died, 1524, and his ſucceſſor eſpouſed the ſame cauſe with the ſame zeal and prudence. Many, indeed, were the enemies of Luther and his doctrines; for while the moſt mighty Princes and their edicts threatened them without, the diſputes about doctrinal points, and the extravagances of fanatics and revolting peaſants, tended to ſap the foundation within. But many were alſo the patrons and favorers of the reformed doctrine and mode of worſhip; and the example of a progreſſive and gradual reformation, adopted in Saxony, was followed by many countries of the Germanic empire and of Europe.

Bore
1483

In the year 1726, Luther married *Catherine a Bore*, a nun of noble family, who had thrown off the veil, and fled from the cloyſter. He has been cenſured for it as intemperate, and breaking through the bonds of chaſtity and of Monaſtic order. He maintained, however, by that act, the natural right of marriage for the whole ſucceeding clergy of his party, which they had been deprived of before, contrary to the law of nature and revelation, by the preſumptive power of the Pope.

CHAP. V.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF LUTHERANS AND PROTESTANTS; AND THE TRANSACTIONS AT THE DIET OF AUGSBURG, 1530.

ECCIUS, Luther's inveterate antagoniſt, was the firſt who uſed the name *Lutherans*, to denote the followers of that great Reformer; and though he meant to expreſs with it a refractory ſect and party, ſeparating from the eſtabliſhed Church, in the progreſs of time it is become honorable and characteriſtic. It muſt be remembered, however, that Luther was always averſe to introduce his own, or any other name into the Church, which could give riſe to diſtinctions, equally injurious to the bonds of brotherly love, and repugnant to the ſpirit of religion. He would have his diſciples call themſelves *Chriſtians*; for, ſaid he, our only maſter is Chriſt, and no man upon earth. He was neither ſo narrow-minded nor illiberal, as to keep up a partition-wall between brethren; with whom, if he could not agree entirely about indifferent principles, he heartily joined in love. Nor was he ſilent at the calumny of his enemies, that his doctrine was a new ſyſtem of religion, but anſwered them in his manner; that, while he defended the doctrine of Chriſt and the Apoſtles, and ſhewed people the good old way to heaven, they deviated to the doctrines of men, and embraced the ſyſtem of Popery eſtabliſhed by the devil. Upon the objection, where orthodox Chriſtians and true Believers had been before he aroſe, he replied—"*You have tortured, burnt, and deſtroyed them!*"

But the origin and deſign of the name of *Proteſtants*, requires a more minute inveſtigation. During the long abſence of Charles in Italy, the party of Luther had gained ſo much ground, that the new form of worſhip was eſtabliſhed, and the rites of the Romiſh church

church were ſuppreſſed in the territories of many Princes and Imperial cities. A Diet had been held in the year 1526, when a decree paſſed, which was almoſt equivalent to a toleration of Luther's opinions. But by another decree of the Diet of Spires, where Ferdinand preſided, March 15, 1529, matters were more violently decided. It was decreed, that where the Edict of Worms had been received and obeyed, none ſhould change the old religion; that the Maſs ſhould not be aboliſhed; that the Romans ſhould have every where a free exerciſe of religion, but no one be permitted to embrace the new hereſy; and that no further innovation in religion ſhould be attempted before the meeting of a General Council. But ſix Evangelical Princes, and fourteen Free and Imperial States and Cities, entered a ſolemn *proteſt* againſt this decree, and were on that account diſtinguiſhed by the name of Proteſtants; which in progreſs of time has been alſo applied to Calviniſts, and ſects of all denominations which have ſeparated from the Roman See.

Not leſs memorable are the proceedings of the Diet aſſembled at Augſburg, in the month of June 1530. The Emperor made his public entry with great pomp; and when Campeggio, the Legate of the Pope, who was in his ſuite, gave the benediction, and all the Roman Princes, with the Emperor, fell down upon their knees, the Proteſtant Princes ſtood erect. The Elector of Saxony would not permit Luther to accompany him to Augſburg, but left him upon the road, at a caſtle in Coburg; and a correſpondence was kept up, in which every thing was communicated to Luther, who endeavoured to confirm and animate his party by ſeveral treatiſes and letters. An order was given, that the Proteſtant divines ſhould not preach; but their Princes proteſting againſt it, another edict was publiſhed, that there ſhould be no preaching at all, on either ſide, during the ſeſſion of the Diet; to which they ſubmitted for a good reaſon, becauſe the pulpits of their enemies would have reſounded with calumnies againſt them. The Elector informed Luther of this, and uſed this expreſſion: "Thus our Lord God is ſilenced at the Diet." But Luther was never diſconcerted or diſmayed. He exhorted and comforted in his letters the Elector, and the divines that attended him, Juſtus Jonas, Spalatin, and Melanchthon; to whom he ſays, in one of his letters—"*Chriſt is the Lord of Lords, the King of Kings; if he loſes that title at Augſburg, he ſhall loſe it in heaven and upon earth. If they kill me, there will be one who will aſk, Where is thy brother Abel?*" Melanchthon had drawn up a Confeſſion of Faith in the name of the Proteſtants, which was read, June the 25th, both in German and Latin, before the Emperor and the whole aſſembly. When Pontanus began to read, all the Proteſtant Princes roſe from their places. It laſted two hours, and many were better informed of the doctrine of the Proteſtants. This Creed, which is known by the name of the *Confeſſion of Augſburg*, conſiſts of twenty-eight articles, and is the firſt ſymbolical book of the Lutherans, of equal authority as the Thirty-nine Articles in England. Melanchthon, who was of a gentle and pacific diſpoſition, altered ſome articles in it, after it was delivered into the hands of the Emperor. Some Popiſh divines were appointed to write a Confeſſion of the eſtabliſhed Church, which was read with the ſame formality. But the Proteſtant Confeſſion was printed and tranſlated into all languages, before the Confutation could be had; which, like a child of darkneſs, ſhunned the light.

There were now ſo many marks of diſtinction eſtabliſhed between the two contending parties, that all hopes of a union diſappeared. When Melanchthon, on that account, gave himſelf up to melancholy and lamentation, Luther wrote him letters full of comfort; and aſked him, Whether he thought Belial to be greater than Chriſt? The caſe, indeed, ſeemed to be deſperate. For the Emperor inſiſted upon the Proteſtant Princes to return to the Mother-church, and, in caſe of reſiſtance, threatened to take vigorous meaſures againſt ſuch obſtinate heretics. But ſo firmly were they attached to the cauſe of truth, that they ſacrificed political intereſt and earthly acquiſition to it. One of them was heard to declare, that he would rather loſe his life, than the word of God. A ſevere decree of the Diet was iſſued againſt the Proteſtants, which almoſt amounted to a full prohibition of their religious liberty; and contained even encroachments upon their rights, as ſtates and citizens of the Empire. Charles himſelf acceded to the combination of Popiſh Princes for the maintenance of the eſtabliſhed religion. This alarmed the Proteſtant Princes, and they were convinced of the neceſſity of a ſimilar union for their own ſafety, as well as for the ſucceſs of their cauſe. Accordingly they aſſembled at Smalkalden, in December 1530, and concluded a treaty of mutual defence againſt all aggreſſors; by which they became a regular political body, and implored the Kings of France and England to aſſiſt their new confederacy. Luther was not quite ſatisfied with this league; and he often expreſſed his

apprehenſion, that if the Princes did depend on the force of arms, or made the firſt attacks, the flames of a religious war would be kindled all over Germany, not ſo eaſily to be extinguiſhed. The prediction was fulfilled after his death.

It is here the proper place to take a ſhort view of the riſe and progreſs of the Reformation in other countries. Luther had attacked the Popiſh ſyſtem with ſuch a formidable impetuoſity, that the very foundation of the Papal authority was ſhaken. Many circumſtances concurred to his aſtoniſhing ſucceſs in breaking the chains of ſuperſtition, and introducing a new ſyſtem of doctrines and rites; not only independent of, but adverſe to that of the eſtabliſhed Church. The minds of men were rouſed to ſhake off that yoke to which they had hitherto ſubmitted, and to aſſert their liberties, both as men and as Chriſtians. A ſpirit of innovation broke out in every part of Europe, and penetrated even into thoſe provinces which acknowledged the Papal ſupremacy. So early as in the year 1518, almoſt at the ſame time with Luther, in Switzerland Ulrich Zwinglius remonſtrated publicly againſt the ſcandalous trade of Indulgences, with the arguments of a profound divine, and the ſpirit of a republican, and the Reformation made ſuch a rapid progreſs in the Cantons, that in a few years it was compleated; though unhappily a diſſenſion took place between the party of Luther and that of the Swiſs Reformer, in the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which ſubſiſts to this day, though with leſs rancour and more toleration than in former times. Luther had the happineſs to ſee his cauſe eſpouſed by vaſt multitudes of people of every rank, not only in the provinces of Germany, but in the moſt powerful kingdoms of Europe. In France, the number of converts to the better form of religion and worſhip was in a ſhort time ſo great, that they ventured to contend for ſuperiority; but, under the name of Hugonots, they were perſecuted in a manner too ſhocking to relate. Henry VIII. of England, indeed, firſt remained zealouſly attached to the Romiſh Church, and was ſo exaſperated againſt Luther, that he wrote the book on the Seven Sacraments, in anſwer to his opponent's Treatiſe on the Babyloniſh Captivity; for which Leo X. as a teſtimony of gratitude, conferred on him the title of *Defender of the Faith.* But when he was oppoſed by the Pope, in his claim to a divorce with his Queen, he threw off his yoke of allegiance to the Holy Father, and acted upon the ſame principles, though not with the ſame wiſdom, as Luther, in reforming the errors and abuſes of the Church, and in ſtriking at the root of Papal dominion in his kingdom. Denmark, Sweden, and other northern countries ſoon were brought over to the ſame ſyſtem; and even in Italy, Spain, and other bigotted countries, the Proteſtant doctrines gained many proſelytes.

Many commotions enſued in all thoſe countries between the contending parties. The Romans, thinking themſelves excluſively poſſeſſed of Truth, and relying on the Pope as the pretended Vicar of Chriſt, and only Supreme Judge and Arbiter in Religion, perſecuted the Proteſtants with a cruelty which, even in the Pagan world, was unheard of; and endeavoured to compel thoſe by force, which they could not convince by arguments. Human nature recoils in recollecting the tortures and cruelties which were committed by that hydra, the Inquiſition, againſt innocent and defenceleſs Proteſtants. The hiſtory of France is ſtained with the treacherous and bloody maſſacre of all the Proteſtants, at the marriage of Henry, in the year 1572. Nor was it till the late Revolution, in 1789, that the Proteſtants were reinſtated in the rights of men and citizens by the formers of the New Conſtitution. Nor was the religious liberty of England bought without blood. The flames of Smithfield, in London; the Iriſh Maſſacre; the Gunpowder-Treaſon, may convince us of the open attacks, and of the ſecret machinations of Popery, to overturn the effects of Reformation, till it was eſtabliſhed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and after many changes and perſecutions between the Proteſtant parties themſelves, Toleration, though limited by ſome reſtrictions, was introduced at the glorious Revolution, in the year 1688, under King William. Germany was for near a century the theatre of war and bloodſhed. No ſooner had Luther cloſed his eyes, than the confederates of Smalkalde were involved in a war, in which the Head of the Proteſtant party, the Elector of Saxony, was taken priſoner. Charles V. by a ſtretch of his Imperial power, deprived that unfortunate but generous Prince of his Electoral dignity, and transferred it to Maurice, a Saxon Prince of another branch of the family; who with a view of ſuch a reward, had deſerted the Proteſtant cauſe, and joined the Emperor to take arms againſt his kinſman. About the ſame time the Landgrave of Heſſe, another aſſociate to the Smalkaldic League, was obliged to ſurrender himſelf and his dominions to the diſpoſal of the Emperor, and to accede to a moſt humiliating treaty. Thus the Reformation in Germany ſeemed to be overturned at once;

when

when, on a ſudden, Maurice began to act another part, and was made an inſtrument in the hand of God to revive it. It had been ſtipulated in the treaty with the Landgrave Maurice's father-in-law, that he ſhould not be kept in *any* impriſonment. The deed being written in the German tongue, the word *einiger*, which ſignifies *any*, by the fraudulence of the Imperial miniſters was changed into *ewiger*, which ſignifies *perpetual*. By the ſimilarity of letters it appears how eaſy it was to effect ſuch a commutation, that the Landgrave ſhould not be in perpetual impriſonment inſtead of that he was promiſed not to be in any. Maurice, finding his remonſtrances againſt ſuch an impoſition, and his interceſſion, to be of no effect with Charles, began to form deſigns againſt the Emperor, and, after a ſucceſsful attack, forced him to ſet the captives at liberty, and to ſign firſt *the peace at Paſſau* in the year 1552, and, three years after, *the Receſs of Augſburg*, which is the baſis of religious peace in Germany. There was, however, an article in that Receſs, which is called the Eccleſiaſtical Reſervation, by which it is enacted, that if any Prelate or Eccleſiaſtic ſhall hereafter abandon the Romiſh religion, he ſhall inſtantly relinquiſh his dioceſe or benefice. This article has proved the great barrier of the Romiſh Church in Germany againſt the Reformation; for few eccleſiaſtics have loved truth with that diſintereſted affection as for its ſake to ſacrifice the poſſeſſion of rich benefices. Had this article not been inſerted, there would at this time be no Roman Catholic in Germany. Another war, however, broke out in the year 1618, which laſted *thirty years*, in which the Proteſtant Princes fought with an unequal conteſt againſt the Roman confœderacy. The King of Sweden, Guſtavus Adolphus, a protector of the Proteſtant cauſe, was killed near Luzzen, a village in Saxony; and, after much confuſion and many bloody battles, the Proteſtant religion was eſtabliſhed for ever in Germany by the treaty of Weſtphalia, concluded in the year 1648.

The ſource from which ſo much perſecution and bloodſhed about religion has flowed is, the miſtaken notion that error may be extirpated by force, and that truth has a right to be defended by ſecular power. The true and genuine ſpirit of Chriſtianity, love, charity, and forbearance, were forgotten in thoſe turbulent and barbarous times. Many followers of Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, and of other founders of the Reformed Church, followed the ſame erroneous maxim, practiſed with ſuch horrors by the Church of Rome; and from miſtaken conceptions concerning the nature of religion and the rights of truth, turned the ſame weapons againſt each other which they had uſed againſt their common enemy, the Antichriſt. But, thanks be to God that the eyes of the world have been opened to ſee the calamities flowing from mutual perſecution, and that a ſpirit of love and toleration ſeems to ſpread over all Europe. The United Provinces firſt introduced toleration under its preſent form towards the cloſe of the ſeventeenth century; William of Orange introduced it in England; the good example has been followed by other princes and magiſtrates, and no more war and perſecution ſhall be heard of, when Religion and Chriſtianity is found not only in the heads, but in the hearts; not only upon the lips, but in the lives, of *its* profeſſors.

CHAP. VI.

DEATH AND INTERMENT OF LUTHER, AND HIS CHARACTER, BOTH AS A REFORMER AND A CHRISTIAN.

LUTHER died February the 18th in the year 1546, at Eiſleben, where he was born. The Almighty, who had protected him againſt ſo many dangers, ſaved him by a ſeaſonable death from the tempeſt which was gathering, and ready to break forth againſt his followers. When he felt his ſtrength declining, he made his laſt will, which is preſerved in its original ſtate at Wittemberg, and remarkable for the laſt words: " *I had my reaſons to omit in my laſt will the uſual legal formalities, and I hope I ſhall be credited more than a Notary. For I am well known in the world, ſince God, the Father of all mercy, has intruſted me, an unworthy ſinner, with the Goſpel of his Son, and enabled me to this day to preach it with truth, faithfulneſs, and perſeverance, that many perſons in the world have been converted by my miniſtry, and think me a doctor of truth notwithſtanding the ban of the Pope, the Emperor, and the wrath of many kings, princes, parſons, yea of all the devils. Why ſhould I then not be credited in a matter ſo inſignificant,*

ficant, particularly ſince my hand-writing is well known and ſufficient, if it can be ſaid, This is written by Dr. Martin Luther, the notary of God and the witneſs of his Goſpel." In a declining ſtate of health, and during a rigorous ſeaſon, he was called upon by the Count of Mansfeld to compoſe, by his authority, a diſſenſion, and to come to Eiſleben, where he was ſeized with an illneſs which was the cauſe of his death. Though he felt great pains, his native intrepidity did not forſake him; and he converſed to the laſt with his friends about the happineſs of the future world, and our meeting again there. When the pain began to increaſe, and death approached, he called for Juſtus Jonas, who had accompanied him from Halle upon is journey to Eiſleben, who heard him repeat three times theſe words: "*Father, into thy hand I give up my ſpirit*"—and ſay the following prayer: "*O my heavenly Father, who art the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, thou God of all comfort, I thank thee for having revealed to me thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, on whom I believe, whom I have preached and profeſſed, loved and praiſed, but who is deſpiſed and perſecuted by the Pope and all the wicked. I pray to thee, Lord Jeſus Chriſt, let my ſoul be recommended to thee. O my heavenly Father, though I muſt leave this body of clay, and depart this life, I know for certain, that I ſhall remain for ever with thee, and that no body ſhall pluck me out of thy hand.*" When ſome marks of approaching death appeared on his face, Jonas aſked him, Reverend Father, do you die in Chriſt, and upon the doctrine which you have preached? Having anſwered with a loud *Yes!* he fell in a ſoft ſleep and expired.

The Count of Mansfeld wiſhed much that the remains of that great man might be buried at his native place; but the Elector of Saxony deſired them to be brought to Wittemberg, where the funeral was celebrated with great pomp. The corpſe was laid in a tin coffin, and carried to St. Andrew's church at Eiſleben; where, on the ſucceeding days, Dr. Jonas and Coelius preached a funeral ſermon; the firſt on 1 Theſſ. iv. 13—18, the ſecond on Iſa. lvii. 1, 2. In a ſolemn proceſſion it was carried from thence to Wittemberg, where it was depoſited in a vault in the Electoral church. A brazen plate covers the grave, whereon is an inſcription to his memory; and oppoſite to it is the tomb of Melanchthon. The conduct of Charles V. was generous when his troops were quartered at Wittemberg in the year 1547. For when the Spaniards deſired that his tomb might be demoliſhed, and his bones dug up and burnt, the Emperor wiſely replied: "I have nothing further to do with Luther: he has henceforth another Judge, whoſe juriſdiction it is not lawful for me to uſurp. Know, that I make not war with the dead, but with the living, who ſtill make war with me." There were made many pictures of Luther in his lifetime and after his death; but the beſt likeneſs of him was that painted by Lucas Cranach, his friend and cotemporary, at Wittemberg. The ſpirit of his great ſoul was tranſparent in his ſparkling eyes, which they ſay nobody could hold it out long to look at.

Martin Luther has been juſtly celebrated as the greateſt man after the time of the Apoſtles. Many great and pious men, indeed, attempted before him to ſtop the current of Popiſh idolatry, ſuperſtition, and rapaciouſneſs; but they fell as victims of that haughty and overbearing power, and were ſilenced in the dungeon of priſons or in the flames of piles. It was reſerved for Luther to deliver the world from a more than Egyptian ſervitude; and he attacked a power by which monarchs had been cruſhed, not with the ſubmiſſive tameneſs of a lamb, but with the intrepid boldneſs of a lion. There is recorded a prophecy of John Huſs, who was burnt as an heretic at Conſtance, 1415, and had declared before his unrelenting judges: "You roaſt now a Gooſe, but in a hundred years hence a Swan will come, which you will be unable to deſtroy," alluding to the ſenſe of the two names, that of Huſs ſignifying in the Bohmiſh language, a gooſe, and that of Luther a ſwan. Certain it is, that Luther eſcaped all the dangers which ſurrounded him on every ſide; and that he carried on, unhurt, the great work of the Reformation, under the protection of Heaven, againſt the reſiſtance of the moſt formidable powers upon earth. His mind and his heart were endowed from above with more than common gifts, and ſuch talents as conſtitute a great Reformer. It is evident from this ſhort narrative of his life, that he was appointed by a higher hand, as the inſtrument for executing the great deſign of the divine government; and he was led on, ſtep by ſtep, under the moſt favourable circumſtances, to overturn the ſyſtem of Popery, and to eſtabliſh the Goſpel of Chriſt. The impious and impolitic meaſures of the Pope and Emperor on one ſide, and his wiſdom, prudence, and courage on the other, had the intended effect of producing a revolution which is the moſt aſtoniſhing in the annals of modern hiſtory. Little did he think at firſt that he was deſigned for ſuch a great work; but being rouſed by the perſecuting ſpirit of his antagoniſts, and forced by the moſt imminent dangers to defend himſelf, he was reſolved to ſtand or to fall with the juſt cauſe of truth, liberty,

liberty, and religion. Nor would he then come to any compromiſe with his enemies, or recur to palliatives and improper remedies to cure the evil; he aimed a deeper blow, to ſtrike at the very root of an authority, ſo prejudicial and oppoſite to the principles and rights of true Chriſtianity. He did not, however, pull down before he knew what he could build up in its ſtead; and all his proceedings were ſtamped with marks of the moſt circumſpect prudence and caution. The minds of men were prepared by degrees for ſuch a neceſſary and uſeful innovation in the doctrines and rites of the Church. As a good ſhepherd he did not only take care of the ſheep but of the lambs of his flock; and having provided grown people with the moſt ſalutary ſpiritual food by the tranſlation of the Bible, he wrote his Catechiſm to inſtruct the riſing generation in the principles of religion. This Catechiſm is one of his moſt meritorious compoſitions; for it contains the moſt eſſential points of Chriſtian doctrines and morals; as the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Two Sacraments, with ſhort and plain explanations; to which is added, a View of the relative Duties, expreſſed in Scripture words under their different heads, eaſily to be learned and underſtood by the capacity of children. Were Luther to riſe again, he would by no means conſent to the erroneous principles of thoſe enemies to human virtue who would diſcountenance a religious education. He would not have the untutored mind of youth and of the common people left to follow the bent of its own inclinations. He exhorted the princes and magiſtrates to eſtabliſh well-regulated ſchools, as ſeminaries of that practical knowledge which renders young perſons uſeful members of ſociety and wiſe unto ſalvation.

The Character of Luther has been given by that Britiſh Livy *Dr. Robertſon* *, with ſuch an impartiality, and in ſo elegant a ſtile, that an attempt to draw it better would prove abortive and be ſuperfluous. I tranſcribe it here for the uſe of my Readers

* The Hiſtory of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V. 6th edit. 1787, Vol. III. B. VIII. pag. 309. ſqq.

" As he was raiſed up by Providence to be the author of one of the greateſt and moſt intereſting revolutions recorded in hiſtory, there is not any perſon perhaps whoſe character has been drawn with ſuch oppoſite colours. In his own age, one party, ſtruck with horror and inflamed with rage, when they ſaw with what a daring hand he overturned every thing which they held to be ſacred, or valued as beneficial, imputed to him not only all the defects and vices of a man, but the qualities of a dæmon. The other, warmed with the admiration and gratitude which they thought he merited as the reſtorer of light and liberty to the Chriſtian Church, aſcribed to him perfections above the conditions of humanity, and viewed all his actions with a veneration bordering on that which ſhould be paid only to thoſe who are guided by the immediate inſpiration of Heaven. It is his own conduct, not the undiſtinguiſhing cenſure or the exaggerated praiſe of his cotemporaries, that ought to regulate the opinions of the preſent age concerning him. Zeal for what he regarded as truth, undaunted intrepidity to maintain his own ſyſtem, abilities both natural and acquired, to defend his principles, and unwearied induſtry in propagating them, are virtues which ſhine ſo conſpicuouſly in every part of his behaviour, that even his enemies muſt allow him to have poſſeſſed them in an eminent degree. To theſe may be added, with equal juſtice, ſuch purity, and even auſterity of manners, as became one who aſſumed the character of a Reformer; ſuch ſanctity of life as ſuited the doctrine which he delivered, and ſuch perfect diſintereſtedneſs as affords no ſlight preſumption of his ſincerity. Superior to all ſelfiſh conſiderations, a ſtranger to the elegancies of life, and deſpiſing its pleaſures, he left the honours and emoluments of the Church to his diſciples, remaining ſatisfied himſelf with his original ſtate of Profeſſor in the Univerſity, and Paſtor of the town of Wittemberg, with the moderate appointments annexed to theſe offices. His extraordinary qualities were allayed with no inconſiderable mixture of human frailty and human paſſions. Theſe, however, were of ſuch a nature, that they cannot be imputed to malevolence or corruption of heart, but ſeem to have taken their riſe from the ſame ſource with many of his virtues. His mind, forcible and vehement in all its operations, rouſed by great objects, or agitated by violent paſſions, broke out on many occaſions with an impetuoſity which aſtoniſhes men of feebler ſpirits, or ſuch as are placed in a more tranquil ſituation. By carrying ſome praiſe-worthy diſpoſitions to exceſs, he bordered ſometimes on what was culpable, and was often betrayed into actions which expoſed him to cenſure. His confidence that his own opinions were well founded, approached to arrogance; his courage in aſſerting them, to obſtinacy; and his zeal in confuting his adverſaries, to rage and ſcurrility. Accuſtomed himſelf to conſider every thing as ſubordinate to truth, he expected the ſame deference for it from other men; and without making any allowances for their timidity or prejudices, he poured forth againſt ſuch as diſappointed him in this particular, a torrent

of invective mingled with contempt. Regardleſs of any diſtinction of rank or character when his doctrines were attacked, he chaſtiſed all his adverſaries indiſcriminately with the ſame rough hand; neither the royal dignity of Henry VIII. nor the eminent learning and abilities of Eraſmus, ſcreened them from the ſame groſs abuſe with which he treated Tetzel or Eccius.

" But theſe indecencies of which Luther was guilty, muſt not be imputed wholly to the violence of his temper. They ought to be charged, in part, on the manners of the age. Among a rude people, unacquainted with thoſe maxims, which by putting continual reſtraints on the paſſions of individuals, have poliſhed ſociety, and rendered it agreeable; diſputes of every kind were managed with heat, and ſtrong emotions were uttered in their natural language, without reſerve or delicacy. At the ſame time, the works of learned men were all compoſed in Latin; and they were not only authoriſed, by the example of eminent writers in that language, to uſe their antagoniſts with the moſt illiberal ſcurrility, but in a dead tongue, indecencies of every kind appear leſs ſhocking, than in a living language, whoſe idioms and phraſes ſeem groſs, becauſe they are familiar.

" In paſſing judgment upon the characters of men, we ought to try them by the principles and maxims of their own age, not by thoſe of another. For, although virtue and vice are at all times the ſame, manners and cuſtoms vary continually. Some parts of Luther's behaviour, which to us appear moſt culpable, gave no diſguſt to his cotemporaries. It was even by ſome of thoſe qualities, which we are now apt to blame, that he was fitted for accompliſhing the great work which he undertook. To rouſe mankind, when ſunk in ignorance or ſuperſtition, and to encounter the rage of bigotry, armed with power, required the utmoſt vehemence of zeal, as well as a temper daring to exceſs. A gentle call would neither have reached, nor have excited thoſe to whom it muſt have been addreſſed. A ſpirit more amiable, but leſs vigorous than Luther's, would have ſhrunk back from the dangers which he braved and ſurmounted. Towards the cloſe of Luther's life, though without any perceptible diminution of his zeal or abilities, the infirmities of his temper increaſed upon him; ſo that he grew daily more peeviſh, more iraſcible, and more impatient of contradiction. Having lived to be a witneſs of his own amazing ſucceſs; to ſee a great part of Europe embrace his doctrines; and to ſhake the foundation of the Papal throne, before which the mightieſt monarchs had trembled, he diſcovered, on ſome occaſions, ſymptoms of vanity and ſelf-applauſe. He muſt have been, indeed, more than man, if, upon contemplating all that he actually accompliſhed, he had never felt any ſentiment of this kind riſing in his breaſt."

And thus it appears from the judgment of this impartial and eminent Hiſtorian, that even the little blemiſhes in the character of Luther ſerve, like the ſhadow in a picture, to heighten the light; and that ſome parts of his conduct, which have been cenſured, are rather deſerving of praiſe. We do not ſay that Luther was a ſun without a ſpot; but we confeſs that he was a great Reformer, and a ſincere Chriſtian. It has been at all times the lot of Believers, ſince the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, to be reviled by the world. Our Lord himſelf was not free from the aſperſions of malice. Luther ſhewed on every occaſion reſpect to ſuperiors, and obedience to lawful authority. But when he found himſelf treated in an unjuſt manner, and authority abuſed for the oppreſſion of innocence and truth, he looked upon Emperors, Kings, and Popes with contempt, and called them as enemies of God, by names which they were not uſed to hear from their flatterers. In his treatiſe, *Popery eſtabliſhed by the Devil*, he calls the Pope, inſtead of *holy*, a *helliſh*, father. If the change of the heart by the grace of God, and influence of his Holy Spirit; if a true and living faith in Chriſt, the Redeemer of the world; if the love of God's word and fervent prayer, conſtitute the character of a good Chriſtian, Luther is entitled to it in an eminent degree. He had, indeed, experienced this heart-changing power of Sovereign Grace; and was called in a ſtriking manner to the ſervice of Chriſt, and of his Church. He maintained, againſt the Phariſees of his time, that ſinful man was juſtified before God, not by his poor good works, but by faith alone. It was the prevailing doctrine of his age, as it ſeems to be in our modern times, that we are ſaved not by mercy, but by our own merit. He had reaſon to oppoſe a doctrine ſo contrary to the ſpirit of the goſpel; and at a time when the worſhipping of ſaints, faſting, pilgrimages, and penitences were ſubſtituted to ſelf-denial and righteous conduct. But ſo far was he from teaching or preaching a dead faith, that he always, like James himſelf, inſiſted upon a faith fruitful in good works; and exemplified, in his own life, the power of that living principle in the

human ſoul. "*Faith*," ſays he, "*is ever active. It does not enquire if good works are neceſſary to ſalvation. Before it enquires, it acts.*" The love of God's word has been always a criterion of good and pious people. Luther preferred the word of God, like David, to all the treaſures of the world; and by that rule of unerring wiſdom he was directed in his public and private character. Luther had the ſpirit of prayer, which diſtinguiſhes a child of God from the man of the world. There is a peculiar ſimplicity and power in the forms of prayer which he compoſed; and his hymns are reckoned the fineſt pieces of ſacred poetry in his age. So full of faith and heart-felt love and confidence was his ſoul, that he was ſure he was heard in whatever he prayed for. "*Lord*," ſaid he on a certain occaſion, "*thou* MUST *help me, for it is thy work.*" A ſhort time before his death he was often heard praying at the window, that the Lord might receive his ſoul, and eſtabliſh the kingdom of truth and peace after his death. The Lord has heard his prayer. For though he is dead, yét he ſpeaketh; and his doctrines are ſo deeply rooted, that they ſtill do and will flouriſh independent of that hand which planted them. May we, from this ſketch of the life and character of that great man, be convinced of what God has done in former times, for eſtabliſhing our faith by this Reformer; and endeavour to copy that illuſtrious example of faith, which he has left us as a Chriſtian!

The works of Luther have been publiſhed in Latin and German at Jena, Eiſleben, Wittemberg, and Leipſic; but the beſt edition is that publiſhed at Halle, in twenty-four volumes in quarto. His beſt writings are little known in this country; and the reaſon why they have not been tranſlated into Engliſh, is, perhaps, their being ſo voluminous.

The Work, which Mr. HEPTINSTALL is going to reprint, called LUTHER's COLLOQUIA, or TABLE-DISCOURSES, made a great noiſe at its firſt appearance in Germany, in the year 1569. Some, indeed, have called its authenticity in queſtion; but there is no reaſon to doubt of the teſtimony of Dr. John Auriſaber, which he gives at the end of the Preface; and, indeed, the full character of Luther's free manner of thinking and ſpeaking is ſeen almoſt in every line. The ſame manly, open, bold, and generous ſpirit breathes throughout the whole, as is felt in reading the compoſitions which he publiſhed himſelf in his life-time. There is a pleaſing variety of matters contained in theſe Diſcourſes, and many fundamental truths are propoſed in a familiar, careleſs dreſs, and in Luther's own witty, acute manner; for which reaſon it is as much entertaining to popular capacities, as to men of genius. Many good Chriſtians have found it to be of great benefit for eſtabliſhing their ſouls in the knowledge and practice of truth, and of the good old way; and ſince many weeds grow up from time to time in the Church, this book, handed down to poſterity, will be a ſtanding teſt of ſound doctrines, which our forefathers believed, and of ſuch wiſe principles on which they acted at, and after the time of the Reformation.

There are, indeed, many things which, for the credit of Luther, might as well have been left out. But then it muſt be conſidered, that ſuch Diſcourſes muſt not be brought to the teſt of our preſent refined age; that all what a man of Luther's name and character ſpoke, particularly at the latter part of his life, was thought by his friends worth the preſs, though himſelf meant it only for the recreation of the company; and that he altered many opinions in the progreſs from darkneſs to light. It is, however, with a work of this kind, as it is with the publiſhing of letters, which were never intended for the preſs; the Author ſpeaks his ſentiments more freely, and you are able to form a true idea of his character, by looking, as it were, into his heart.

The Narrative of Captain HENRY BELL, the Engliſh tranſlator, is, indeed, remarkable; and ſince the firſt publiſhing of the book was authoriſed by Parliament, there is no doubt but the reprinting of it will be patroniſed and encouraged by the Public.

I take a particular intereſt in the preſervation of the genuine doctrines of my countryman. I was born at the ſame place; baptized in the ſame church; inſtructed in the ſame truth; and I wiſh his cauſe to be triumphant at all times, and in all countries; becauſe I am convinced firmly, that it is founded on the unſhaken foundation of the unerring WORD OF GOD.

LONDON, in the *Savoy*,
Dec. 20, 1790.

Captain

Captain HENRY BELL's NARRATIVE:

OR,

Relation of the miraculous preſerving of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER's Book, entitled, *Colloquia Menſalia*, or, his *Divine Diſcourſes at his Table*, held with divers learned Men and pious Divines; ſuch as were Philip Melancthon, Caſparus Cruciger, Juſtus Jonas, Paulus Eberus, Vitus Dietericus, Joannes Bugenhagen, Joannes Forſterus, and others:

CONTAINING

Divers Diſcourſes touching Religion, and other main Points of Doctrine; as alſo many notable Hiſtories, and all Sorts of Learning, Comforts, Advices, Prophecies, Admonitions, Directions, and Inſtructions: and how the ſame Book was, by God's Providence, diſcovered lying under the Ground, where it had lain hid Fifty-two Years; and was few years ſince ſent over to the ſaid Captain HENRY BELL, and by him tranſlated out of the High German into the Engliſh Tongue.

"I Captain Henry Bell do hereby declare, both to the preſent age, and alſo to poſterity, that being employed beyond the ſeas in ſtate affairs divers years together, both by King James, and alſo by the late King Charles, in Germany, I did hear and underſtand, in all places, great bewailing and lamentation made, by reaſon of the deſtroying and burning of above fourſcore thouſand of Martin Luther's books; entitled, HIS LAST DIVINE DISCOURSES.

" For after ſuch time as God ſtirred up the ſpirit of Martin Luther to detect the corruptions and abuſes of Popery, and to preach Chriſt, and clearly to ſet forth the ſimplicity of the Goſpel, many Kings, Princes, and States, Imperial Cities, and Hans-Towns, fell from the Popiſh Religion, and became Proteſtants, as their poſterities ſtill are, and remain to this very day.

" And for the further advancement of the great work of Reformation then begun, the aforeſaid Princes, and the reſt did then order, that the ſaid Divine Diſcourſes of Luther ſhould forthwith be printed; and that every pariſh ſhould have and receive one of the aforeſaid printed books into every Church throughout all their principalities and dominions, to be chained up, for the common people to read therein.

" Upon which divine work, or Diſcourſes, the Reformation began before in Germany, was wonderfully promoted and encreaſed, and ſpread both here in England, and other countries beſides.

" But afterwards it ſo fell out, that the Pope then living, *viz.* Gregory XIII. underſtanding what great hurt and prejudice he and his Popiſh religion had already received, by reaſon of the ſaid Luther's Divine Diſcourſes, and alſo fearing that the ſame might bring further contempt and miſchief upon himſelf, and upon the Popiſh Church, he therefore, to prevent the ſame, did fiercely ſtir up and inſtigate the Emperor then in being, *viz.* Rudolphus II. to make an Edict throughout the whole Empire, that all the aforeſaid printed books ſhould be burned; and alſo, that it ſhould be death for any perſon to have or keep a copy thereof, but alſo to burn the ſame: which Edict was ſpeedily put in execution accordingly; inſomuch that not one of all the ſaid printed books, nor ſo much as any one copy of the ſame, could be found out nor heard of in any place.

" Yet it pleaſed God, that, *anno* 1626, a German gentleman, named Caſparus Van Sparr, with whom, in the time of my ſtaying in Germany about King James's buſineſs, I became very familiarly known and acquainted, having occaſion to build upon the old foundation of an houſe, wherein his grandfather dwelt at that time, when the ſaid Edict was publiſhed in Germany for the burning of the aforeſaid books; and digging deep into the ground,

ground, under the ſaid old foundation, one of the ſaid original books was there happily found, lying in a deep obſcure hole, being wrapped in a ſtrong linen cloth, which was waxed all over with bees-wax, within and without; whereby the book was preſerved fair, without any blemiſh.

" And at the ſame time Ferdinandus II. being Emperor in Germany, who was a ſevere enemy and perſecutor of the Proteſtant religion, the aforeſaid gentleman and grandchild to him that had hidden the ſaid books in that obſcure hole, fearing that if the ſaid Emperor ſhould get knowledge that one of the ſaid books was yet forth-coming, and in his cuſtody, whereby not only himſelf might be brought into trouble, but alſo the book in danger to be deſtroyed, as all the reſt were ſo long before; and alſo calling me to mind, and knowing that I had the High Dutch Tongue very perfect, did ſend the ſaid original book over hither into England unto me; and therewith did write unto me a letter, wherein he related the paſſages of the preſerving and finding out the ſaid book.

" And alſo he earneſtly moved me in his letter, that for the advancement of God's glory, and of Chriſt's Church, I would take the pains to tranſlate the ſaid book, to the end, that *that* moſt excellent divine work of Luther might be brought again to light.

" Whereupon I took the ſaid book before me, and many times began to tranſlate the ſame, but always I was hindered therein, being called upon about other buſineſs; inſomuch that by no poſſible means I could remain by that work. Then, about ſix weeks after I had received the ſaid book, it fell out, that I being in bed with my wife one night, between twelve and one of the clock, ſhe being aſleep, but myſelf yet awake, there appeared unto me an ancient man, ſtanding at my bedſide, arrayed all in white, having a long and broad white beard, hanging down to his girdle ſteed; who taking me by my right ear, ſpake theſe words following unto me: *Sirrah! will not you take time to tranſlate that book which is ſent unto you out of Germany? I will ſhortly provide for you both place and time to do it*; and then he vaniſhed away out of my ſight.

" Whereupon being much thereby affrighted, I fell into an extreme ſweat; inſomuch that my wife awaking, and finding me all over wet, ſhe aſked me what I ailed? I told her what I had ſeen and heard; but I never did heed nor regard viſions nor dreams. And ſo the ſame fell ſoon out of my mind.

" Then about a fortnight after I had ſeen that viſion, on a Sunday, I went to Whitehall to hear the ſermon; after which ended, I returned to my lodging, which was then in King-ſtreet, at Weſtminſter, and ſitting down to dinner with my wife, two Meſſengers were ſent from the whole Council-board, with a warrant to carry me to the keeper of the Gatehouſe, Weſtminſter, there to be ſafely kept, until further order from the Lords of the Council; which was done without ſhewing me any cauſe * at all, wherefore I was committed. Upon which ſaid warrant I was kept there ten whole years cloſe priſoner, where I ſpent five years thereof about the tranſlating of the ſaid book; inſomuch as I found the words very true which the old man, in the aforeſaid viſion, did ſay unto me—*I will ſhortly provide for you both place and time to tranſlate it.*

" Then after I had finiſhed the ſaid tranſlation in the priſon, the late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud, underſtanding that I had tranſlated ſuch a book, called, MARTIN LUTHER'S DIVINE DISCOURSES, ſent unto me his Chaplain, Dr. Bray, into the priſon, with this Meſſage following:

' Captain BELL!

' MY Lord, Grace of Canterbury, hath ſent me unto you, to tell you, that his ' Grace hath underſtood that you have tranſlated a book of Luther's; touching which ' book his Grace, many years before, did hear of the burning of ſo many thouſands in Ger- ' many, by the then Emperor. His Grace therefore doth deſire you, that you would ſend ' unto him the ſaid original book in Dutch, and alſo your tranſlation; which, after his ' Grace hath peruſed, ſhall be returned ſafely unto you.'

" Whereupon I told Doctor Bray, that I had taken a great deal of pains in tranſlating the ſaid book, and was very loth to part with it out of my hands; and therefore I deſired him to excuſe me to his Grace, that I could not part from it; with which anſwer he at that time returned again to his maſter.

" But the next day after he ſent him unto me again, and bid him tell me that, upon his honor, the book ſhould be as ſafe in his cuſtody, if not ſafer, than in mine own; for he would lock it up in his own cabinet, to the end no man might come unto it, but only himſelf.

* Whatſoever was pretended, yet the true cauſe of the Captain's commitment was, becauſe he was urgent with the Lord Treaſurer for his Arrears; which, amounting to a great ſum, he was not willing to pay; and to be freed from his clamors, he clapt him up into priſon.

ſelf. Thereupon I knowing it would a thing bootleſs for me to refuſe the ſending of them, by reaſon he was then of ſuch great power, that he would have them *nolens, volens*, I ſent them both unto him. Then after he had kept them in his cuſtody two months, and had daily read therein, he ſent the ſaid Doctor unto me, to tell me that I had performed a work worthy of eternal memory, and that he had never read a more excellent divine work; yet ſaying that ſome things therein were fitting to be left out, and deſired me not to think long, that he did not return them unto me ſo ſoon again. The reaſon was, becauſe that the more he did read therein, the more deſire he had to go on therewith; and ſo preſenting me with ten livres in gold, he returned back again.

After which, when he had them in his cuſtody one whole year, and that I underſtood he had peruſed it all over, then I ſent unto his Grace, and humbly deſired, that his Grace would be pleaſed to return me my books again. Whereupon he ſent me word by the ſaid Dr. Bray, that he had not as yet peruſed them ſo thoroughly over as he deſired to do; then I ſtaid yet a year longer before I ſent to him again.

In which time I heard for certain, that it was concluded by the King and Council, that a Parliament ſhould forthwith be called; at which news I did much rejoice. And then I ſent unto his Grace an humble petition, and therein deſired the returning of my book again; otherwiſe I told him I ſhould be enforced to make it known, and to complain of him to the Parliament, which was then coming on. Whereupon he ſent unto me again ſafely both the ſaid original book, and my tranſlation, and cauſed his Chaplain, the ſaid Doctor, to tell me, that he would make it known unto his Majeſty what an excellent piece of work I had tranſlated, and that he would procure an order from his Majeſty to have the ſaid tranſlation printed, and to be diſperſed throughout the whole kingdom, as it was in Germany, and as he had heard thereof; and thereupon he preſented me again with 40 livres in gold.

And preſently after I was ſet at liberty by warrant from the whole Houſe of Lords, according to his Majeſty's direction in that behalf: but ſhortly afterwards the Archbiſhop fell into his troubles, and was by the Parliament ſent unto the Tower, and afterwards beheaded. Inſomuch that I could never ſince hear any thing touching the printing of my book.

The Houſe of Commons having then notice that I had tranſlated the foreſaid book; they ſent for me, and did appoint a Committee to ſee it, and the tranſlation, and diligently to make enquiry whether the tranſlation did agree with the original or no; whereupon they deſired me to bring the ſame before them, ſitting then in the Treaſury-Chamber. And Sir Edward Dearing being Chairman, ſaid unto me, that he was acquainted with a learned miniſter beneficed in Eſſex, who had lived long in England, but was born in High Germany, in the Palatinate, named, Mr. Paul Amiraut, whom the Committee ſending for, deſired him to take both the original and my tranſlation into his cuſtody, and diligently to compare them together, and to make report unto the ſaid Committee, whether he found that I had rightly and truly tranſlated it according to the original: which report he made accordingly, and they being ſatisfied therein, referred it to two of the Aſſembly, Mr. Charles Herle, and Mr. Edward Corbet, deſiring them diligently to peruſe the ſame, and to make report unto them, if they thought it fitting to be printed and publiſhed.

Whereupon they made report dated the 10th of November, 1646, that they found it to be an excellent Divine Work, worthy the light and publiſhing, eſpecially in regard that Luther, in the ſaid Diſcourſes, did revoke his opinion, which he formerly held, touching Conſubſtantiation in the Sacrament. Whereupon the Houſe of Commons the 24th of February, 1646, did give order for the printing thereof.

Thus having been lately deſired to ſet down in writing the relation of the paſſages aboveſaid concerning the ſaid book, as well for the ſatisfaction of judicious and godly Chriſtians, as for the conſervation of the perpetual memory of God's extraordinary providence in the miraculous preſervation of the aforeſaid Divine Diſcourſes, and now bringing them again to light: I have done the ſame according to the plain truth thereof, not doubting but they will prove a notable advantage of God's glory, and the good and edification of the whole Church, and an unſpeakable conſolation of every particular member of the ſame.

Given under my hand the third day of July, 1650.

HENRY BELL.

A COPY of the ORDER from the HOUSE of COMMONS.

24th February, 1646.

WHEREAS Captain Henry Bell hath ſtrangely diſcovered and found a Book of Martin Luther's, called, his Divine Diſcourſes, which was for a long time very marvellouſly preſerved in Germany: the which book, the ſaid Henry Bell at his great coſts and pains hath tranſlated into the Engliſh out of the German Tongue, which Tranſlation and ſubſtance thereof is approved by Reverend Divines of the Aſſembly, as appears by a Certificate under their hands:

It is Ordered and Ordained by the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament, that the ſaid Henry Bell ſhall have the ſole diſpoſal and benefit of Printing the ſaid Book tranſlated into Engliſh by him as aforeſaid, for the ſpace of fourteen years, to commence from the date hereof. And that none do Print or Re-print the ſame but ſuch as ſhall be licenſed by the ſaid Captain by Authority under his hand.

(Vera Copia) HENRY ELSYNG.

The TESTIMONY of JO. AURIFABER, Doctor in Divinity, concerning LUTHER'S Divine Diſcourſes.

AND whereas hitherto I have cauſed certain tomes of the Books, Sermons, Writings, and Miſſives of Luther to be printed at Eiſleven, ſo have I alſo now finiſhed this tome of his Diſcourſes, and have ordered the ſame to be printed, which at the firſt were collected together out of the Manuſcripts of theſe Divine Diſcourſes, which that Reverend Father Anthony Lauterbach himſelf noted and wrote out of the holy mouth of Luther, and afterwards the ſame by me were collected into ſure and certain Loci Communis, or, Common-places, and diſtributed.

And whereas I Joannes Aurifaber (in the years 1545 and 1546, before the death of that moſt famous Divine Luther) was much with and about him, and with all diligence writ and noted down many moſt excellent Hiſtories and Acts, and other moſt neceſſary and uſeful things which he related: I have therefore ſet in order and brought the ſame alſo into this tome.

Now foraſmuch as very excellent declaration is made in this tome of all the Articles and chief points of Chriſtian Religion, Doctrine and Faith; and alſo therein are found neceſſary Rules, Queſtions and Anſwers, many fair Hiſtories, all ſorts of Learnings, Comforts, Advices, Prophecies, Warnings and Admonitions; I have therefore thought it a thing fitting to dedicate the ſame to your Highneſſes, Graces, Honors and Worſhips, &c. as ſpecial favorers, protectors, and defenders of the Doctrines which God, through Luther, hath cleared again, to the end that by diligent reading therein, you may be Preſident, and give good examples to others, to your ſubjects, citizens, &c. diligently to love, to read, to affect the ſame, and t make good uſe thereof, as being fragments that fell from Luther's Table, and therewith may help to ſtill, to ſlake and to ſatisfy the ſpiritual hunger and thirſt of the ſoul. For theſe moſt profitable Diſcourſes of Luther, containing ſuch high ſpiritual things, we ſhould in no wiſe ſuffer to be loſt, but worthily eſteem thereof, whereout all manner of learning, joy, and comfort may be had and received.

Given at Eiſlebeu,
July 7th. 1569.

DR. AURIFABER, in his Preface to the Book.

A REGISTER of the Chief Points and Heads contained in theſe LAST DISCOURSES of MARTIN LUTHER.

1 OF God's Word, or the Holy Scriptures.
2 Of God's Works.
3 Of the Creation.
4 Of the World, and of the manner thereof.
5 Of Idolatry.
6 Of the Holy Trinity.
7 Of the Lord Chriſt.
8 Of the Holy Ghoſt.
9 Of Sin.
10 Of Free-will.
11 Of the holy Catechiſm.
12 Of the Law and Goſpel.
13 That Faith in Chriſt juſtifieth before God.
14 Of Good Works.
15 Of Prayer.
16 Of the Confeſſion, and Conſtancy of Doctrine.
17 Of Baptiſm.
18 Of Auricular Confeſſion.
19 Of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.
20 Of the Chriſtian Church.
21 Of Excommunication, and the Juriſdiction of the Church.
22 Of Preachers, and Church-Officers.
23 Of the Antichriſt, or Pope.
24 Of Human Traditions.
25 Of the Maſs.
26 Of Purgatory.
27 Of General Councils.
28 Of Imperial Diets.
29 Of the Books of the Fathers of the Church.
30 Of School-Divines.
31 Of the Old and New Teſtaments.
32 Of the Patriarchs and Prophets.
33 Of the Apoſtles and Diſciples of Chriſt.
34 Of Angels.
35 Of the Devil and his Works.
36 Of Tribulation and Temptation.
37 Of Luther's Adverſaries.
38 Of certain Papiſt's ſudden and fearful Deaths.
39 Of Friars.
40 Of Cardinals and Biſhops.
41 Of the Pope's Spiritual Laws.
42 Of Ceremonies.
43 Of Seducers and Sectaries that oppoſed Luther.
44 Of Chriſtians and a Chriſtian Life.
45 Of Hypocrites and falſe Brethren.
46 Of Sophiſtry.
47 Of Offences.
48 Of the true Service of God.
49 Of Matrimony.
50 Of Magiſtrates and Rulers.
51 Of Potentates and Princes.
52 Of Diſcord.
53 Of Sickneſſes, and the cauſes thereof.
54 Of Death.
55 Of the Reſurrection and everlaſting Life.
56 Of Damnation and Hell.
57 Of the laſt Day of Judgment.
58 Of Allegories and Spiritual Expoſitions of the Scriptures, and how we ought to carry ourſelves therein.
59 Of the Legends and Stories of the Saints.
60 Of Spiritual and Church-livings.
61 Of Wars.
62 Of Valiant Warriors and Champions.
63 Of Conſtrained Defence.
64 Of the Nobility.
65 Of Lawyers.
66 Of Schools and Univerſities.
67 Of Muſick.
68 Of Languages.
69 Of Aſtronomy and Aſtrology.
70 Of Signs in the Air.
71 Of Studying.
72 Of Learned Men.
73 Of the Jews and their Wickedneſſes.
74 Of the Turks.
75 Of Countries and Cities.
76 Of Rome.
77 Of Vocation and Calling.
78 Of Drunkenneſs.
79 Of the Court Life.

Alſo many other Diſcourſes of LUTHER touching all manners of Affairs, collected together out of his Written Books.

COL-

COLLOQUIA;

OR, THE

FAMILIAR DISCOURSES

OF THAT PRECIOUS MAN OF GOD

DR. MARTIN LUTHER,

OF HAPPY MEMORY,

Which he held for many Years together with Learned Men, alſo with Strangers, and thoſe that ordinarily converſed with him,

TAKEN FROM HIS OWN MOUTH,

And committed to Writing by ſeveral Godly Divines; and diligently gathered together and ſet down here according to the Articles of our Chriſtian Religion.

CHAP. I.

Of the Word of God; or the Holy Scriptures contained in the Bible.

THE Bible, or Holy Scripture (ſaid *Luther*), is like a fair and ſpacious orchard, wherein all ſorts of trees do grow, from which we may pluck divers kinds of fruits; for in the Bible we have rich and precious comforts, learnings, admonitions, warnings, promiſes, and threatenings, &c. There is not a tree in this orchard on which I have not knocked, and have ſhaken at leaſt a couple of apples or pears from the ſame.

Proofs that the Bible is the Word of God.

THAT the Bible is the Word of God (ſaid *Luther*), the ſame I prove as followeth. All things that have been and now are in the world, alſo how it now goeth and ſtandeth in the world, the ſame was written altogether particularly at the beginning, in the Firſt Book of Moſes concerning the Creation. And even as God made and created it, even ſo it was, even ſo it is, and even ſo doth it ſtand to this preſent day. And although King Alexander the Great, the kingdom of Egypt, the empire of Babel, the Perſian, Grecian, and Roman Monarchs, the Emperors Julius and Auguſtus, moſt fiercely did rage and ſwell againſt this Book, utterly to ſuppreſs and deſtroy the ſame; yet, notwithſtanding, they could prevail nothing: they are all gone and vaniſhed; but this Book, from time to time, hath remained, and will remain unremoved, in full and ample manner, as it was written at the firſt. But who kept and preſerved it from ſuch great and raging power? or, Who defendeth it ſtill? Truly (ſaid *Luther*), no human creature, but only and alone God himſelf, who is the right

Maſter thereof: and it is a great wonder that it hath been ſo long kept and preſerved, for the devil and the world are great enemies unto it. The devil (doubtleſs) hath deſtroyed many good books in the Church, as he hath rooted out and ſlain many ſaints, concerning whom we have now no knowledge. But (no thanks unto him) the Bible he was fain to leave unmeddled with. In like manner Baptiſm, the Sacrament, and the Office of Preaching, hath remained among us againſt the power of many tyrants and heretics that have oppoſed the ſame. Theſe our Lord God hath kept and maintained by his ſpecial ſtrength. Homer, Virgil, and ſuch like, are profitable and ancient books; but, in compariſon of the Bible, they are nothing to be regarded.

By whom and at what Times the Bible was tranſlated.

TWO hundred forty-one years before the humanity of Chriſt, the Five Books of Moſes, and the Prophets, were tranſlated out of the Hebrew into the Greek tongue by the Septuagint Interpreters, the ſeventy doctors or learned men then at Jeruſalem, in the time of Eleazer the High-prieſt, at the requeſt of Ptolemeus Philadelphus, King of Egypt; which King allowed great charges and expences for the tranſlating of the ſame.

Then, one hundred twenty-four years after the birth of Chriſt his death and paſſion, the Old Teſtament was tranſlated out of Hebrew into Greek by a Jew, named Aquila (being converted to the Chriſtian faith), in the time of Adrian the Emperor.

Fifty and three years after this Aquila, the Bible was alſo tranſlated by Theodoſius.

In the three-and-thirtieth year after Theodoſius, it was tranſlated by Symmachus, under the Emperor Severus.

Eight years after Symmachus, the Bible was alſo tranſlated by one (whoſe name is unknown), and the ſame is called the Fifth Tranſlation.

Afterwards the Bible was tranſlated by Hieronymus (who firſt mended and corrected the Seventy Interpreters) out of Hebrew into the Latin tongue, which tranſlation we uſe to this day in the Church. And truly (ſaid *Luther*), he did enough for one man; *Nulla enim privata perſona tantum efficere potuiſſet.* But he had not done amiſs if he had taken one or two learned men to his tranſlation beſides himſelf, for then the Holy Ghoſt would more powerfully have been diſcerned, according to Chriſt's ſaying: *Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there will I be in the midſt of them.* And indeed (ſaid *Luther*), tranſlators or interpreters ought not to be alone, for good and apt words do not always fall to one ſingle man. And ſo long as the Bible was in the Church of the Gentiles, it was never yet in ſuch perfection, that it could have been read ſo exactly and ſignificantly without ſtop, as we have prepared the ſame here at Wittemberg, and (God be praiſed) have tranſlated it out of Hebrew into the High German tongue.

Of the Differences between the Bible and other Books.

THE Holy Scripture, or the Bible (ſaid *Luther*), is full of divine gifts and virtues. The books of the Heathen taught nothing of Faith, Hope, and Love; nay, they knew nothing at all of the ſame; their books aimed only at that which was preſent, at that which, with natural wit and underſtanding, a human creature was able to comprehend and take hold of; but to truſt in God and hope in

the Lord, nothing was written thereof in their books. In the Pſalms and in Job we may ſee and find how thoſe two books do treat and handle of Faith, of Hope, of Patience, and Prayer.

To be ſhort, the Holy Scripture (ſaid *Luther*) is the beſt and higheſt book of God, full of comfort in all manner of trials and temptations; for it teacheth of Faith, Hope, and Love, far otherwiſe than by human reaſon and underſtanding can be comprehended. And, in times of troubles and vexations, it teacheth how theſe virtues ſhould light and ſhine; it teacheth alſo, that after this poor and miſerable life, there is another which is eternal and everlaſting.

What we ought chiefly to ſeek for in the Bible, and how we ought to ſtudy and learn the Holy Scriptures.

THE chief leſſon and ſtudy in Divinity (ſaid *Luther*) is, well and rightly to learn to know Chriſt, for he is therein very friendly and familiarly pictured unto us. From hence St. Peter ſaith: *Grow up in the knowledge of Chriſt*; and Chriſt himſelf alſo teacheth that we ſhould learn to know him only out of the Scriptures, where he ſaith: *Search the Scriptures, for they do teſtify of me.*

We ought not (ſaid Luther) to meaſure, cenſure, and underſtand the Scriptures according to our own natural ſenſe and reaſon, but we ought diligently by prayer to meditate therein, and to ſearch after the ſame. The devil and temptations alſo do give occaſion unto us ſomewhat to learn and underſtand the Scriptures by experience and practice. Without trials and temptations we ſhould never underſtand any thing thereof; no, not although we diligently read and heard the ſame. The Holy Ghoſt muſt be the only maſter and tutor to teach us therein, and let youth and ſcholars not be aſhamed to learn of this tutor. When I find myſelf in temptation, then I quickly lay hold and faſten on ſome text in the Bible which Chriſt Jeſus layeth before me; namely, *that he died for me*, from whence I have and receive comfort.

That we ſhould diligently read the Texts of the Bible, and ſtay ourſelves upon it as the only true Foundation.

WHOSO layeth a good foundation and is a ſubſtantial Text-man, that is, he that is well grounded in the Text, the ſame hath whereupon he ſurely may keep footing, and runneth not lightly into error. And truly (ſaid *Luther*) the ſame is moſt neceſſary for a Divine; for, with the texts and grounds of the Holy Scriptures, I dazzled, aſtoniſhed, and overcame all my adverſaries; for they approach dreamingly and lazily; they teach and write according to their natural ſenſe, reaſon, and underſtanding, and they think the Holy Scripture is a ſlight and a ſimple thing; like the Phariſee, who thought a buſineſs ſoon done, when our Saviour Chriſt ſaid unto him, *Do that, and thou ſhalt live.* The ſectaries and ſeducing ſpirits underſtand nothing in the Scriptures; but with their fickle, inconſtant, and uncertain books, which they have deviſed, they run themſelves into error.

Whoſo is armed with the Text, the ſame is a right paſtor; and my beſt advice and counſel is (ſaid *Luther*), that we draw water out of the true fountain, that is, diligently to read in the Bible. He is a learned Divine that is well grounded in the Text: for one text and ſentence out of the Bible is of far more eſteem and value than many writings and gloſſes, which neither are ſtrong, ſound,

ſound, nor armour of proof. As, when I have that text before me of St. Paul, where he ſaith: *All the creatures of God are good, if they be received with thankſgiving.* This text ſheweth, that what God hath made is good. Now eating, drinking, marrying, &c. are of God's making, therefore they are good. But the gloſſes of the Primitive Fathers are againſt this text: for St. Bernard, Baſil, Dominicus, Hieronymus, and others, have written far otherwiſe of the ſame. But I prefer the Text before them all, and it is far more to be eſteemed of than all their gloſſes; yet, notwithſtanding, in Popedom, the gloſſes of the Fathers were of higher regard than the bright and clear text of the Bible; through which great wrong oftentimes is done to the Holy Scriptures; for the good Fathers (as Ambroſe, Baſil, and Gregory) have oft-times written very cold things touching the Divine word.

That the Bible is the Head of all Arts.

LET us not loſe the Bible (ſaid *Luther*); but with all diligence, and in God's fear, read and preach the ſame; for if that remaineth, flouriſheth, and be taught, then all is ſafe. She is the head and empreſs of all faculties and arts. If Divinity falleth, then whatſoever remaineth beſides is nothing worth.

Of the Art of the School Divines in the Bible.

THE art of the School Divines (ſaid *Luther*) with their ſpeculations in the Holy Scriptures, are merely vain and human reaſonings, ſpun out of their own natural wit and underſtanding, of which I have read much in Bonaventura; but he had almoſt made me deaf. I fain would have learned and underſtood out of that book, how God and my ſinful ſoul had been reconciled together; but of that there was nothing to be found therein. They talk much of the union of the will and underſtanding, but all is mere fantaſy and folly. The right and true ſpeculation is this: *Believe in Chriſt; do what thou oughteſt to do in thy vocation*, &c. This is the only practice in Divinity. Alſo, *Myſtica Theologia Dionyſii* is a mere fable, and a lie, like to Plato's Fables; *Omnia ſunt non ens, et omnia ſunt ens*; All is ſomething, and all is nothing: and ſo he leaveth all hanging in frivolous and idle ſort.

True and upright Divinity conſiſteth in the practice, uſe, and exerciſe; her foundation is Chriſt, ſhe taketh hold by faith on his paſſion, death, and reſurrection. All thoſe (ſaid *Luther*) that concur not with us, and have not this doctrine before their eyes, the ſame do feign unto themſelves but only a ſpeculated Divinity, according to their carnal ſenſe and reaſon, and according as they uſe to cenſure in temporal cauſes; for no man can divert them from theſe opinions, namely, *whoſo doth good works, and liveth an honeſt and civil kind of life, the ſame is an upright Chriſtian, and he is well and ſafe*; but they are therein far deceived, for this is the truth indeed; *whoſo feareth God, and truſteth in him, the ſame moſt ſurely will be well and ſafe at laſt.*

Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) theſe ſpeculating Divines belong directly to the devil in hell. They follow their own opinions, and what with their five ſenſes they are able to comprehend; and ſuch is alſo Origen's divinity. But David is of another mind, he acknowledgeth his ſins, and ſaith; *Miſerere mei Domini*, God be merciful to me a ſinner. At the hands of theſe ſophiſticated Divines, God can ſcarcely obtain, that he is God alone; much leſs can he find this favour of them, that they ſhould allow only him to be good and juſt, nay, very hardly will they yield, that he is an immortal God.

That

That no one is able to ſearch, or to ſtudy out the Depth of the Bible.

THE Holy Scripture (ſaid *Luther*) is ſuch a wiſdom which no man is able to learn and ſtudy out; we muſt continually remain ſcholars therein, for we cannot ſufficiently ſound out the depth of one word in holy Scriptures; we have and keep but only the firſtlings, and when we think we underſtand much therein, then have we ſcarcely learned A B C. Who (ſaid *Luther*) is able to know himſelf? we ſee and find how badly man's heart is ſpoiled and poiſoned by original ſin, which is deeply rooted in us; ſo is likewiſe God's will far deeper, which with our five ſenſes we can neither comprehend nor underſtand. Who is able to comprehend this one ſentence, where St. Peter ſaith: *Rejoice, inaſmuch as ye are partakers of Chriſt's ſufferings.* Here St. Peter will have us to rejoice in our deepeſt miſery and trouble, yea, ſurely, even as willingly as a child kiſſeth the rod. But let thoſe Epicures go, thoſe proud and inſolent worldly-wiſe men that contemn and ſcorn the holy writ, and think they have ſtudied out the ſame, as Doctor Jacob Schenck and Michael Cocleus, who are a plague and a poiſon to Religion, and whoſe fruits and ends of their contemning of God's Word will turn to madneſs and blindneſs. Ah, Lord God! (ſaid *Luther*) how dare we preſume to deal ſo wickedly in thy holy ſanctuary, and caſt under feet thy Word and Scripture, to maſter and to wreſt the ſame after our carnal wiſdom and underſtanding, and to be ſo ſlow and cold in thy Divine Word, when the Gentiles in their falſe Religion were ſo fervent and zealous, that the women and matrons ſwept their temples and churches with the hair of their heads.

And (ſaid *Luther*) as on the one ſide we underſtand not God's Word, ſo on the other ſide we are not able to conceive and cenſure any thing of God's doings and proceedings in this world. And this was well ſeen in Adam, when he had but two ſons, the firſt-born named Cain, that is, a houſe-father: this ſon, as Adam and Eve thought, ſhould have been the man of God, and the bleſſed ſeed that ſhould have cruſhed the ſerpent's head. Afterwards, when Eve became with child again, then they hoped to have gotten a daughter, that their loving ſon Cain might have a wife; but ſhe bearing again a ſon, called his name Abel, that is, Vain and nothing worth; as if ſhe would ſay, My hope is now gone, and I am deceived. But this was a figure of the world and the true Church, from whence we learn how it uſeth to go in this world; for Cain, that ungodly wretch, was a great man, and Lord in the world; but Abel, that upright, good, and godly man, muſt be the out-caſt, nothing at all eſteemed of, he muſt be ſubject to his wicked brother, and of him ſuppreſſed.

But before God the caſe was quite and clean contrary; for Cain was of God rejected, but Abel accepted and received, and was the loving child of God. And (ſaid *Luther*) the like is daily ſeen and practiſed here on earth, therefore we ought not to regard the courſe and proceedings in this world. Iſmael had alſo a fair name, and was called a hearer of God; but Iſaac was nothing worth. Eſau was named the Actor, and the man that ſhould do the deed; Jacob was of no value. Likewiſe, the name Abſolom is a father of peace. Such fair and glorious colours the ungodly do always carry in this world; but in truth, and in the act, they are comtemners, ſcoffers, and rebels. Theſe and the like fellows we (God be praiſed) out of God's Word are able to cenſure and to know them; therefore let us hold the Bible in precious eſteem, and diligently love and read the ſame.

To the underſtanding of the worldly-wiſe (ſaid *Luther*), there is no lighter

nor more eaſy art then Divinity, and to underſtand God's Word; for the children of the world, and almoſt every man, will be held and reputed for experienced people in Divinity; but they ſhoot far from the mark. I would give all my fingers, three excepted, on condition that I could find Divinity ſo eaſy and ſo light as they take it to be. The cauſe which maketh people think Divinity ſo eaſy and light, and ſo ſoon to be learned, is this; they are ſoon weary of the ſame; they are quickly filled and cloyed therewith. And even ſo we found it by experience in the world, and ſo we muſt leave and let it remain, *Sed, in fine videbitur cujus toni.*

I intended many times (ſaid *Luther*) well and thoroughly to ſearch and find out the Ten Commandments; but when I began at the firſt words, *I am the Lord thy God*, there ſtuck I faſt; the very firſt word [*I*] put me to a *non-plus*. Therefore, he that hath but one only word of God to his text, and out of that word cannot make a ſermon, he ſhall never be a good Preacher. I am content and ſatisfied that I know but a little what God's Word is, and do take great heed that I murmur not againſt ſuch my ſmall knowledge which God hath given me.

I have grounded my preaching upon the literal word; whoſo pleaſeth may follow me, he that will not may chuſe. I challenge St. Peter, St. Paul, Moſes, and all the Saints, who were not able fundamentally to underſtand one only word of God on which they had not continually to learn; for the Pſalm ſaith, *Sapientiæ ejus non eſt numerus*, His wiſdom is infinite, &c. True it is, the Saints do know God's Word, and they can ſpeak thereof, but the practice will not follow; therein we are and remain always ſcholars.

The School Divines gave a fine compariſon touching the ſame. It is therewith (ſay they) as with a ſphere, or round globe, which, lying on a table, toucheth upon it but only with one point; whereas, notwithſtanding, the whole table ſupporteth the globe wholly and altogether. I (ſaid *Luther*) am an old Doctor of Divinity, yet to this day I am not come out of the children's learning; that is, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. I confeſs ſeriouſly, that as yet I underſtand them not ſo well as I ſhould: for if I rightly underſtood and did believe but only theſe few words [*Father which art in heaven*], that God (who made heaven and earth, and created all creatures, and hath all things in his hand and power) were my Father, then I ſhould certainly conclude with myſelf, that I alſo am a Lord of heaven and earth, that Chriſt is my brother, that Gabriel is my ſervant, that Raphael is my Coachman, and that all the Angels in my neceſſities are my attendants; for they are given unto me of my heavenly Father to keep me in all my ways, that unawares I ſhould not daſh my foot againſt a ſtone. To conclude, it muſt needs follow, that every thing is mine. But to the end our faith may be exerciſed and confirmed, our heavenly Father therefore ſuffereth ſome of us to be caſt into the dungeon, ſome to be drowned in water, &c. As then we ſee and find how finely we underſtand theſe words, and how faith quivereth and ſtriveth, and how great our weakneſs is; then we begin to think and to ſay, Ah, who knoweth whether that be true or not which is written in the Scriptures?

Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) this one word [*Thine*] or [*Our*] is the hardeſt in Holy Scripture, as is to be ſeen in the Firſt Commandment, *I am the Lord thy God*. The heretic Campanus (and alſo others like himſelf) do call this *plerophoriam*, or a certainty of the doctrine, the inherited and natural pride of the heart, and preſumption when one perſiſteth ſtiff in his opinion which he hath conceived and faſtened upon, and which, according to his natural underſtanding, he hath ſet forth in writing.

Let no man think (ſaid *Luther*) that he hath any experimental knowledge of the Scriptures, except he hath for ſome years been converſant with the doctrine of the Pro-

phets, of John the Baptiſt, and of the Apoſtles. To conclude, It was a work of great wonder rightly to underſtand God's Word, concerning which *Luther* (two days before his death at Iſlebia, anno 1546) did write theſe Latin lines following, and left them lying upon his table, which afterwards I, Joannes Aurifaber, copied out, and Doctor Juſtus Jonas took the paper on which they were written away with him:

1. Virgilium in Bucolicis *nemo poteſt intelligere niſi fuerit quinque annis Paſtor.*
   Virgilium in Georgicis *nemo poteſt intelligere niſi fuerit quinque annis Agricolâ.*
2. Ciceronem in Epiſtolis *(ſic præcipio) nemo integrè intelligit, niſi viginti annis ſit verſatus in Republica aliqua inſigni.*
3. Scripturas Sanctas *ſciat ſe nemo deguſtâſſe ſatis, niſi centum annis cum Prophetis, ut Elia, Eliſeo, Joanne Baptiſtâ, Chriſto & Apoſtolis Eccleſias gubernârit.*

Hanc tu nè divinam Æneïda tenta,
——Sed Veſtigia pronus adora.

Hoc eſt verum. 16° *Februarii, Anno* 1546.

The wiſe of the world, and the great ones (ſaid *Luther*), underſtand not God's Word; but God hath revealed it to the poor contemned ſimple people, as our Saviour Chriſt witneſſeth, where he ſaith; *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, becauſe thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and prudent, and haſt revealed them unto Babes*, &c. from whence St. Gregory ſays well and right; That the Holy Scripture is like a water, wherein an *elephant ſwimmeth, but a little ſheep goeth therein upon his feet.*

The world (ſaid *Luther*) remains the world; that is, ſhe is the ſpouſe of the devil. The world ſaith now, as the Phariſees ſaid to their ſervants (whom they had ſent to take Chriſt priſoner): *Are ye alſo deceived? have any of the Rulers or Phariſees believed in him? This people that knoweth not the law are accurſed.* Even ſo ſaith now the world; Do any of the great Princes and Popiſh Biſhops believe in the doctrine of the Goſpel, which God, through *Luther*, hath brought again to light?

Before the Goſpel came amongſt us (ſaid *Luther*), no labour nor coſt was ſpared (meaning) to obtain a gracious God; nay, people hazarded their lives: they marched heavy laden to St. James's, they tormented themſelves to death, and were plagued with wonderful darkneſs and blindneſs. But now when God, in his Word, freely and for nothing, doth offer to people the remiſſion of their ſins, and with the Holy Sacraments confirmeth the ſame, (nay, he earneſtly threateneth, and ſaith; *Except ye believe, ye ſhall ſurely periſh*), we will have none of that. Inſomuch that we will be either the vileſt wicked wretches, or elſe the moſt abominable ſeeming workers of holineſs.

I remember a Fable (ſaid *Luther*), which fitteth very well for theſe times, and for this purpoſe, diſcourſed of before. A Lion (ſaid he) making a great feaſt, invited all the beaſts thereunto, and with them alſo he invited ſwine: Now, as all manner and ſorts of dainties were brought and ſet before the gueſts, the ſwine demanded if Brewer's grains might be had for them? Even ſo in theſe days it is with our Epicures: we Preachers bring and ſet before them in the Church the moſt dainty and coſtly diſhes, as Everlaſting Salvation, Remiſſion of Sins, and God's Grace; but they, like ſwine, caſt up their ſnouts, and root after Dollars, Crowns, and Ducats: and indeed (ſaid *Luther*) *What ſhould a cow do with nutmegs?* ſhe would rather content herſelf with oat-ſtraw.

The cauſe why ſuch great wickedneſs, unthankfulneſs, contemning, and falſifying of God's Word ariſeth in the world (after the Goſpel now ſhineth again, and

Antichriſt

Antichriſt is revealed and beat down to the ground) is this: Before the light of the Goſpel was brought in again, people did not plainly ſee, nor know their ſins; but now, ſeeing the bright morning ſtar doth ariſe and ſhine, the whole world therefore (like drunken bolts) do awake, as out of a dead ſleep, and do ſee their ſins, which before, in the dark night, they could neither know nor diſcern.

I hope (ſaid *Luther*) the Laſt Day of Judgment is not far, I perſuade myſelf verily it will not be abſent full three hundred years longer; for God's Word will decreaſe and be darkened for want of true ſhepherds and ſervants of God. The voice will ſound and be heard ere long: Behold, the Bridegroom cometh. God neither will nor can ſuffer this wicked world much longer, but muſt ſtrike in with the dreadful day, and puniſh the contemning of his Word, and ſo will quite beat out the barrel's head.

I will, God willing (ſaid *Luther*), provide and uſe diligence, that after my departure an upright Church and Schools be left to our poſterity, to the end they may know how they ought uprightly and Chriſtian-like to teach and govern. Although the great unthankfulneſs, contempt of God's Word, and the world's wilfulneſs maketh me to fear that this Light will not ſtand nor ſhine long, for God's Word hath always had its certain courſe.

Such heavineſs and miſery (ſaid *Luther*) will follow upon the future famine of God's Word, as the like was never known from the beginning of the world, according as Chriſt ſaith, *Matth.* 24. and as now already ſuch calamity beginneth, and is hard at hand; namely, the ſuppreſſing of God's Word and his ſervants through Tyrants and Heretics; plaguing and tormenting people's conſciences through ſects and ſeducements, in ſuch fearful ſort that they know not which way to turn themſelves, or which doctrine is true or falſe. No greater miſchief can ever happen to Chriſtian people than when God's Word is taken from them and falſified, that they have it not pure and clear. God grant (ſaid *Luther*), that we and ours may not live to ſee ſuch miſchief take effect.

When we have God's Word pure and clear, then we are ſecure, we are negligent and regard it not, we think it will always ſo remain; we do not watch and pray againſt the devil who is ready to tear the Word out of our hearts. It goeth with us as with travellers, who, ſo long as they are on the right way, are ſecure and careleſs, but when they go aſtray into woods or bye-ways, then they are careful which way to take, whether this or that way be the right; even ſo are we ſecure by the pure doctrine of the Goſpel; we are ſleepy and negligent; we ſtand not in God's fear nor defend ourſelves with prayer againſt the devil. But thoſe that entertain errors are highly buſied, yea, they are very careful and diligent how to keep and maintain the ſame.

Of the future Want of upright and true Preachers of God's Word.

IN ſhort time (ſaid *Luther*) will be ſuch want of upright Preachers and Miniſters, that people would be glad to ſcratch out of the earth theſe good and godly Teachers now living, if they might but get them; then they will ſee what they have done in moleſting and contemning the Preachers and Miniſters of God's Word. Of Phyſicians and Lawyers there are enough (if not too many) to ſerve the world; but a country hath need of two hundred Miniſters, where one Lawyer is ſufficient. My moſt gracious Lord (ſaid *Luther*), the Prince Elector of Saxony, hath enough of twenty Lawyers in all his territories; but he muſt have near ſix thouſand Preachers and Miniſters.

Where

Where God's Word is truly taught, there the People are moſt wicked.

AT all times, and in all places, from the beginning of the world (ſaid *Luther*), where God's word hath been taught and preached pure and clearly, there the people have been moſt wicked, and all manner of ſins have flouriſhed. As in the time of Noah, of Abraham, of our Saviour Chriſt, and the Apoſtles, for then the world lived moſt ungodly, they were ungrateful people, and went on in all wickedneſs. Even ſo now in our time, people are more preſumptuous, more proud and covetous than at any time before they have been. We will now unwillingly help a poor man with a farthing; yet, at laſt, we would willingly haſten to repentance, but (I fear) too late.

Luther's Prophecy concerning his Doctrine, which now we ſee fulfilled.

THOSE that in my lifetime do refuſe to have the kernel of my doctrine, will after my death be glad to enjoy the ſhell if they could get it. Let every one in time prepare himſelf to reap while it is yet harveſt: and, as Chriſt ſaith, *He that followeth me ſhall not walk in darkneſs.*

That we are weary of God's Word, and do contemn the ſame.

KINGS, Princes, Lords, Gentry, and almoſt every one will underſtand the Goſpel far better than I, *Martin Luther*, yea, or St. Paul himſelf (as they think); for they take themſelves to be wiſe and full of policy. But they ſcorn and contemn not us poor Preachers and Miniſters, but they ſcorn and deſpiſe the Lord and Governor of all Preachers and Miniſters, who hath ſent and commanded them to preach and teach. He will ſcorn and contemn them again in ſuch ſort, that they ſhall feel it with ſmart; even he that ſaith: *Whoſo heareth you, heareth me; and whoſo toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye.* The great ones will rule and govern, but they know not how. The Pope, indeed (ſaid *Luther*), knoweth how to rule all and every where; for the meaneſt Papiſt can rule more than ten of the chiefeſt Proteſtant Courtiers, neither muſt they once frown or be diſpleaſed thereat.

That the World's Unthankfulneſs is great for God's Word.

WE have, God be praiſed (ſaid *Luther*), the Divine Word and the Sacraments pure; but we know not what an ineſtimable treaſure this is, that the ſon is given and delivered to death for the ſervant. In requital for ſuch goodneſs and benefit, the ſervant is not only unthankful, but proceedeth alſo to ſlay the father together with the ſon that hath redeemed him. This is too much, and thereupon muſt follow all manner of heavy puniſhment.

The Goſpel now (God be praiſed) is come into Sweden, Denmark, and other foreign parts, yea alſo, it is preached (ſaid *Luther*) in Hungary, even where the Turks do rule; and from thence they ſend hither to Wittemberg ſuch as are called to be Miniſters, to receive orders here from us; witneſs, the Reformation of the Church in Karinthia. The Lord's name be praiſed, who will prevail in the midſt of his enemies, and who, under the Croſs, will be known. For (ſaid *Luther*) tyranny, perſecution, and the raging of the Pope, neither muſt nor can expel and drive away God's Word from us; but it is our curſed ingratitude, our wearineſs and loathing of the Goſpel, I fear, will baniſh it away.

That the Heretics do contemn God's Word.

ALL heretics and ſeducers (ſaid *Luther*) do contemn God's Word, but we muſt not ſuffer ourſelves to be ſeduced from the ſame. The Apoſtles (when Chriſt appeared unto them only in perſon, without the Word) thought they had ſeen a ſpirit, or a viſion; but ſo ſoon as he ſpake, then they were thereby comforted. The devil laboureth only to ungird this ſword off from our ſides, namely, the Word; but the Holy Scripture ſaith, *Gird thy ſword upon thy thigh, O thou moſt mighty*, &c. that is as much as to ſay, Draw thy ſword, cut and ſlaſh valiantly among the curſed blaſphemers of God's Word.

The Pope (ſaid *Luther*) uſurpeth and taketh to himſelf the power to expound and to conſtrue the Scriptures according to his pleaſure; what he ſaith muſt ſtand and be ſpoken as from heaven.

Therefore let us love and preciouſly value the Divine Word, that thereby we may be able to reſiſt the devil and his ſwarm.

That the Antinomians are Contemners of God's Word.

I AM credibly advertiſed by letters (ſaid Luther) that, in the Biſhopric of Wurtzburgh, more then ſix hundred rich pariſhes lie now vacant without Preachers or Miniſters, whereof little good will enſue. It will go even ſo with us, if we ſtill go go on in contemning God's Word, and his ſervants.

I diſcern ſuch preſumption at this time by the Antinomians (the aſſaulters of the Law), that under the colour of fixing their truſt in God's mercy, they dare preſume to do what they liſt and pleaſe; as if a believing perſon could not ſin, but that the ſame is ſo holy, juſt, and upright, that he hath no need at all of the preaching of the Law; for they flatter themſelves, that the Church is ſo upright and ſincere, as was Adam in Paradiſe; to whom, notwithſtanding, God's wrath was revealed from heaven, when God ſaid, *Adam, thou ſhalt eat of every fruit; but if thou eateſt of this tree, thou ſhalt die the death.*

That the Perſecutors of the Chriſtians, and of God's Word, have no good Fortune nor Succeſs.

THE perſecution of Diocleſian the Emperor was exceeding great (ſaid *Luther*), for he did intend to ſlaughter and to deſtroy all the Chriſtians. At one time he cauſed twelve thouſand to be murdered; and when all his hangmen were over-wearied with ſlaughtering, and their axes and knives blunted, he then cauſed Nero's murdering tools to be brought, and ſo proceeded with ſlaughtering. He thought, through ſuch tyranny, to ſcare and affright them from God's Word; but when he ſaw the ſame would not help, then he raged horribly againſt the women and female kind, with whom he dealt cruelly; for he cauſed two trees to be forced and bowed down, the one againſt the other, and on each tree to bind an arm and a leg of a woman, and then to let the trees ſwiftly fly up again, and in that ſort to rend and tear them in pieces: ſome he cauſed to be hanged naked and bare on a tree, by one arm or leg, until they died; would they cover their private parts, they might do it with the other arm, which was free. At laſt, ſeeing all this was in vain, and that the Chriſtian matrons and women would not leave and forſake their loving Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt, then he cauſed hot melting lead to be poured into the women before and behind, and ſo made

made an end of them. Now when the Roman empire was thus devaſted of people, and had neither huſbandmen, ſhoe-makers, nor taylors, then his ſubjects made ſuit unto him to ceaſe his tyranny; for they feared if all the Chriſtians ſhould be deſtroyed, that then his kingdom would be left deſolate, and lie like a wilderneſs. When the Emperor underſtood the ſame, and that all his raging and tyranny was fruitleſs, and fearing therewith that God's puniſhment would faſten upon him, then he forſook his kingdom and became a gardener, planted herbs and pruned trees, inſomuch that this tyrant was glad to ſuffer the Chriſtians and Chriſtendom to remain, which he intended utterly to have rooted out.

I believe (ſaid *Luther*) that our Emperor, Charles, will undertake ſome deadly courſe and proceeding againſt the Goſpel, ſo that thereby he, or his poſterity, will loſe and abandon all his territories in the Low Countries.

Doctor Pommer (ſaid *Luther*) told me not long ſince, that at Lubec, in the Council-houſe, was found an old chronicle, or a prophecy, ſignifying, that about the year 1550, a great tumult would ariſe in Germany concerning religion; and in caſe the Emperor ſhould mingle himſelf therein, he would loſe all that he had.

But (ſaid *Luther*) I perſuade myſelf that the Emperor will not at this time entangle himſelf in wars for the Pope's ſake or pleaſure, eſpecially ſeeing wars coſt much money; but if it were to be taken in hand without money, I then verily think the Emperor, for his part, had long ſince begun ſome ungodly enterpriſe; but to diſburſe money for the Pope's cauſe he is not very liberal.

Anno 1546, in the ſame year which *Luther* died, the Emperor Charles took a war in hand againſt the States of the Auſpurgh Confeſſion, in which John Frederick, Prince Elector of Saxony, was taken priſoner before the town of Mulburgh; at which time the Landgrave of Heſſen, upon a ſafe conduct, went to the Emperor, at Hall, where, notwithſtanding his ſafe conduct, he alſo was caſt into priſon. Soon after this war, an alteration of religion was taken in hand at the Imperial Diet at Auſburgh, *anno* 1548, which they called the *Interim*, and which cauſed all manner of diſquietneſs in Germany. After this war the Emperor never had proſperous ſucceſs, neither at Coſtintz, at Magdeburg, nor at Metz, which cities he intended to win again to the Empire, two of which cities were then under the French King; at laſt, the Emperor gave his Empire over to his brother, King Ferdinand, and himſelf retired into Spain, and in a pleaſant-built houſe, near to a monaſtery, he ended his life. He cauſed twenty pieces of rich arras to be made, and therein wrought his *Res geſtas*, i. e. his Acts, on purpoſe to be hung up in the cloiſters of that houſe, to behold the ſame. He would oftentimes cauſe himſelf to be carried about thoſe cloiſters, viewing the ſaid pieces, and would call to mind and conſider what actions had paſſed in thoſe wars; what beſiegings, what battles he had fought, what commanders he had had, and what fortunes and diſaſters befel him therein. And when he was brought to that piece wherein was pourtrayed the war at Smalkalden, he would always there make a ſtand, and would behold the manner of the impriſoning of that moſt famous and virtuous Prince John Frederick, Prince Elector of Saxony (of ever happy memory), and with deep ſighs would utter theſe words: *Ah, had I let thee alone to remain what then thou waſt, ſo had I now been the ſame that then I was.* And ſo it truly had been; for after the impriſoning of that good and godly Prince, the Emperor never had any fortunate victories againſt his enemies.

That People, out of mere Wilfulneſs, do ſet themſelves againſt God's Word.

HAD I known (ſaid *Luther*) when I firſt began to write, what I now ſee and find, namely, that people had been ſuch enemies to God's Word, and ſo fiercely had ſet

ſet themſelves againſt the ſame, truly I had held my peace; for I never ſhould have been ſo couragious as to have fallen upon the Pope, and to have angered him, and almoſt the whole Chriſtian world with him. I thought at firſt that people had ſinned ignorantly, and out of human weakneſs, and not of ſet purpoſe, and wittingly to endeavour to ſuppreſs God's Word; but it pleaſed God to lead me on in the mouth of the cannon, like a bar-horſe that hath his eyes blinded, and ſeeth not who runneth upon him. Even ſo was I, as it were, tugged by my hair to the office of preaching; but had I then known what now I know, ten horſes ſhould ſcarce have drawn me to it. Moſes and Jeremiah alſo complained that they were deceived.

That the contemning of God's Word will be ſeverely puniſhed.

I HAVE lived (ſaid *Luther*) to ſee the greateſt plague on earth, namely, the contemning of God's Word, which is ſo great and fearful, that it ſurpaſſeth all other plagues in the world; for thereupon moſt ſurely followeth all manner of eternal and corporal puniſhments. If I intended to wiſh to one all bitter plagues and curſes, I would wiſh him the contemning of God's Word, for then he would have them all at once come tumbling down upon him, both inward and outward misfortunes; and what afterwards will follow they ſhall know to their coſts. The contemning of God's Word is the fore-runner and meſſenger of God's puniſhments, as the examples do witneſs in the time of Lot, of Noah, and of our Saviour Chriſt.

Whoſo contemneth God's Word, with ſuch a Perſon we ought not to enter into diſpute.

WHOSO yieldeth that the writings of the Evangeliſts are God's Word, ſuch an one (ſaid *Luther*) we are willing to encounter with diſpute; but whoſo denieth the ſame, with him we will not ſo much as change a word, and we ought not to converſe nor diſpute with ſuch a one as rejecteth, *prima principia*, the firſt principles; that is, the firſt grounds and chief points; as alſo the Heathen have ſaid: *Contra negantem prima principia non eſſe diſputandum*, i. e. We ought not to diſpute with one that denies the firſt principles; yet, notwithſtanding, the Gentiles, the Jews, and the Turks do confeſs, that the Bible is the Holy Writ, and indeed (ſaid *Luther*) it hath the greateſt and higheſt teſtimony.

Some are of opinion that the firſt book, among the five books of Moſes, was not written by Moſes himſelf. But (ſaid *Luther*) what were that to the purpoſe though Moſes did not write the ſame? it is nevertheleſs Moſes's book. Such and the like cold and fruitleſs opinions and queſtions we ſhould reject; we ſhould not hearken unto them, but rather ſhun them. Like unto this, another ſaid: Moſes wrote, that the birds and fowl lived in the water, when as, notwithſtanding, Moſes in the ſame place will have it to be underſtood of the air: ſuch queſtions ought to be anſwered with the like ridiculous queſtion: as to demand, Whether the beard, or the man was made firſt? for God on the fourth day created goats with beards, but it was the ſixth day before Adam was created.

The Bible was unknown in Popedom (ſaid *Luther*); and Doctor Carlſtad began to read in the Bible eight years after he had been Doctor in Divinity, at which time he and Petrus Lapinus were hunted by the adverſaries to read St. Auſtin.

Of the Archbiſhop of Mentz (one of the Spiritual Princes Electors) his Cenſure of the Bible.

ANNO 1530, at the Imperial Aſſembly at Auſpurg, Albertus, Biſhop of Mentz, by chance had got into his hands the Bible, and for the ſpace of four hours he con-

tinued reading therein; at laſt, one of his Council on a ſudden coming into his bed-chamber unto him, who, ſeeing the Bible in the Biſhop's hand, was much amazed thereat, and ſaid unto him: What doth your Highneſs with that book? The Archbiſhop thereupon anſwered him, and ſaid: *I know not what this book is, but ſure I am, all that is written therein is quite againſt us.*

That the Bible is hated of the Wordly-wiſe and of the Sophiſts.

DOCTOR Uſſinger (an Auſtin Friar, with me in the Monaſtery at Erfurt) ſaid once unto me, as he ſaw that I diligently read and affected the Bible, Brother Martin, what is the Bible? Let us, ſaid he, read the ancient Teachers and Fathers, for they have ſucked the juice and truth out of the Bible. The Bible is the cauſe of all diſſention and rebellion.

This (ſaid *Luther*) is the cenſure of the world concerning God's Word; therefore we muſt let them run on their courſe towards that place which is prepared for them.

Of the Errors which the Sectaries do hold concerning the Word of God.

BULLINGER ſaid once in my hearing (ſaid *Luther*), that he was earneſt againſt the ſectaries, as contemners of God's Word, and alſo againſt thoſe which attributed too much to the literal Word; for, ſaid he, ſuch do ſin againſt God and his almighty power, as the Jews did in naming the ark, God. But, ſaid he, whoſo holdeth a mean between both, the ſame is taught what is the right uſe of the Word and Sacraments.

Whereupon (ſaid *Luther*) I anſwered him, and ſaid: Bullinger, you err; you know neither yourſelf, nor what you hold; I mark well your tricks and fallacies. Zuinglius and Oecolampadius likewiſe proceeded too far in this your ungodly meaning; but when Brentius withſtood them, they then leſſened their opinions, alledging, they did not reject the literal Word, but only condemned certain groſs abuſes. By this your error (ſaid *Luther* to Bullinger), you cut in ſunder and ſeparate the Word and the Spirit; you ſeparate thoſe that preach and teach the Word from God, who worketh the ſame; you alſo ſeparate thereby the Miniſters that baptize, from God who commandeth it; and you think that the Holy Ghoſt is given and worketh without the Word; which Word, you ſay, is an eternal ſign and mark that findeth the Spirit, which already and before poſſeſſeth the heart. Inſomuch, according to your falſities, that if the Word findeth not the Spirit, but an ungodly perſon, then it is not God's Word; whereby you define and hold the Word, not according to God who ſpeaketh it, but according as people do entertain and receive it. You will only grant, that ſuch is God's Word which purifieth and bringeth peace and life; but ſeeing it worketh not in the ungodly, therefore it is not God's Word. You teach that the outward Word is like an object, or a picture, which ſignifieth and preſenteth ſomething; you meaſure the uſe thereof only according to the matter, like as a human creature ſpeaketh for himſelf; you will not yield that God's Word is an inſtrument through which the Holy Ghoſt worketh and accompliſheth his work, and prepareth a beginning to righteouſneſs or juſtification. In theſe errors are you drowned, ſo that you neither ſee nor underſtand yourſelves.

A man might vex himſelf to death againſt the devil, who, in the Papiſts, is ſuch an enemy to God's Word. The devil ſeeth and feeleth that the external Word and preaching in the Church doth him great prejudice, therefore he rageth and worketh theſe errors againſt the ſame; but, I hope, God ere long will look into it, and will ſtrike down the devil with theſe ſeducers.

A true Chriſtian (ſaid *Luther*) muſt hold for certain, and muſt ſay, That Word

which is delivered and preached to the wicked, to the diſſemblers, and to the ungodly, is even as well God's Word, as that which is preached to the good and godly upright Chriſtians. As alſo, the true Chriſtian Church is among ſinners, where good and bad are mingled together. And that Word, whether it produceth fruit or not, is, nevertheleſs, God's ſtrength, which ſaveth all that believeth thereon. And again, it will alſo judge the ungodly, as St. John ſaith in Chap. 5, otherwiſe they might plead a good excuſe before God, that they neither ought or could be condemned; for then they might truly alledge, that they have not had God's Word, and ſo conſequently could not receive the ſame. But (ſaid *Luther*) I ſay, teach, and acknowledge that the Preacher's words, his abſolutions, and the ſacraments, are not his words nor works, but they are God's words, works, cleanſing, abſolving, binding, &c.; we are but only the inſtruments, fellow-workers, or God's aſſiſtants, through whom God worketh and finiſheth his work. We (ſaid *Luther* to Bullinger) will not endure theſe your metaphyſical and philoſophical diſtinctions and differences, which merely are ſpun and hammered out of human and natural ſenſe and reaſon. You ſay, It is a man that preacheth, that reproveth, that abſolveth, comforteth, &c. and that the Holy Ghoſt worketh, you ſay, likewiſe: the Miniſter baptizeth, abſolveth, and adminiſtereth the ſacraments; but it is God that cleanſeth the hearts, and forgiveth ſins, &c. O no (ſaid *Luther*), but I conclude thus: God himſelf preacheth, threateneth, reproveth, affrighteth, comforteth, abſolveth, adminiſtereth the ſacraments, &c. As our Saviour Chriſt ſaith: *Whoſo heareth you, heareth me; and what ye looſe on earth ſhall be looſed in heaven, &c.* Likewiſe, *It is not you that ſpeak, but the ſpirit of your Father which ſpeaketh in you.*

I am ſure and certain (ſaid *Luther*) when I go up to the pulpit, or to the cathedral to preach or read, that it is not my word which I ſpeak, but my tongue is the pen of a ready writer, as the Pſalmiſt ſaith. God ſpeaketh in the Prophets and men of God, as St. Peter in his Epiſtle ſaith: The holy men of God ſpake as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt. Therefore we muſt not ſeparate nor part God and man according to our natural reaſon and underſtanding. In like manner, every hearer muſt conclude and ſay, I hear not St. Paul, St. Peter, or a man ſpeak; but I hear God himſelf ſpeak, baptize, abſolve, excommunicate, and adminiſter the holy ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, &c.

Bullinger, attentively hearkening to this diſcourſe of that holy man *Luther*, fell down flat on his face to the ground, and uttered theſe words following: *O, happy be the time that brought me hither to hear the divine diſcourſe of this man of God*, Martin Luther, *a choſen veſſel of the Lord to declare his truth! and now I abjure and utterly renounce theſe my former errors, finding them convinced and beaten down through God's infallible Word, which out of his divine mouth* (Martin Luther) *hath touched my heart, and won me to his glory.* After he had uttered theſe words lying on he ground, he aroſe and claſped his arms about *Luther*'s neck, both of them ſhedding joyful tears.

Ah, God! (ſaid *Luther* at that time) what an unſpeakable comfort a poor, weak, and ſorrowful conſcience might have and receive, if it could but believe that ſuch words and comforts were the words and comforts of God himſelf, as in truth they are: therefore we conclude ſhort and round, that God through the Word worketh, which is an inſtrument whereby we are inſtructed to know him in heart, as by this preſent and happy example of the converſion of this our loving brother, Bullinger, we apparently ſee and find.

But whereas (ſaid *Luther*) the Word produceth not fruit every where alike, but worketh ſeverally, the ſame is God's judgment, and his ſecret will, which from us is hid, we ought not to deſire to know it. For *the wind bloweth where it liſteth*, as Chriſt ſaith, we muſt not grabble nor ſearch after the ſame.

If (ſaid *Luther*) I were addicted to God's Word at all times alike, and always had ſuch love and deſire thereunto as ſometimes I have, then ſhould I account myſelf the moſt bleſſed man on earth. But the loving Apoſtle St. Paul failed alſo thereof, as he complains with ſighs of heart, ſaying, *I ſee another law in my members, warring againſt the law of my mind, &c.* Should the Word be falſe, becauſe it always bringeth not fruit? truly this art of determining and knowing the Word hath been in great danger from the beginning of the world, and hath endured much; few people there are that can hit it, except God, through his Holy Spirit, teacheth it them in their hearts. The Sectaries underſtand not the ſtrength of God's Word. I do wonder (ſaid *Luther*) that they do write and teach ſo much of God's Word, ſeeing they ſo little regard the ſame.

Ferdinand, Prince Elector of Saxony, uſed to ſay, He had well diſcerned that nothing could be propounded by human reaſon and underſtanding, were it never ſo wiſe, cunning, or ſharp, but that a man, even out of the ſelf-ſame propoſition, might be able to confute and overthrow it; but God's Word only ſtood faſt and ſure, like a mighty wall which neither can be battered nor beaten down.

That nothing is certain without God's Word.

TRULY (ſaid *Luther*), much hath been read and written without underſtanding: there is now riſen unto us a great light, for we have not only the Word, but alſo the true underſtanding thereof; and, God be praiſed, we know what is right. No ſophiſt was ever able to underſtand theſe words: *The juſt liveth by faith.* Neither did the Fathers of the Church underſtand them, Saint Auſtin excepted; for this word juſt, or righteous, they expounded divers ways; ſuch blindneſs was in the loving Fathers.

Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) let us firſt and principally read the Holy Sciptures, and afterwards we may read alſo the Fathers, yet with good heed and diſcretion; for the Fathers have not always taught and cenſured right of God's cauſes and works. He that will leave the Bible, and will lay his ſtudy upon the comments and books of the Fathers, his ſtudy will be endleſs and in vain.

That we muſt be certain of God's Word.

IN cauſes of Religion, and what concerneth God's Word, we muſt be ſure and certain therein without wavering; that in time of trials and temptations the acknowledgment of the ſame may be firmly fixed, and not afterwards to ſay, *Non putâram*; for as ſuch language, in temporal affairs, oftentimes produceth much danger, ſo in divinity the ſame is far more miſchievous. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) the Canoniſts, the Pope's diſſemblers, and other heretics, are right chimeras; that is, they are like a certain monſter ſo called, which in the face reſembleth a fair virgin, the body is like a lion, and the tail like a ſnake. Even ſo it is with their doctrine; it glittereth, and hath a fair aſpect; what they teach is pleaſing to human wiſdom and ſenſe, and it carrieth a repute. Afterwards it breaketh through by force, lion-like; for all falſe teachers commonly make uſe of *Brachium ſeculare*, but in the end it is a ſlippery doctrine; like a ſnake, it hath a ſmooth ſkin, and ſlippeth through the hand.

Above all things (ſaid *Luther*), let us be ſure that this doctrine which we teach is God's Word; for when we be ſure of that, then we may build thereupon, and know that this cauſe ſhall and muſt remain; the devil ſhall not be able to overthrow it, much leſs ſhall the world be able to root it out, how fiercely ſoever they rage againſt the ſame. I, God be praiſed, do ſurely know that the doctrine which I teach is God's Word, and have now hunted from my heart all other doctrines and faiths, by what

name

name ſoever, which I ſee do not concur with God's Word, and now I have overcome thoſe heavy temptations which ſometimes tormented me in this manner; namely, Art thou (thought I) the only man that hath God's Word pure and clear, and all others fail therein? In ſuch ſort doth Satan vex and aſſault us under the name and title of God's Church; yea, (ſaith he) that doctrine which the Chriſtian Church ſo many years hitherto hath held and eſtabliſhed for right, wilt thou preſume to reject and overthrow the ſame with thy new doctrine, as if it were falſe and erroneous, and thereby produceſt trouble, alteration, and confuſion both in ſpiritual and temporal government? &c.

This argument of the devil (ſaid *Luther*) do I find in all the Prophets, where the chief heads and members, both in Church and Commonwealth, always have upbraided them and ſaid: We are God's people, we are placed and by God ordained in an eſtabliſhed government; what we do conclude and acknowledge for right, the ſame muſt and ſhall be obſerved and kept. What fools are ye that will preſume to teach us, who are the beſt and greateſt part, there being of you but a handful? Truly (ſaid *Luther*), in this caſe, we muſt not only be well armed with God's Word and footed therein, but we muſt have alſo the certainty of the doctrine, otherwiſe we ſhall not be able to ſubſiſt in the combat. A man muſt be able bodily to affirm and ſay, I know for certain, that the ſame which I teach, is the only Word of the high Majeſty of God in heaven, his final concluſion and everlaſting unchangeable Truth, and whatſoever concurreth and agreeth not with this doctrine, the ſame is altogether falſe, and ſpun by the devil. I have before me God's Word which cannot fail, nor can the gates of hell prevail againſt it; thereby will I remain although the whole world were againſt me. And withal, I have this comfort, that God ſaith: I will give thee people and hearers that ſhall receive it, caſt thy care upon me; I will defend thee, only remain thou ſtout and ſtedfaſt by my Word.

We muſt not regard what or how the world eſteemeth of us when we have the Word pure, and be certain of our doctrine. Hence Chriſt ſaith, John 8. *Which of you convinceth me of ſin? And if I ſay the truth, why do you not believe me?* All the Apoſtles (ſaid *Luther*) were moſt certain of their doctrine; and St. Paul, in ſpecial manner, driveth on the *Plerophoria*, where he ſaith to Timothy: It is a dear and precious word, *That Jeſus Chriſt is come into the world to ſave ſinners*, &c. The faith towards God in Chriſt muſt be ſure and ſtedfaſt, that it may ſolace and make glad the conſcience, and ſettle the ſame at reſt and in peace. When a man hath this certainty, then he hath overcome the ſerpent; but if he be doubtful of the doctrine, then it is for him very dangerous to diſpute with the devil.

When the devil findeth me idle (ſaid *Luther*), and that I do not think of God's Word, then he ſcrupleth my conſcience, as if I taught not right, but had occaſioned a confuſion in the government, and with my doctrine had raiſed much offence and rebellion. But when I get hold on God's Word, then have I won the game, then I reſiſt the devil, and ſay thus: I know, and out of God's Word am ſure, that this doctrine is not mine, but the doctrine of the Son of God. Then I think thus with myſelf: What careth God for the whole world, though it were ten times as big again? he hath ſet his Son to be King, and hath ſet him ſo faſt in his kingdom, that he neither can nor will be removed; for God himſelf ſaith: *This my Son ſhall ye hear.* And in *Pſal.* 2. he ſaith: *Be wiſe now therefore, O ye kings; be inſtructed, ye judges of the earth; ſerve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiſs the Son, leſt he be angry, and ye periſh from the way*, &c. *If his wrath be kindled*, &c. That is: Will ye combine yourſelves againſt the Son; ſo ſhall ye, with all your kingdoms, principalities, governments, rights, orders, laws, powers, forts, treaſure, and wealth, be utterly conſumed and brought to nothing, like as hath happened to the kingdoms of the Jews and others.

Let

Let us (ſaid *Luther*) in any caſe be ſure and certain of our cauſe. St. Paul boaſteth of himſelf, and ſaith thus: *I am an apoſtle and ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, and a teacher of the Gentiles.* No carnal-minded man is able to underſtand this kind of boaſting, which at that time was ſo needful and neceſſary for St. Paul, as an article of faith.

That the Goſpel diſcovereth the Wickedneſs of Mankind.

I NEVER thought (ſaid *Luther*) that the world had been ſo wicked, when the Goſpel began, as now I ſee it is; I rather hoped that every one would have leaped for joy to have found themſelves freed and delivered from the filth of the Pope, from his lamentable forcings and moleſtings of the poor troubled conſciences and inſufferable oppreſſions, and that through Chriſt they now by faith ſhould obtain the celeſtial treaſure which they ſought after before with innumerable coſts, charges, labour, and travail, though all in vain. And eſpecially I thought that the Biſhops and Univerſities with joy of heart would have received the ſame.

But what followeth? Truly (ſaid *Luther*), even for the ſame cauſe that I preach and teach the Goſpel, they now tread me under their feet; neither have I greater enemies than the Popiſh Biſhops and Univerſities, and thoſe which are the moſt expert and chiefeſt people in the Commonwealth. Well, be it ſo; we muſt learn aright to know the devil and his members by the Goſpel; namely, that he is God's enemy, and the world God's adverſary. The coming of the Goſpel diſcovereth the hearts, and ſheweth that they contemn and perſecute God's Word, his Preachers and ſervants, inſomuch, that out of fair ſeeming beautiful angels, they are turned into black, ugly, and grizly devils. From hence old Simeon propheſied, *Luke* ii. that the thoughts of many hearts ſhould be revealed; namely, the poiſoned hate, raging, and perſecuting of the Goſpel and ſervants of God.

Such revelation (ſaid *Luther*) is ſhewed unto us, both for inſtruction and for comfort: for inſtruction, that we be not diſmayed when we ſee ſuch powerful, wiſe, and ſeemingly holy people to be changed into devils, inſomuch that we muſt ſay: How happeneth it, that ſuch a fine prince, ſuch a civil citizen, ſuch an honeſt married man, &c. is ſtruck with ſuch blindneſs and evil that he cannot endure God's Word, but is ſo great an enemy unto it, wreſteth and perverteth it to his own ſenſe and meaning? Here the Goſpel teacheth and ſheweth us the cauſe, and ſaith: Before I came, the thoughts of the heart lay hid and were kept ſecret, but now I (a revealer of the hearts) am come, and do diſcover people's cogitations, which neither themſelves nor others have ſeen before; therefore, the ſame muſt now be brought to light and be revealed. Then, ſecondly, this doctrine ſerveth us alſo for comfort; namely, ſeeing the world in no caſe will endure God's Word, and notwithſtanding make ſo fair a ſhew of holineſs, that as then we be not thereat amazed, but forthwith thus conclude: That all their glorious external luſtre, all their ſacred aſpects, their wiſdom, and righteouſneſs, is mere diſſimulation, hypocriſy, ſin, and damnation before God. And, foraſmuch as the world by nature is evil, and that the apple falleth not far from the tree, we muſt therefore learn to know that the world is full of wicked wretches, of thieves, murderers; yea, full of devils.

Which are the beſt Preachers and the beſt Hearers.

I (ſaid *Luther*) eſteem [thoſe to be the beſt Preachers, which teach the common people and youth moſt plainly and ſimply, without ſubtilty, ſcrewed words, or enlargements. Chriſt taught the people by plain and ſimple parables. In like manner, thoſe are the beſt Hearers, that willingly do hear and believe God's Word ſimply and

plainly, and although they be weak in faith, yet ſo long as they doubt not of the doctrine, they are to be holpen forward; for God can and will bear with weakneſs if it be but acknowledged, and that we creep again to the Croſs, and pray to God for grace, and amend ourſelves.

David ſaith, *I hate them that imagine evil things, but thy law do I love*, and will ſhew therewith, that we ought diligently to regard the ſtrength of the Word of God, and not to contemn it, as the enthuſiaſts do, for God will deal with us by ſuch means, and by the ſame will alſo work in us. Therefore the ancient Fathers ſay well touching this point; namely, that we ought not to look to the perſon baptizing or miniſtering the Sacrament, but we muſt look to God's Word.

Our Lord God electeth from hearts, to whom he revealeth his Word, and therewithal he giveth them mouths to ſpeak it; preſerveth and maintaineth it, not by ſword, but through his Divine Power.

That God's Word is a Shield of Fire to all that truſt therein.

A FIERY Shield is God's Word: therefore (ſaid *Luther*) it is of more ſubſtance and purer than gold which in the fire is tried; and as gold loſeth nothing of its ſubſtance in the fire, neither decreaſeth, but reſiſteth and overcometh all the fury of the fiery heat and flame; even ſo, he that believeth God's Word overcometh all, and remains ſure everlaſtingly againſt all misfortunes: for this ſhield feareth nothing, neither hell nor the devil; but the gates of hell muſt ſtand in fear of it: for God's Word remains for ever, and defendeth and protecteth all thoſe that truſt therein.

That God is ſought for, and certainly found in his Word concerning Chriſt.

IF (ſaid *Luther*) thou wilt be ſure and certain of thy conſcience and ſalvation, then abſtain from ſpeculating and ſearching to know and to ſeek God the Lord, as well what his Eſſence is, as alſo his Will, according to thine own ſenſe, reaſon, and carnal mind; for without his Word, and his Son Chriſt, he will not be found. But thou muſt learn to take hold on God by ſuch means as he is expreſſed by in Holy Scriptures, concerning which St. Paul ſaith, *For after that, in the wiſdom of God, the world by wiſdom knew not God, it pleaſed God by the fooliſhneſs of preaching to ſave them that believe. For the Jews require a ſign, and the Greeks ſeek after wiſdom:* but we preach Chriſt crucified, to the Jews a ſtumbling block, and to the Greeks fooliſhneſs; but unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, Chriſt is the power of God, and the wiſdom of God.

Therefore begin thou to ſeek God there, where Chriſt himſelf began; namely, where he was conceived in the womb of his mother, the Virgin Mary, where he lay in the manger at Bethlehem ſucking on his mother's breaſts. For he came down from heaven, was born a natural human creature, he walked with us mankind on earth, he preached, wrought miracles, ſuffered, was crucified and died, aroſe again from the dead, only for this end, that he might place himſelf in ſuch manner before our corporeal eyes, there by to draw the eyes of our hearts, that is, all our ſenſes, cogitations, and meditations, unto him; and ſo to debar us from a preſumptuous ſpeculating and ſearching out the Majeſty of God in heaven. But through his Word he cauſeth to be offered unto us ſuch things as are neceſſary for our knowledge to ſalvation; the ſame muſt we receive by faith and abide in it, and without his Word not to grabble nor ſearch further after God. For if thou wilt place thy good works, thy faſtings, and thy deſerts between thy ſins and God's judgment, then moſt ſurely thou ſhalt get a fall, and headlong ſhalt tumble down, like Lucifer, and be drowned in deſpair.

That

That we ought to direct all our Actions and Lives according to God's Word.

GOD (ſaid *Luther*) hath his meaſuring lines, and his canons, which are called the Ten Commandments; they are written in our fleſh and blood: the contents of them is, *What thou wouldeſt have done to thyſelf, the ſame thou oughteſt alſo to do to another.* For God preſſeth upon that point, and ſaith, *Such meaſure as thou meteſt, the ſame ſhall be meaſured to thee again.* With this meaſuring line, or meaſure, hath God marked the whole world. They that live and do thereafter, well it is with them, for God doth richly reward them in this life; and a Turk, or a Heathen, may as well be partaker of ſuch rewards as a Chriſtian.

That God himſelf ſpeaketh by his Word, and that his Word is powerful.

IS it true (ſaid *Luther*) that God ſpeaks himſelf with us in the Holy Scriptures? then thou that makeſt doubt thereof, muſt needs think in thy heart that God is a liar, and ſuch an one that ſpeaketh a thing, and performeth it not; but thou mayeſt be ſure when he openeth his mouth, it is as much as three worlds. God alſo, with one only word, did mould the whole world, Gen. 1. In Pſalm xxxiii. it is ſaid, *When he ſpeaketh, it is done; when he commandeth, it ſtandeth faſt.*

We muſt make a great difference between God's Word, and the word of a man. A man's word is a little ſound, which flieth into the air, and ſoon vaniſheth; but the Word of God is greater than heaven and earth, yea, it is greater than death and hell, for it is the power of God, and remaineth everlaſtingly; therefore we ought diligently to learn God's Word, and we muſt certainly know and believe that God himſelf ſpeaketh with us.

David ſaw the ſame, and believed; for he ſaith, *God ſpake in his holineſs, thereof I am glad*, &c. We (ſaid *Luther*) ſhould alſo be glad thereof; but ſuch joy and gladneſs many times is well and thoroughly powdered and peppered unto us; which David well found, and endured manifold trials and temptations about the murder and adultery which he committed. I ween, indeed (ſaid *Luther*), it was well and thoroughly ſalted and powdered for his tooth, when he was courſed and hunted from one place to another, to the end he might walk and remain in God's fear; therefore, in the ſecond Pſalm, he ſaith, *Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling.*

I (ſaid *Luther*) would fain ſee one that could make theſe two agree together, *to be joyful* and *to be afraid.* I cannot behave myſelf in that manner towards God; but my little ſon John can ſhew himſelf ſo towards me; for when I ſit in my ſtudy and write, or do ſomething elſe, then my boy ſings me a ſong; and when he will be too loud, then I check him a little; yet nevertheleſs he ſingeth on, but with a more mild and ſofter voice, and ſomewhat with fear and reverence. Even ſo will God likewiſe have us to do, that we ſhould always rejoice in him, yet with fear and reverence towards God.

That God's Word is the higheſt Comfort.

O (ſaid *Luther*) what a precious thing it is when one hath God's Word before him! for then he may always be ſecure, he may rejoice and be of good comfort; but let him look that he hath it pure and clear. Another, who hath not God's Word, falleth into deſpair; for he is deprived of the celeſtial voice and comfort, he followeth the idleneſs of his heart, and unprofitable reaſonings, which hunt him to deſpair: therefore

therefore the 119th Pſalm ſaith, *Curſed are they that do err from thy Commandments*; that is, it cannot go well with them without God's Word.

That the Goſpel is a Myſtery.

CHRIST, Luke viii. ſaith, *Unto you it is given to know the Myſteries of the kingdom of God.* Here (ſaid *Luther*) a man might aſk, and ſay, What myſtery is that? If we ſhould not know it, why then do we preach thereof?

Anſwer. Myſtery is called a thing hid and ſecret, which one knoweth not; and the *myſteries of the kingdom of God*, are ſuch things which lie hid in the kingdom of God; as, there is Chriſt with all his graces, which he hath ſhewed unto us. He that knoweth Chriſt aright, knoweth what God's kingdom is, and what therein is to be found; and it is therefore called a myſtery, becauſe it is ſecret and hid from human ſenſe and reaſon, where the Holy Ghoſt doth not reveal it; for although many do hear and diſcern the ſame, yet, notwithſtanding, they neither conceive nor underſtand it. As there are now many ſuch among us that preach of Chriſt, and hear much ſpoken of him, that he hath given himſelf to death for us, but the ſame lieth only upon the tongue, and not in the heart; for neither do they themſelves believe it, nor are they ſenſible thereof; as St. Paul ſaith, *The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God.*

Therefore, ſaith Chriſt, *To you it is given to know*, &c. that is, the Spirit of God giveth it unto you; ſo that you not only hear and ſee it, but alſo you receive it within your hearts and believe, and therefore it is no myſtery or ſecret to you. But others that hear it even as well as you, and yet have not faith in their hearts to underſtand it, to ſuch it is a myſtery, and remains unknown unto them; inſomuch, that all what they hear is nothing elſe than as if one ſhould hear a parable or dark ſpeech. Here (ſaid *Luther*) would I fain know of ſome where now the free-will is.

This is witneſſed by our ſectaries and ſeducers, that know how to preach much of Chriſt; but ſeeing they feel him not in their hearts, they leave the right ground of the myſtery, and ſwarm about with ſtrange devices; and when it cometh to the upſhot, then they neither know how to truſt in God aright, nor how in Chriſt to find remiſſion of ſins. From hence it is no wonder that ſo few are good and upright Chriſtians; for although the ſeed, which is God's Word, be pure, yet it falleth not all on good ground; ſcarce the fourth part taketh root in the good ground; the reſt, namely, three parts thereof, falleth among the thorns, by the way-ſide, and upon ſtones, as Chriſt ſaith. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) we muſt not truſt all that boaſt and brag of themſelves to be Chriſtians, nor all thoſe that applaud and extol the doctrine of the Goſpel; for Demas alſo was one of Paul's diſciples, but at laſt he forſook St. Paul: in like manner many of the diſciples withdrew themſelves, and departed from Chriſt, when they heard him preach that ſharp ſermon at Capernaum. Therefore our Saviour Chriſt himſelf calleth and crieth out, *Whoſo hath ears to hear, let him hear:* as if he would ſay, O, few are upright Chriſtians! We muſt not believe all that are called Chriſtians, and do hear the Goſpel: O, no! there belongeth more thereto.

That the World, eſpecially the true Church, is governed and preſerved through God's Word.

IT was a ſpecial gift of God that the ſpeech was given to mankind; for through the Word, and not by force, wiſdom governeth. Through the Word people are taught, are comforted, and thereby all grief and ſorrow is eaſed and made light, eſpecially in caſes concerning the conſcience. Therefore God gave to his Church

Church an eternal Word to hear, and the Sacraments to uſe. But this holy function of preaching the Word is, by Satan, fiercely reſiſted; he would willingly have it utterly ſuppreſſed, for only thereby his kingdom is devaſted and deſtroyed.

Truly (ſaid *Luther*) the external word of the mouth hath a wonderful ſtrength and power; that through ſo weak a word, which proceedeth out of the mouth of a ſilly human creature, the devil, who is ſo proud and powerful a ſpirit, ſhould be driven away, put to ſhame, and be confounded.

The ſectaries do blaſpheme the word of the mouth; although St. Paul ſaith, *Ye received it not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the Word of God.* Likewiſe, *How ſhall they believe in him of whom they have not heard?* And, concerning Antichriſt, he ſaith, *Who exalteth himſelf above all that is called God*; that is, above God, who is preached through the word of the mouth. And, to the Romans, he ſaith, *I am not aſhamed of the Goſpel of Chriſt; for it is the power of God unto ſalvation to every one that believeth.* And Chriſt himſelf ſaith, *Ye are not they that ſpeak, but the Spirit of the Father which ſpeaketh in you.* Yet, notwithſtanding all this, the ſectaries are ſo ſhameleſs, that they dare preſume to reject the word of the mouth; and, to ſmooth their damnable opinions, they alledge theſe their fallacies following:

No external thing maketh one to be ſaved.
The Word of the mouth, and the Sacraments, are external things:
Therefore they make us not to be ſaved.

But to this fallacy (ſaid *Luther*) I anſwer thus: We muſt diſcern and make a great difference between the external things of God, and the outward things of men; theſe two muſt be diſtinguiſhed. The external things of God are powerful and ſaving; but it is not ſo with the outward things of men.

That God, through his Word, inſtructeth Mens Hearts, their Senſes, Hands, and Feet.

GOD only, through his Word, inſtructeth the heart, to the end it may come to the ſerious acknowledgment of itſelf, and to know how wicked it is, and ſpoiled; yea, that it is at enmity with God, as St. Paul witneſſeth. Afterwards God leadeth a man ſo far, that he cometh alſo to the knowledge of God, and how he may be freed from ſin, and after this miſerable vaniſhing world, how he may obtain a life that is everlaſting. On the contrary, human ſenſe and reaſon, with all her wiſdom, is able to bring it no further than to inſtruct and direct people how to live a civil kind of life; how to behave and carry themſelves in this vaniſhing world; alſo, how to govern, to keep houſe, to build, and how they may be inſtructed in other good arts: ſuch things are taught and learned in philoſophy, and out of heatheniſh books, and no more. But how they ſhould learn to know God, and his dear Son Chriſt Jeſus, and to be ſaved, the ſame teacheth the Holy Ghoſt only through God's Word; for philoſophy underſtandeth nothing in divine matters. I do much fear (ſaid *Luther*) that men too grievouſly will mingle the ſame again in divinity; and as on the one ſide I am not againſt it, but that men may teach and learn philoſophy, I allow well thereof, and applaud it; yet ſo on the other ſide, there belongeth reaſon and moderation therewithal. Let philoſophy remain within her bounds, as God hath appointed, and let us make uſe thereof as of a maſked perſon in a comedy, and as we uſe to make of temporal righteouſneſs; but to mingle the ſame with, and in divinity, as pertaining thereunto, the ſame may not be endured; nor is it tolerable to make faith an *acci-*

dens, or quality, that happeneth by chance; for ſuch words are merely philoſophical which are uſed in ſchools and in temporal affairs, which human ſenſe and reaſon may comprehend, and which dreameth that the right and true faith remaineth in us, as doth the white on a wall. But faith is a thing in the heart, which hath its being and ſubſtance by itſelf, given of God as his proper work; not ſuch a ſubſtance as is taught the boys in ſchools, that a corporeal thing which may be ſeen, felt, or touched, is of itſelf a ſubſtantial thing.

How we ought to teach God's Word.

WE muſt know (ſaid *Luther*) how to teach God's Word aright, and how to diſtribute the ſame duly and truly, for there are two ſorts of hearers; one ſort are ſtruck with fear in the conſcience, they are perplexed and do feel their ſins, and God's anger, and are ſorry for the ſame; theſe muſt be comforted with the Goſpel. On the contrary, the other ſort of hearers are hardened, they are wickedly obſtinate, and of ſtiff-necked hearts; thoſe muſt be affrighted through the preaching of the law, they muſt be reproved and threatened by and through the examples of God's wrath: as, the fire of Elias; the deluge of Noah; the deſtruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the deſolation and devaſtation of the glorious city of Jeruſalem, *&c.*

That the Hearers of God's Word are bound to maintain and nouriſh their Preachers and Miniſters.

THE hearers of God's Word (ſaid *Luther*) are as much bound to maintain their Paſtors and Miniſters, as they are bound to fulfil the Ten Commandments. For the office of preaching dependeth on the firſt Table of the Ten Commandments; eſpecially on the Fourth Commandment. St. Paul ſpeaketh to the Corinthians concerning the ſame, and ſaith, *He which ſerveth at the altar, ſhall alſo live by the altar*; and, *We muſt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn.*

That God's Word demonſtrateth all godly Vocations and Callings, and teacheth how we ought to live therein.

THE Holy Scripture (ſaid *Luther*) layeth briefly and clearly before us how we ought to live in our vocations, that the ſame may be pleaſing to God. In Chriſtianity and in Religion it teacheth us in this manner: *Fear God*; *hear his Word*; *believe in Chriſt*; and, *love your neighbour as yourſelves.* In temporal callings, God's Word teacheth all ſubjects, and ſaith, *Be obedient to the governors.* In the government of our families, it ſaith, *Ye huſbands love your wives*; alſo, *ye wives be ſubject to your huſbands*; and, *ye parents, bring up your children in fear and admonition of the Lord.* But the Pope, that child of perdition, contemneth all this, which by God's Word expreſsly is ordained, he holdeth them for frivolous and common things.

To whom God's Word is profitable.

THE Goſpel of the Remiſſion of Sins, through Faith in Chriſt, is received of few people; they do not much regard the ſweet and comfortable tidings of the Goſpel: only ſome there are that hear it, but they ſo hear it, even as they

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uſe to hear Maſs in Popedom; the moſt part do hear God's Word out of a cuſtom, and when they have done that, then they think all is well. The cauſe of this (ſaid *Luther*) is, The ſick hath need of a phyſician, and he is welcome to a ſick perſon; but he that is ſound careth not for him, as we ſee by the Canaanitiſh woman in the Goſpel, *Matth.* xv. She felt both her own and her daughter's neceſſities, therefore ſhe ran after Chriſt, and in no wiſe would ſuffer herſelf to be denied nor ſcared away from him. In like manner Moſes was fain to go before, and learn to feel the ſins, that ſo Grace might taſte the ſweeter. Therefore, it is but labour loſt (how familiar and loving ſoever Chriſt is figured unto us) except we firſt be humbled through the acknowledgment of ourſelves and our ſins, and ſo do yearn after Chriſt; as the *Magnificat* ſaith: *He filleth the hungry with good things, and the rich he hath ſent empty away.* This is ſpoken to all our comforts, and it is written for inſtruction of the miſerable, poor, needful ſinners, and contemned people; to the end, that in all their deepeſt ſorrows and neceſſities, they may know whither and to whom they may take their refuge to ſeek help and comfort.

But here (ſaid *Luther*) we muſt take faſt hold on God's Word, and we muſt believe that all is true which the ſame ſpeaketh of God, although God, and all his creatures, ſhould ſeem unto us otherwiſe than the Word ſpeaketh of him; as we ſee the Canaanitiſh woman did. The Word is ſure and faileth not, though heaven and earth muſt paſs away, as Chriſt ſaith. But O! how hard and bitter is this to natural ſenſe and reaſon, that ſhe muſt ſtrip herſelf naked, and forſake all which ſhe feeleth and conceiveth, and muſt only depend upon the bare Word, ſpecially, ſhe conceiving and feeling quite the contrary? The Lord of his mercy help us with ſuch a faith in our neceſſities, and at our laſt end when we ſtrive with death.

Where God's Word is loved, there dwelleth God.

UPON theſe words of Chriſt, *If a man loveth me, he will keep my Word, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him,* I ſay thus (ſaid *Luther*): Heaven and earth, the caſtles and palaces of all Emperors, Kings, and Princes, are no way ſufficient to make a dwelling place for God; yet, in a ſilly human creature that keepeth his Word, he will dwell. Iſaiah calleth heaven his *ſeat*, and earth his *footſtool*, but not his *dwelling*: therefore, when we long to ſeek after God, we ſhall be ſure to find him with them that hear and keep his Word, as Chriſt ſaith: *He that keepeth my Word, I will come and dwell with him.*

A man could not ſpeak more ſimply and childiſhly than Chriſt ſpake, and yet he confoundeth therewith all the wiſdom of the worldly-wiſe. To ſpeak in ſuch a manner (ſaid *Luther*), is not *in ſublimi, ſed humili genere:* if I ſhould teach a child, I would teach him in this ſort: *He that loves me, will keep my Word.* Here we ſee, that Chriſt ſaith not, Abſtain from fleſh, from marrying, from houſekeeping, &c. as the Papiſts teach; for that were even to invite the devil and all his fellows to a feaſt.

Of the Strength of God's Word.

GREAT is the ſtrength of the Divine Word. In the Epiſtle to the Hebrews it is called *a two-edged ſword.* But, foraſmuch as we have neglected and contemned the pure and clear Word, neither have we drunk of the freſh and cool ſpring; therefore we are come from the clear fountain to the foul and ſtinking puddle,

puddle, and thereout have drank ſwaſhy and filthy water; that is, we have with great pains and labour read the Old Writers and Teachers, but with no profit at all. Chryſoſtom, in a manner, writeth nothing pure but only concerning baptizing of young infants. Hieronymus ſaith and handleth nothing to any purpoſe but only of his Meditations, how he lived; he extolleth virginity and living in monaſteries, above all divine ſtates and vocations. None of them applaudeth temporal government, nor magiſtracy, but they go only about with ſpeculative reaſonings like the Monks and Friars.

The Words of our Saviour Chriſt (ſaid *Luther*) are exceeding powerful, and have hands and feet; they are far above all exploits and ſubtilties of the worldly-wiſe, as we plainly ſee in the Goſpel, where Chriſt confoundeth the wiſdom of the Phariſees with plain and ſimple words; inſomuch, that they knew not which way to wind themſelves. It was a very ſharp ſyllogiſm, or concluding ſpeech, which the Lord ſpake, *Give to Cæſar the things which are Cæſar's*; wherewith he neither commandeth nor prohibiteth, but ſhutteth them up and ſnareth them with their own words and arguments; as would he ſay, Have ye ſuffered the Emperor to incroach ſo far that ye have and uſe his coin? then give him what ye are tied to give.

That thoſe which have God's Word pure, and ſtedfaſtly believe the ſame, are commonly poor.

WHERE God's Word or the Goſpel is taught pure and unfalſified, there is alſo poverty; as Chriſt ſaith, *I am ſent to preach the Goſpel to the poor.* More than ſufficient (ſaid *Luther*) hath been given to thoſe in monaſteries and cells, to unprofitable, lazy, and ungodly people, who lead us into danger of body and ſoul; but not (willingly) one farthing is given to a Chriſtian Teacher. Superſtition, idolatry, and hypocriſy have enough; but truth goeth a begging. Eight hundred Prieſts of Baal could be richly nouriſhed and maintained from Jezebel's own table, but Elias muſt fly out of the kingdom; there was none that would nouriſh and maintain him, until at laſt he was harboured and fed by the poor widow at Sunem.

That true and upright Chriſtians are ready to ſuffer Death and all manner of Torments for the Goſpel's ſake, but Hypocrites do ſhun the Croſs.

NOT long ſince (ſaid *Luther*) I invited to my table, at Wittemberg, an Hungarian Divine, named Matthias de Vai, who told me: That, as he came firſt to be a Preacher in Hungary, he chanced to fall out with a Papiſtical Prieſt; now, as he was complained of by that Prieſt to a Friar that was brother to the Vaivoda, or Governor of Buda, and that they were both ſummoned to appear before him, the one much accuſing the other, inſomuch that the Friar could not reconcile nor take up the controverſy between them; at laſt, and after long debate, the Friar ſaid: I know a way ſoon to diſcover the truth of this cauſe; and commanded, that two barrels of gunpowder ſhould be ſet in the midſt of the market-place at Buda, and ſaid unto the parties: He that will maintain his Doctrine to be right, and the true Word of God, let him ſit upon one of theſe barrels, and I will give fire unto it, and he that remaineth living and unburned, his Doctrine is right. Then Matthias de Vai leaped preſently upon one of the barrels, and ſat himſelf down thereon; but the Papiſt Prieſt would not up to the other barrel, but ſlunk away. Then the Friar ſaid: Now I ſee and know that the Faith and Doctrine of Matthias de Vai is the right, and that our Papiſtical Religion is

falſe. And thereupon he puniſhed and fined the Papiſt (with his aſſiſtants, for wronging De Vai) in four thouſand Hungarian ducats, and compelled him for a certain time to maintain one hundred ſoldiers at his own charge; but he licenſed Matthias De Vai openly to preach the Goſpel. The Friar himſelf, recanting his religion, was converted and became a Proteſtant: whereupon *Luther* ſaid, Never yet would any Papiſt burn for religion, but our people go with joy to the fire, as heretofore hath been well ſeen on the holy Martyrs. If at this time the Papiſts for religion ſhould be driven to the fire, O how many would play the parts of Mamalukes, and recant! *Illi ſunt Martyres activè, non paſſivé.* The Emperor, now at this time, hunteth away and murdereth the Chriſtians; therefore the Turk receiveth, maintaineth, defendeth, and protecteth them. *Papiſtæ nolunt regnum Chriſti, habent ergò regnum diaboli.* We, for our parts (ſaid *Luther*), are in the world eſteemed and held, *ut Oves occiſionis.*

That the preaching of God's Word bringeth the Croſs.

WHEN God preacheth his Word, then preſently followeth thereupon the Croſs, by good and godly Chriſtians; as St. Paul witneſſeth, where he ſaith, *All that will live a godly life in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution.* And our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, *The diſciple is not greater than the maſter: have they perſecuted me? they will perſecute you alſo.* Therefore (ſaid *Luther*), moſt certain it is, that the Croſs followeth, and under the Croſs God's Word is rightly underſtood; our Saviour Chriſt witneſſeth the ſame, where he ſaith, *Such things have I told you before, that when ye ſee it ye may believe.* The work, which thereupon followeth, doth rightly expound and declare the Word, as the Prophet *Iſaiah* ſaith: *Vexatio dat intellectum*, grief and ſorrow teacheth how to mark the Word. And *Eccleſiaſticus* ſaith, *Non tentatus qualia ſcit?* What knoweth he that is without tribulation and temptation? No man underſtandeth the Scriptures except he be acquainted with the Croſs.

He that will teath and confeſs God's Word, muſt not expect Honour, but the Croſs.

WHAT gifts and benefits ſoever God beſtoweth upon the people in the world, they, in requital, do take away from God the honour due unto him for the ſame. God can well bear with us when we boaſt of our power, of our riches, wiſdom, and arts, &c. theſe things God ſuffereth, and is content to let them paſs; but his Word and true Religion, of that he will have and keep the honour to himſelf, as good reaſon he ſhould. Therefore God hangeth the Croſs about our necks; as, ſcorn, perſecution, the world, and the devil; thereby to keep us in humility (leſt we be pricked with pride), to the end God himſelf may have the honour.

Of the Nature of God's Word.

IN the time of Chriſt and the Apoſtles God's Word was a Word of Doctrine which was preached every where in the world; afterwards in Popedom, it was but only a Word of Reading, which they only read, but underſtood not. In this our time it is made a Word of Strife, which fighteth and ſtriveth, it will endure the enemies thereof no longer, but removeth them out of the way.

That God's Word is the Womb wherein God's Children are conceived and born.

LIKE as in the world, and houſe-government, a child is an heir only becauſe it is born to inherit; even ſo, Faith only maketh ſuch to be God's children which are born of the Word, which is the womb wherein we are conceived, born, and nouriſhed, as the Prophet Iſaiah ſaith. Now, like as through ſuch a birth we become God's children (which God wrought without our help or doing), even ſo, we are alſo heirs after the ſame manner; ſo that now being heirs, we are freed and looſed from ſin, death, and the devil, and do inherit everlaſting life and juſtification.

That above and before all things God's Word muſt and ſhall be preferred.

ONE of the ſtrongeſt arguments, which the falſe Apoſtles fiercely forced upon St. Paul, was this: The Apoſtles of Chriſt (ſaid they) went about with him three whole years; they heard his preaching, and beheld his miracles (yea, the Apoſtles themſelves preached and wrought miracles when Chriſt was on earth) long before St. Paul, who as yet had not ſeen our Saviour Chriſt, but was converted certain years afterwards.

Now (ſaid *Luther*), which party ſhall a man believe? Whether the one ſingle man Paul (who indeed was but a diſciple, and thereto long afterwards converted to the Chriſtian faith)? or, ſhall we believe the higheſt and greateſt Apoſtles, which, long before St. Paul, were confirmed by Chriſt himſelf?

Hereunto St. Paul himſelf anſwereth (as is written to the Galatians), and ſaith, What is it more?

This argument (ſaid *Luther*) concludeth ſo much as nothing; for although they were greater Apoſtles; yea, although they had been angels from heaven, yet that troubleth me nothing at all; we are now dealing about God's Word, and with the truth of the Goſpel, that is a matter of far greater weight to have the ſame kept and preſerved pure and clear; therefore we neither care nor trouble ourſelves for, and about the greatneſs of St. Peter and the other Apoſtles, or how many and great miracles they wrought: the thing which we ſtrive for is, That the truth of the holy Goſpel may ſtand; for God regardeth not mens reputations nor perſons.

This example, and ſuch like (of which the Scripture is full), doth warn and adviſe us, that we ſhould not depend on perſons, nor think, when we have the outward maſk, that as then we have all; as in Popedom is evidently ſeen, where all things are acted and done but only for an external aſpect and outward ſhew. Therefore it is merely a maſk, or a Shrovetide's game with their fopperies, in which is beheld but only the outward ſhew and vizard.

From hence it cometh, that God will not, yea, hath earneſtly forbidden, that in cauſes of temporal juſtice any man's perſon ſhould be regarded. A Court of Juſtice, indeed (ſaid *Luther*), is divine work and ordinance: therefore, for my part, I neither love nor fear the Judge, but my fear and truſt ſtandeth upon one that is above the Judge; namely, upon God, who is the upright and true Judge.

I could well be content to hold the Pope in befitting reſpect and honour, yet ſo far that he permitted me to have my conſcience at liberty, and forced me not to offend my God, and to act any thing againſt him.

But he will not do ſo; he will have peremptorily that I ſhould honour and fear him in ſuch ſort, that thereby God's Majeſty muſt needs be diſhonoured and angered, and my conſcience wounded.

Now

Now therefore (ſaid *Luther*), ſeeing I muſt needs loſe and forſake one of theſe two, either God or the Pope, then away with that vizard, to the end I may honour and keep God Almighty: *otherwiſe I could willingly have borne with the Pope's glorious domineering*. But foraſmuch as he abuſeth his power and government too much, and will force me directly to blaſpheme and deny God, and contrarily, to acknowledge him to be Lord, and, in oppoſition to God's Word, will force my conſcience, and take the ſame into captivity; therefore by God's firſt Commandment I am compelled to reſiſt the Pope, ſeeing it is written: We muſt obey God more than men. And God our heavenly Father calleth down from heaven and ſaith; This (namely Chriſt, my well-beloved Son) ſhall ye hear; what he ſaith and commandeth, thereafter ſhall ye do; and that is only God's heart and will.

By what God preſerveth his Word.

GOD will keep his Word (ſaid *Luther*) through the writing-pen upon earth; the Divines are the heads, or quills of the pens, but the Lawyers are the ſtumps. If now the world will not keep the heads and quills; that is, if they will not hear the Divines, then they muſt keep the ſtumps; that is, they muſt hear the Lawyers who will teach them manners.

That in Cauſes of Religion we muſt not judge according to human Wiſdom, but according to God's Word.

WHEN the Pope and Emperor (ſaid *Luther*) cited me to appear at Worms, Anno Domini 1521, at the Imperial Aſſembly, they preſſed and earneſtly adviſed me to refer the determining of my cauſe to his Imperial Majeſty; but I anſwered the three ſpiritual Electors, Maintz, Tryer, and Cologne, and ſaid: I will rather ſurrender up to his Majeſty his letters of ſafe-conduct which he hath given me, than to put this cauſe to the determining of any human creature whatſoever. Whereupon, my maſter, the Prince Elector of Saxony, ſaid alſo unto them, Truly no man could offer more. But as they ſtill inſiſted and urged me touching that point, I ſaid: I did not dare to preſume (without great danger of running myſelf into God's wrath, and of the loſs of my ſoul's health) to refer this Cauſe (which is none of mine, but God's Cauſe) to the cenſure of earthly counſel; for the ſame, before all ages, hath been had in conſultation, hath been determined, cenſured, concluded, and confirmed by the great Council in Heaven, to be and remain the infallible, moſt certain and true Word of the High Majeſty of God, and therefore altogether needleſs; yea, moſt preſumptuous now it were, either to receive, or to deliver it to the determination and cenſure of human and natural ſenſe, wit, and wiſdom, which is ſubject to nothing more than to error, eſpecially in and concerning God's Word and divine matters. And I told them flat and plain, I would rather expoſe myſelf to endure all the torments that this world, fleſh, and the devil were able to deviſe and prepare, than to give my conſent thereunto.

That in former Times it was dangerous ſtudying the Holy Scriptures.

IN times paſt, as alſo in part of our time (ſaid *Luther*), it was dangerous ſtudying, when divinity and all good arts were contemned; and when fine, expert, and prompt wits were plagued with ſophiſtry. Ariſtotle, the Heathen, was held in ſuch repute and honour, that whoſo undervalued or contradicted him, was held, at Cologne, for the greateſt heretick; whereas they themſelves underſtood not Ariſtotle. The Sophiſts did much more darken Ariſtotle than illuſtrate him: like as that Frair did, who

waſted two whole hours in a ſermon about Chriſt's Paſſion, and concerning this queſtion: *Utrùm quantitas realiter diſtincta ſit à ſubſtantia?* whether the quantity in itſelf were divided from the ſubſtance? he ſhewed this example, and ſaid, My head might well creep through, but the bigneſs of my head could not; inſomuch that, like an idiot, he divided the head from the bigneſs thereof. A ſilly grammarian might eaſily have ſolved the ſame, and ſaid, The bigneſs of the head; that is, the big or great head.

With ſuch and the like fopperies were petty brains troubled (ſaid *Luther*), and were inſtructed neither in good arts, nor in divinity. Antipho, Chuſa, Bovillus, and others, were likewiſe miſerably moleſted and plagued, about bringing a thing which was round into four ſquare, and to compare a ſtraight line with a crooked. But we, God be praiſed, have now happy times; and it were to be wiſhed that the youth made good uſe thereof, and ſpent their ſtudying diligently in ſuch arts as at this time are green and flouriſh.

That God's Word ought not to be cenſured by the Fruits and Lives of the Hearers.

THE ſectaries and ſeducers are mad fools (ſaid *Luther*), and go aſtray far from the right way; for they cenſure and judge God's Word according to the fruits and lives of the hearers. They cry now, and ſay, Lo, the people at Wittemberg are made nothing more godly and better by the preaching of the Goſpel! therefore ſurely, ſay they, the doctrine is not right. Likewiſe, ſay the Papiſts, It is not enough to hear the Goſpel, but we muſt add ſomewhat thereunto ourſelves; we muſt forſake wife and children, we muſt put on grey coats, and we muſt make choice of our own righteouſneſs, &c.; but they will find themſelves ſhamefully confounded in contemning God's Word, becauſe it produceth not fruit in every one.

That the contemning of God's Word pulls down God's greateſt Wrath.

WHEN God took away his Word from the Greeks, then, inſtead thereof, he gave them the Turk and Mahomet. God (ſaid *Luther*), for a heavy puniſhment, hath given to us Germans, and to the Italians, the Pope, and with him we have all manner of abomination; as, the denying of the true faith, &c. No greater plague could come from God unto us, than to ſuffer us to be bereaved of his Word; we might rather wiſh unto ourſelves all manner of plagues and puniſhments, than to want God's Word, or to have it unpure and falſified.

That God's Word, to human Senſe and Reaſon, appeareth as if it were altogether a Lie.

THE word of faith (ſaid *Luther*) is contrary to all human ſenſe, reaſon, and underſtanding, and it is againſt common experience; for the true Chriſtian Church, moſt of all, is plagued and tempted of the devil. And although our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, *Be of good comfort, I have overcome the world*, yet, notwithſtanding, by the true Church, there is nothing but ſorrow, croſſes, and perſecutions; therefore we muſt know that what is written in Holy Scripture, the ſame to human ſenſe, wit, and wiſdom are flat lies. But good and godly Chriſtians do believe that God, in our weakneſs, will ſhew his ſtrength and power; and alſo, in our higheſt fooliſhneſs, he will cauſe his wiſdom to be ſeen. Bleſſed are they that believe.

That the Jews have better Teachers and Writers of the Holy Scriptures than the Gentiles.

WHEN I read in the Pſalter (ſaid *Luther*), I do much admire that David had ſuch a ſpirit. O, what high enlightened people were among the Jews! This David was a married man; he was a king, a ſoldier, and a preacher; he was buſy in temporal affairs, yet, nevertheleſs, he wrote ſuch an excellent ſurpaſſing book. The New Teſtament was written alſo by men that were Jews, and the Apoſtles themſelves were Jews: God would ſignify thereby that we ſhould adore his Word, we ſhould preciouſly eſteem thereof, reverence, and love the ſame. We Gentiles have no book that ruleth in the Church, therefore we are not comparable to the Jews; from hence it is that St. Paul maketh a very fine diſtinction or difference between Sarah and Agar, and the two ſons Iſaac and Iſmael. Agar was alſo a wife, but nothing near like Sarah; therefore it is a great pride, preſumption, and wilfulneſs of the Pope, in that he, being but an human creature, will preſume, without Scripture, to ſet himſelf againſt the Scripture, and will exalt himſelf above the ſame.

Of Luther's *Complaint of the Multitude of Books.*

THE multitude of books (ſaid *Luther*) is much to be lamented; no meaſure nor end is held in writing; every one will write books; ſome out of ambition to purchaſe praiſe thereby, and to raiſe them names; others for the ſake of lucre and gain, and by that means furthereth much evil: therefore the Bible, by ſo many comments and books, will be buried and obſcured, ſo that the Text will be nothing regarded. I could wiſh that all my books were buried nine ells deep in the ground, for evil example's ſake, in that every one will imitate me with writing many books, thereby to purchaſe praiſe. But Chriſt died not for the ſake of our ambition and vain-glory, but he died only to the end that his name might be ſanctified.

From whence the Fables of Æſop were occaſioned, and how they came up.

PART of thoſe Fables (ſaid *Luther*) came up when the Emperor Julius, that abominable tyrant and denier of Chriſt, ſtrictly prohibited, in his empire, the preaching and teaching of the Holy Scriptures, or God's Word; at which time there were two pious Biſhops, as in the Church hiſtories is mentioned, who were ſchoolmaſters, and taught the youth in ſchool. Theſe godly Biſhops played with ſuch fables, and thereby inſtructed their ſcholars with hidden and coloured words.

That People ought to take heed leſt they be offended at the plain and ſimple Manner of Speech in the Holy Scriptures.

I DESIRE and truly admoniſh every good Chriſtian, that in any caſe he take not offence at the plain and ſimple manner of ſpeech which is written in the Bible, and not to make doubt thereof, how ſlight and mean ſoever it appeareth; for they are altogether Words, Works, Acts, and Judgments of the High Majeſty, Power, and Wiſdom of God. For the Bible is the book that maketh fools of the crafty and wiſe of the world, and it is underſtood only of the plain and ſimple, as our Saviour Chriſt ſaith; therefore away (ſaid *Luther*) with thy natural ſenſe and reaſon, and eſteem of this Book as of the moſt high and precious holy relic, and the right fountain which can never be exhauſted. In this book thou findeſt the ſwaddling-clothes and the

manger wherein Chriſt lieth, to which the angels directed the poor and ſimple ſhepherds. Indeed, they ſeem to be mean ſilly clouts; but dear and precious is the treaſure that lieth therein.

Why, in the Holy Scriptures, one only Thing is ſo often repeated again.

HUMAN ſenſe, wit, and wiſdom taketh ſnuff in the noſe, that in the Holy Writ one only thing ſo oftentimes is repeated with the former and ſelf ſame words; as in the Books of Moſes, eſpecially in the fifth Book, nothing ſo much and ſo often is inculcated and rehearſed as this: *I am the Lord thy God that brought thee out of Egypt.* The cauſe thereof (ſaid *Luther*) is this: The Holy Ghoſt did well foreſee the ungodly hearts and unthankfulneſs of mankind; that the great goodneſſes and benefits of God by them are ſoon forgotten, as it goeth even now with us. God hath now freed and delivered us from the tyranny of the Pope, the Antichriſt, and hath thrown down and ſcattered the ſectaries and ſeducers (as Carleſtad, and ſuch like), whoſe fearful downfals ought juſtly both to affright and to comfort us, to the end that we might live in God's fear; but all is unthankfully by us forgotten—ſuch ungrateful people are we.

That we ought to depend wholly on God's Word, and hold faſt the ſame.

THE ungodly Papiſts (ſaid *Luther*) do prefer the authority of the Church far before and above God's Word; which blaſphemy, ſo abominable, is not to be endured. Therewith, void of all ſhame and piety, they even ſpit God in the face. Truly, God's patience is exceeding great, in that they be not deſtroyed; but ſo it always hath been; for the falſe God at Bethel was held in far more regard and eſteem among God's people, the Iſraelites, than was the God of whom Jeremiah preached. So much it coſteth our Saviour Chriſt, that at leaſt by ſome, though few, he preſerveth his power and mercy. He is fain to throw down many Kings to the ground, to the end he may a little be feared: on the contrary, he is conſtrained to have mercy on many whores and wicked wretches, to the end they may learn a little to truſt in him.

Great is the folly of the Papiſts in preſuming to cenſure God's Word, when as they ought, on the contrary, directly to obey the ſame, and to be ſubject thereunto. It is even as much (ſaid *Luther*) as if the clay ſhould give directions to the potter of what faſhion he ſhould form it. Juſt ſo the Pope and Papiſts will exalt themſelves above God; the creature will controul the Creator; but they ought to do as is written in Matthew, xvii. *Him ſhall ye hear*; and, as the 45th Pſalm ſaith, *Hearken, O daughter, and conſider*; *incline thine ear, and forget thy father's houſe*, &c.

Yea, and although Adam had not fallen in Paradiſe, yet, notwithſtanding, we muſt have been ruled and directed according to God's Word; therefore it is indeed a great folly that now, after the fall, we will preſume in darkneſs to contemn the ſame; as the puppet-toys and fooleries, which, without God's Word, only according to human reaſon and underſtanding, they ground upon the ſand, and upon men, as if their ſalvation ſhould depend upon it; truly (ſaid *Luther*) it is altogether ridiculous.

That God's Word was more powerfully preached in the Apoſtles Time, and alſo is now in our Time, than it was in Chriſt's Time.

IN the Apoſtles time, as alſo in our time, the Goſpel was and is preached more powerfully, and further ſpread abroad, than it was in the time of Chriſt; for Chriſt

had not ſuch repute, nor ſo many hearers as they, the Apoſtles, had, and as now we have. Chriſt himſelf ſaith to his Diſciples, Ye ſhall do greater works than I; I am but a little grain of muſtard ſeed; but ye ſhall be like the vine-tree, and as the arms and boughs wherein the birds ſhall build their neſts: as if he would ſay, I have preached but only in the corners in the Jews land, but ye ſhall preach openly upon houſes tops, and in the whole world, and ſhall make the Goſpel known to all men.

That God's Word worketh great Wonders, but every one will preſume to maſter the ſame.

THE doctrine of the Goſpel (ſaid *Luther*) hath wrought many wonders in our time: it hath caſt down and put to confuſion the Monaſterial vows, and the abominable idolatry of the private Maſs, which made ſo glorious a ſhew. O that we could be thankful to God for the ſame! and could look back and ſee in what miſerable darkneſs we have been in that curſed Popedom, out of which, without any of our deſerts, God moſt mercifully hath freed and delivered us, through his all-ſaving Word, which moſt wickedly we have contemned, and which every one now will preſume to cenſure and to maſter; as St. Jerome complains in his Preface upon the Bible.

That almoſt every old doting fool, or prating ſophiſt, would preſume to be a Maſter in Divinity. All other arts and ſciences (ſaid *Luther*) have their maſters and directors, of whom people muſt learn, and they have orders and rights which muſt be obſerved and obeyed; only the Holy Scripture, and God's Word, muſt lie open, and be ſubject to every man's pride, wilfulneſs, and preſumption, from whence ſo many ſects, ſeducers, and offences do proceed. I pray God amend it.

That God's Word will not be truly underſtood without Trials and Temptations.

I (Said *Luther*) did not learn my divinity at one only time, but I was conſtrained to ſearch deeper and deeper, to which my temptations brought me; for no man, without trials and temptations, can attain to the true underſtanding of the Holy Scriptures. St. Paul had a devil that beat him with fiſts, and with temptations drove him diligently to ſtudy the Holy Scripture. I (ſaid *Luther*) had cleaving and hanging on my neck the Pope, the Univerſities, all the deep-learned, and with them the devil himſelf; theſe hunted me into the Bible, wherein I diligently read, and thereby, God be praiſed, at length I attained to the true underſtanding of the ſame. Without ſuch a devil, we are but only ſpeculators of divinity, and according to our vain reaſoning we dream that ſo and ſo it muſt be, as the Monks and Friars in monaſteries do. The Holy Scripture of itſelf is certain and true enough; but God grant me the grace that I may catch hold on the right uſe thereof; for when Satan diſputeth with me in this ſort, namely, whether God be gracious unto me or no? then I muſt not meet him with this text: *Whoſo loveth God with all his heart, with all his ſoul, and with all his ſtrength, the ſame ſhall inherit the kingdom of God*; for then the devil preſently objecteth, and hitteth me in the teeth, and ſaith, Thou haſt not loved God with all thy heart, &c. which indeed is true, and my own conſcience therein witneſſeth againſt me; but at ſuch a time I muſt arm myſelf, and encounter him with this text, namely, *That Jeſus Chriſt died for me, and through him I have a gracious God and Father: Chriſt hath made an atonement for me, as St. Paul ſaith, He is of God given unto us for wiſdom, for righteouſneſs, for holineſs, and for redemption.*

Tyrants, ſectaries, ſeducers, and heretics do nothing elſe but drive us into the Bible, to make us read more diligently therein, and with more fervency to ſharpen our prayers.

That

That the World for certain holdeth, the Doctrine of God's Word muſt ſink again.

ALL the worldly-wiſe (ſaid *Luther*) do certainly hold and expect that the doctrine of the Goſpel, becauſe it came up ſo ſuddenly, cannot continue long, but muſt and will ſoon fall again of itſelf; therefore John Albrecht, Biſhop of Magdeburgh, made common uſe of this proverb: We muſt, ſaid he, refer and commit much to the time. He hoped that Popedom would ſway and flouriſh again in Germany; he had formerly received inſtructions at Rome, therefore he cared nothing at all for the doctrine of the Goſpel.

That the Preaching of God's Word offendeth the World.

WE (ſaid *Luther*), with our preaching, cannot pleaſe the world; for if we teach the traditions of the Pope, and of men, then Chriſt is much wronged, and our conſciences thereby are made ſorrowful and heavy, and we are ſeduced: again, if we preach Chriſt, then fleſh, blood, and the Pope are offended.

How we ought to behave ourſelves towards the Contemners of God's Word and the Sacrament.

LUTHER having aſſembled certain divines in his houſe at Iſlebia, ſaid unto them, Loving brethren! let us diligently attend the Church with preaching the pure doctrine, and with adminiſtering the holy ſacraments. *They that refuſe to receive the communion, and to learn the catechiſm, let us not viſit ſuch in their ſickneſs, no, not although they die*; but let them die like ſwine, regard them not, neither let them be interred in churches, nor churchyard, that thereby others may be feared and affrighted.

At the ſame time, one of the divines demanded of *Luther*, how God talked with the Patriarchs; whereas St. John ſaith, *No man hath ſeen God at any time*. And yet, notwithſtanding, the Patriarch Jacob, on the contrary, ſaith, *I have ſeen the Lord face to face*. Whereupon *Luther* anſwered him, and ſaid, God ſpake with the Fathers by viſions and apparitions; in that manner did they ſee God's face, and not God himſelf. We have now alſo God's face, and do ſee him through the Word, through the Sacraments and keys of the Church; we ſee alſo God's face in the orders of the Elders and Magiſtrates, &c. Face, in the Scripture, is called God's appearance, his preſence, and his mercy; as David ſaith, *Lord, caſt me not away from thy face*. On the contrary, to ſee God's backſide, or backwards, is ſaid to ſee God's wrath: theſe, according to the grammar, are called the face and back of God. The ancient teachers ſignified God's back to be Chriſt's humanity. But Moſes deſired to ſee God's face, that is, his glory, to the end the people ſhould give credit unto him; for that cauſe did Moſes, as a public perſon and officer, wiſh and deſire to ſee God's face; that is, God's omnipotent power, his wiſdom, and goodneſs; which three are not ſeparated nor parted, neither are the Perſons divided, but are united and attributed with and to the Perſons, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt: but on the contrary, and in our eyes, God ſeemeth to be weak, ridiculous, and evil; that is, to ſee God's back, as St. Paul ſpeaketh, concerning the weakneſs of the crucified God, and of the ſimple and fooliſh word.

Of the Advice of the Biſhop of Salzburg, how to qualify the Controverſy between the Proteſtants and Papiſts, propounded to Luther *ſhortly before his Death; touching which,* Luther *diſcourſed as followeth:*

AT the Imperial aſſembly at Auſpurg, in the year 1530, the Biſhop of Salzburg ſaid unto me, Four ways and means there are to make a reconciliation, or union, between us and you Proteſtants: One is, That ye yield unto us. To that you ſay you cannot. The ſecond is, That we yield unto you; but that we will not do. The third is, That the one party, by force, ſhould be compelled to yield to the other; but thereupon a great combuſtion and tumult might be raiſed: therefore the fourth way or means were to be applauded and uſed; namely, That now being here aſſembled together, the one party ſhould ſtrive to thruſt out the other, and that party which ſhall have the advantage, and be the ſtronger, the ſame ſhould put the other party into a bag, and expel them. Whereupon I (ſaid *Luther*) anſwered him, and ſaid, This, indeed, were a very ſubſtantial courſe to ſettle unity and peace, wonderful wiſely conſidered of, found out and expounded by ſuch a holy and Chriſtian-like Biſhop as you are; and thereupon I took letters out of my pocket, which ſhortly before I had received from Rome, and gave the ſame to the Biſhop to read; which letter related a pretty paſſage that fell out there five weeks before, between ſome Cardinals and the Pope's Fool, written as followeth:

The ſaid Cardinals had been in ſerious conſultation how, and by what means, the Proteſtants in Germany might be convinced, touching their error, and ſuppreſſed; but they ſaw the difficulty of it, in that the Proteſtants, in their books and writings, powerfully againſt the Papiſts, cited the ſacred Scripture, and eſpecially they oppoſed and withſtood them with the doctrine of St. Paul, which were great blocks in the Papiſts way; inſomuch, that they found it a buſineſs not ſo eaſily to be accompliſhed. Then ſaid the Fool unto the Cardinals, I know how to give you herein an advice, whereby you eaſily may be rid and quitted of St. Paul, that his doctrines ſhall not be approved of, as thus: The Pope, ſaid the Fool, hath power to make Saints; therefore let St. Paul be taken out of the number of the Apoſtles, and preferred to be a Saint; as then his *dicta*, or ſayings, which are againſt you, ſhall no more be held for apoſtolical. This, and your propoſition (ſaid *Luther* to the Biſhop), are of equal value.

That God's Word, and the Chriſtian Church, is preſerved againſt the raging of the World.

IN the year 1546, *Luther* was advertiſed by letters from Franckfort, that Charles the Emperor, and the Pope, ſwiftly proceeded againſt that good and godly Biſhop, Hermane of Cologne, they intending to hunt and drive him from country and people; whereupon *Luther* diſcourſed, and ſaid:

The Papiſts have loſt the cauſe; with God's Word they are not able to reſiſt or withſtand us. *Ergò volunt ſapientiâ, violentiâ, aſtutiâ practicâ, dolo, vi & armis pugnare. Ipſi nobis teſtimonium perhibent, quòd Sapientia Dei, Veritas Dei, & Verbum Dei nobiſcum ſit.* But they ſay, What ſhall we do in this caſe? *Ut Chriſtum & ejus Evangelium opprimamus?* O, ſay they, *Dolum, vim & aſtutiam adhibeamus, ut iſtam cauſſam diruamus.* Here (ſaid *Luther*) cometh on the ſecond Pſalm, and ſaith, *The Kings of the earth ſtand up, and the rulers take counſel together.* What to do? *Againſt the Lord, and againſt his Anointed.* But what followeth? *He that ſitteth in heaven ſhall laugh them to ſcorn; the Lord ſhall have them in deriſion.* God will deal well

well enough with theſe angry gentlemen (ſaid *Luther*), and will give them but ſmall thanks for their labour, in going about to ſuppreſs his Word and ſervants: he hath ſat in council above theſe five thouſand five hundred years, hath ruled and made laws. Good Sirs! be not ſo choleric, go further from the wall, leſt you knock your pates againſt it. *Be wiſe now therefore, O ye kings, be inſtructed ye judges of the earth; ſerve the Lord in fear*, &c. *Kiſs the Son, leſt he be angry, and ſo ye periſh*, &c. That is, take hold on Chriſt, or the devil will take hold on you. *Credo* (ſaid *Luther*) *Deum velle Papam ſubvertere, ut veniat extrema dies.* This ſecond Pſalm (ſaid *Luther*) is a proud Pſalm againſt thoſe fellows; it begins mild and ſimply, but it endeth ſtately and rattling: *Nè pereatis de via juſta:* Fire will break out; therefore, *Beati omnes qui confidunt in eum.* It is a moſt excellent and a brave ſtately Pſalm (ſaid *Luther*), and I am much taken with it: above, it ſaith, *Habitator Cæli*, He that dwells in heaven taketh our part, therefore take good heed what ye do. We (ſaid *Luther*) have no other comfort againſt theſe ſwift worldly practices, than that our God is called *Deus non à longè, ſed à prope*; and alſo, *Deus miſericordiæ:* He ſeeth all theſe ſtratagems, and forgetteth them not, for God hath a great memory.

I (ſaid *Luther*) have now angered the Pope about his images of idolatry: O! how the ſow raiſeth her briſtles. I have given the Pope a gilded cup in his hand, he muſt taſte firſt of that. I have a great advantage againſt him; *For the Lord ſaith unto my Lord*, שֵׁב לִימִינִי ſheb limini, *ſit on my right hand, until I make thy enemies thy foot-ſtool.* He ſaith, *Ego ſuſcitabo vos in noviſſimo die:* and then he will call and ſay, Ho! Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, Juſtus Jonas, John Calvin, &c. ariſe, come up; and God will call us by our names, as our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, in St. John's Goſpel, *Et vocat eos nominatim.* Well on (ſaid *Luther*), let us be of good comfort.

CHAP. II.

OF GOD'S WORKS.

That human Senſe and Reaſon cannot comprehend nor underſtand God's Works.

ALL the Works of God (ſaid *Luther*) are unſearchable and unſpeakable; no human ſenſe can find them out, only Faith takes hold thereof without human power or addition. No human creature can take hold or know God in his Majeſty, and therefore hath he ſet himſelf down in the ſimpleſt manner, and was made Man, yea, was made ſin, death, and weakneſs. He was ſimple, indeed, and mean enough when he took upon him the quality of a Servant, as St. Paul ſaith to the Philippians. But who can believe it? We think that the Turkiſh Emperor is much more mighty, *Eraſmus Rotterdamus* much more learned, a Friar far more good and godly than God himſelf is.

To conclude; in all things, and in the leaſt creatures yea alſo, in their members, God's almighty power and great wonderful works do clearly ſhine. For, what man (how powerful, wiſe, and holy ſoever) can make out of one fig a fig-tree, or another fig? or, out of one cherry-ſtone, can make a cherry, or a cherry-

cherry-tree? or, what man can know, how God createth and preſerveth all things and makes them grow?

And truly we find and ſee printed the Holy Trinity in all good arts and creatures; as the almighty power of God the Father, the wiſdom of God the Son, and the goodneſs of God the Holy Ghoſt. Neither can we conceive or know how the apple of the eye doth ſee, or how underſtanding words are ſpoken diſtinctly and plainly, when only the tongue is moved and ſtirred in the mouth: all which are natural things, as we daily ſee and act. How then ſhould we be able to comprehend or underſtand the ſecret counſel of God's Majeſty, or ſearch it out with our ſenſe, wit, reaſon, or underſtanding.

That no Man underſtands God's Works.

NO man (ſaid *Luther*) is able to imagine, much leſs to underſtand, what God hath done, and ſtill doth without ceaſing. Although we laboured and ſweated blood to write but only three lines in ſuch manner as St. John did write, yet were we never able to perform it. What then, ſhould we any way admire or wonder at our wiſdom? I, for my part (ſaid *Luther*), will be a fool, and will yield myſelf captive.

In the beginning God made Adam out of a piece of clay, Eve out of his rib; he bleſſed them, and ſaid, *Be fruitful and increaſe*: theſe words do and will ſtand, and remain powerful to the world's end. And although many people die daily, yet there are ſtill new born, as David ſaith in his Pſalm, *Thou ſuffereſt men to die and go away like a ſhadow, and ſayeſt, Come again ye children of men.* Theſe and other things which he daily createth, the ungodly blind world doth not ſee, nor acknowledge for God's wonders; but they think all is done by chance and at hap-hazard. On the contrary, the good and godly, whereſoever they caſt their eyes, do behold heaven and earth, the air and water, &c. they ſee and acknowledge all for God's wonders, at which they are aſtoniſhed; they ſee their delight and joy of the ſame, they laud and praiſe the Creator, and do alſo know that God is well pleaſed therewith.

The children of the world, which are in darkneſs, ſee nothing of theſe things, much leſs do know the cauſes of faith. The articles of faith are too high for them. That three perſons are one only God; that the true Son of God was made man; that in Chriſt are two natures, divine and human, &c. thereat are they offended; nay, they hold them for fictions and fables. For, ſo unlikely as it is to ſay, a man and a ſtone are one perſon; even ſo unlikely it is alſo to human ſenſe and reaſon, that God was made man, or, that divine and human natures united in Chriſt, is one perſon. St. Paul underſtood an excellent piece thereof; and although he took not hold of all, yet he breaks forth to the Coloſſians, the ſecond chapter, and ſaith, *In Chriſt dwelleth all the fulneſs of the Godhead bodily.* Alſo, *In him lies hid all treaſure of wiſdom and knowledge.* His meaning is, Whoſo findeth not God in Chriſt, the ſame ſhall never find him, let him ſeek where and how long he will, much leſs ſhall he underſtand what God's will and eſſence is.

But we acknowledge all in Chriſt, the whole Godhead and manhood; that is, we ſee in him the higheſt ſtrength and power together with the higheſt weakneſs; we ſee in him both life and death, righteouſneſs and ſin, God's grace and anger.

Ah! (ſaid *Luther*) what ſhall we ſay, that God was made man! Truly it is a very high and hard article, above and againſt all human ſenſe and reaſon, but no man (or very few) do ſeriouſly meditate thereof, or conſider the ſame.

That

That God is without, and above, and yet in all Creatures.

SEEING now, that *heaven is his ſtool*, Iſaiah, the 66th chapter, ſo can he reach far, far above heaven; and that the *earth is his footſtool*, therefore he muſt needs be in the whole world, as the words following do witneſs, where God ſaith, *Where is the place of my reſt? For all thoſe things hath mine hand made, and all thoſe things have been*, ſaith the Lord: *but to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite ſpirit, and trembleth at my word:* as if he ſhould ſay, They are thoſe by whom I will have my reſt and dwelling; but now theſe are ſcattered here and there in the whole world. And if he fills all things, as St. Paul ſaith, then ſurely he muſt needs be every where (underſtand) *ſpiritually in his Word and Sacraments.*

Therefore, he that will be wiſe before God, let him learn God's Word, and ſtand in fear of him; for, *the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wiſdom:* yet let him fear ſo, that he alſo hope of his goodneſs, Pſalm, cxlvii.

If (ſaid *Luther*) any man will aſk, Why God permitteth that men be hardened, and do fall into everlaſting perdition? Let him aſk again, Why God did not ſpare his only Son, but gave him for us all to die the moſt contemned death of the croſs? which is a more certain ſign of his love towards us poor people, than of his wrath and anger againſt us. Such queſtions cannot be better ſolved and anſwered than by the like contrary queſtions. True it is (ſaid *Luther*), the malicious devil deceived and ſeduced Adam. But we ought again to hold and conſider that, ſoon after the fall, Adam received the promiſe of the woman's ſeed that ſhould cruſh the ſerpent's head, and ſhould bleſs the people on earth. Therefore we muſt acknowledge, take to heart, and well contemplate that the goodneſs and mercy of the Father is immeaſurably great towards the wicked, ungovernable world, who ſent his Son to be their Saviour. Let therefore (ſaid *Luther*) his good will be acceptable unto thee, and do not ſpeculate with and about that deviliſh *quere*, Why and wherefore, touching God's Words and Works? For God, who is a Creator of all creatures, and ordereth all things according to his unſearchable will and wiſdom, hath no pleaſure in ſuch queſtions, but rather abhors them.

That we may be (ſaid *Luther*) at a certainty of all theſe things, namely, who ſhall be ſaved, or who damned? Let us know, that he hath ſent his only Son unto us, and commanded that we ſhould hear him. He hath revealed his Father's will unto us, namely, that *whoſo believeth in the Son, hath everlaſting life, but he that doth not believe is already condemned.* John iii. and vi. *Likewiſe, he that believeth and is baptized ſhall be ſaved, but he that doth not believe, ſhall be damned.* Mark, xvi.

That God (ſaid *Luther*) ſometimes, out of his divine premeditated counſel, wonderful wiſe, unſearchable to human reaſon and underſtanding, hath mercy on this man, and hardeneth another, as the Scripture ſpeaks of Pharaoh; it beſeemeth not us to ſearch or ſift out. We muſt certainly know, and not doubt, that he doth nothing without certain cauſe and premeditated counſel. And truly, if God were to give an account to every one of his works and actions, then were he indeed but a *poor ſimple God.*

Our Saviour Chriſt ſaid to Peter, John, xiii. *What I do thou knoweſt not now, but thou ſhalt know hereafter*, namely, at that joyful day. Then we ſhall know (ſaid *Luther*) how truly and friendly our loving God and Father hath been affected unto us. In the mean time (although misfortunes, miſery, and troubles have been, and ſhall be upon us) we muſt notwithſtanding have this ſure confidence in him, that he will not ſuffer us to be deſtroyed neither in body nor ſoul, but will ſo deal with us,

us, that all things (be they good or evil) ſhall and muſt redound to our beſt comforts.

St. Hilary (ſaid *Luther*) giveth us a fine text, *Let us* (ſaith he) *be content, that we do not know the ſtate of our bodies, how ſhould we then be ſo preſumptuous as to ſpeculate and to ſearch out the Majeſty of God?* This ought not to be, we ſhall thereby become like climbing goats, which do oftentimes fall and break their necks. Therefore I (ſaid *Luther*) do truly adviſe, that men would hear what God ſaith through his Word, and direct themſelves according to the ſame, otherwiſe, all labour and trouble is in vain, and we are loſt.

When one aſked, Where God was before Heaven was created? St. Auſtin made anſwer thereunto and ſaid, He was in himſelf. And as another (ſaid *Luther*) aſked me the ſame queſtion, I ſaid, He was building of Hell for ſuch idle, preſumptuous, fluttering ſpirits and inquiſitors. After he had created all things, he was every where, and yet he was no where; for I cannot faſten nor take hold of him without the Word. But he will be found there where he hath bound himſelf to be. The Jews found him at Jeruſalem by the Throne of Grace, Exodus, xxv. We find him in the Word and Faith, in Baptiſm and Sacraments; but in his Majeſty he is no where to be found.

It was a ſpecial grace in the Old Teſtament, when God bound himſelf to a certain place where he would be found, namely, in that place where the Tabernacle was, towards which they prayed; as firſt, in Silo and Sichem, afterwards at Gibeon, and laſtly at Jeruſalem in the Temple.

The Greeks and Heathens in after times (ſaid *Luther*) did imitate the ſame, and did build temples for their idols in certain places, as at Epheſus for Diana, at Delphos for Apollo, &c. For, where God built a church there the devil would alſo build a chapel. They imitated the Jews alſo in this, namely, that as the moſt holieſt was dark, and had no light, even ſo and after the ſame manner did they make their places dark where the devil made anſwer, as at Delphos, and elſewhere. In ſuch ſort is the devil always God's ape.

But (ſaid *Luther*) whereas the moſt holieſt muſt be dark, the ſame did ſignify that the Kingdom of Chriſt no other way was to be taken hold of and faſtened, but only by the Word and by Faith.

That God is Faithful and True.

GOD is upright, faithful, and true (ſaid *Luther*), as he hath ſhewed, not only in that he hath given us his Promiſes in Chriſt, through whom we have forgiveneſs of ſins, and deliverance from everlaſting death; but alſo, he hath laid before us in the Scriptures many gracious and comfortable examples of great and holy Saints which of God were highly enlightened and favoured, and yet notwithſtanding did fall into great and heavy ſins.

Adam, by his fall and diſobedience, did hereditarily convey ſin and death upon all his poſterity. Aaron brought a great ſin upon Iſrael, inſomuch that God for the ſame would have deſtroyed them, Deut. ix. David alſo fell very heavily, 2 Sam. xi. Job and Jeremiah curſed the day wherein they were born. Jonas was ſorely vexed, becauſe Nineveh was not deſtroyed. Peter denied, Paul perſecuted Chriſt, &c.

Theſe and ſuch like innumerable examples (ſaid *Luther*) doth the Holy Writ relate unto us, not that we ſhould live ſecurely, and ſhould ſin upon the mercies of God; but that, when we feel God's anger (which will ſurely follow upon the ſins), as then we ſhould not deſpair, but ſhould well remember ſuch comfortable

examples, and thereby certainly conclude, that, as God was merciful unto them, ſo likewiſe he will be gracious unto us, out of his mere goodneſs and mercy ſhewed in Chriſt, and will not impute our ſins unto us.

We may alſo ſee (ſaid *Luther*), by ſuch examples of great holy men that fell ſo grievouſly, what a wicked, crafty, and envious ſpirit the devil is, and that he is a prince and a God of the world.

Theſe high divine people, that committed ſuch heavy ſins, did fall (ſaid *Luther*) through God's counſel and permiſſion; to the end they ſhould not be proud nor boaſt themſelves of their gifts and qualities, but ſhould rather fear. For, when David had ſinned, had ſlain Uriah, had taken from him his wife, and thereby gave cauſe to God's enemies to blaſpheme; then he could not boaſt that he had governed well, or had ſettled much goodneſs; but he ſaid, *I have ſinned againſt the Lord*, aud with tears he prayed, *Miſerere mei, Deus*, &c. And Job alſo acknowledgeth, and ſaith, *I have ſpoken fooliſhly, and therefore do I accuſe myſelf, and repent*, &c.

God's Buſineſs and Cauſes have altogether a ſimple and ſmall Beginning.

WHEN God (ſaid *Luther*) intendeth, or hath in hand, ſome great matter or work, then he begins the ſame by and through a poor and ſilly human creature, and afterwards he gives therein aſſiſtance, inſomuch that the enemies who ſeek to hinder the ſame are overcome. As when he delivered the Children of Iſrael out of the long, weariſome, and heavy captivity in Egypt, and would lead them into the Land of Promiſe, then he called, firſt, Moſes, and afterwards he gave unto him his brother Aaron for an aſſiſtant; they went to Pharaoh, ſpake unto him by the commandment of the Lord [*the God of the Hebrews*] that he ſhould *let Iſrael go*, &c. And although Pharaoh at the firſt ſet himſelf hard againſt them, and plagued the people worſe than before, yet nevertheleſs he was forced in the end, through ſo many plagues, to let Iſrael go; yea, the Egyptians thronged together, and quickly drove them out of the land. But when Pharaoh repented that he had let them go, and hunted after them with horſes, horſemen, chariots, and with all his hoſt, then the Lord commanded Moſes to ſtretch forth his hand, wherein he had the ſtaff, over the ſea, and then the waters parted; and when the Egyptians followed after Iſrael in the midſt of the ſea, then the Lord fought for Iſrael, drowned Pharaoh with all his power in the Red Sea, and ſo delivered his people from the hands of the Egyptians, &c.

Likewiſe (ſaid *Luther*), in the time of Eli the Prieſt, when the caſe ſtood very evil in Iſrael, the Philiſtines preſſing hard upon them, taking away the Ark of God, which they carried into their land; Eli in great ſorrow of heart fell backwards from his chair, and brake his neck, and it ſeemed as if Iſrael had been utterly undone.

Then God raiſed Samuel the Prophet, and through him helped up Iſrael again, and the Philiſtines were overthrown, &c.

Afterwards alſo, when Saul was ſorely preſſed upon by the Philiſtines, ſo that for anguiſh of heart he deſpaired and thruſt himſelf through, three of his ſons and many people dying together with himſelf; then every man thought that now there was an end with Iſrael. But ſhortly after, when David was choſen King over all Iſrael, and confirmed, then went on that *aureum ſeculum*, the golden time. For David, the choſen man of God, ſaved not only Iſrael out of the enemies hands, but alſo he forced and brought to obedience all kings and people that ſet themſelves againſt him; he helped the kingdom up again in ſuch a manner, that in his and in Solomon's time it ſtood in full flouriſh, high power, and glory; and thereto, God raiſed up unto him helps and aſſiſtants, many high people, prieſts and prophets, alſo other godly, wiſe, experienced heroes and rulers, which he made uſe of in ſpiritual and temporal negociations; as

when he ſettled both prieſthood and kingdom by them ſo fine and orderly, that afterwards a long time it remained in a flouriſhing ſtate.

Even ſo likewiſe (ſaid *Luther*), when Judah was carried captive to Babel, then God ſelected the Prophets Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zachariah, who comforted them in their diſtreſs and captivity; they made not only promiſe of their return into the land of Judæa again, which was performed and came to paſs in the firſt year of Cyrus, King of Perſia, but alſo that Chriſt moſt certainly ſhould come in his due time.

Hence we may ſee (ſaid *Luther*) that God never yet forſook his people, yea, neither the wicked world, though they gave him ſmall thanks; although by reaſon of their ſins, he ſuffereth them a long time to be ſeverely puniſhed and plagued. As alſo in this our laſt time he hath graciouſly viſited and delivered us from the long, weariſome, heavy, and horrible captivity of that wicked Popedom. God of his mercy grant that we may thankfully acknowledge the ſame; otherwiſe, I fear, it will be worſe with us.

That the Superfluity of temporal Wealth doth hinder the Faith.

GOD (ſaid *Luther*) could be rich ſoon and eaſily, if he would be more provident, and would deny us the uſe of his creatures. If he would but keep back the ſun, that it ſhould not ſhine, or lock up the air, detain the water, or quench out the fire; ah! then would we willingly give all our money and wealth to have the uſe of his creatures again.

But ſeeing God ſo liberally heapeth his gifts upon us, we therefore will claim them as by right, in deſpite of him, and let him deny them us if he dare. Therefore the unſpeakable multitude of his innumerable benefits do hinder and darken the faith of the believers, much more of the ungodly.

That God doth purchaſe nothing but Unthankfulneſs with his Benefits.

GOD giveth ſun and moon (ſaid *Luther*), ſtars and elements, fire and water, air and earth, and all creatures; body and ſoul, and all manner of maintenance, of fruits, grain, corn, wine, and all that is profitable for the preſerving of this temporal life; and moreover he giveth unto us his all-ſaving Word, yea, himſelf he giveth unto us.

But (ſaid *Luther*) what getteth God thereby? Truly nothing elſe than that he is wickedly blaſphemed; yea, that his only Son is pitifully ſcorned, contemned, and hanged on the gallows; his ſervants plagued, baniſhed, perſecuted, and ſlain. This is the thanks that he hath for his Grace, for creating, for redeeming, ſanctifying, nouriſhing, and for preſerving us: ſuch a ſeed, fruit, and godly child is the world. O! woe be to it.

Of God's Power in our Weakneſs.

GOD (ſaid *Luther*) placeth his higheſt office very wonderfully; he commits it to preachers that are poor ſinners and beggars, who do utter and teach it, and very weakly do thereafter, or live according to the ſame.

Thus goeth it always with God's power in our weakneſs; for when he is weakeſt in us, then is he ſtrongeſt.

Howſoever

Howſoever God dealeth with us, it is always unacceptable.

HOW (ſaid *Luther*) ſhould God deal with us? Good days we cannot bear, evil we cannot endure. Giveth he riches unto us? then are we proud, ſo that no man can live by us in peace; nay, we will be carried upon hands and ſhoulders, and will be adored as Gods. Giveth he poverty unto us? then are we diſmayed, we are impatient, and murmur againſt him. Therefore nothing were better for us, than ſoon to be conveyed to the laſt dance, and covered with ſhovels.

Of the acknowledging of Nature.

ADAM had no need of books (ſaid *Luther*), for he had the Book of Nature; and all the Patriarchs and Prophets, Chriſt and his Apoſtles, do cite much out of that book; as, touching the ſorrows of women bearing children, of the fellowſhip and community of the members of man's body, as St. Paul relateth ſuch parables, and ſaith, That one member cannot miſs another: if the eyes did not ſee, whither then would the feet go? how would they ſtumble and fall? If the hands did not faſten and take hold, how then ſhould we eat? If the feet went not, where then would the hands get any thing? only the maw, that lazy drone, lies in the midſt of the body, and is fatted like a ſwine. This parable (ſaid *Luther*) teacheth us that mankind ſhould love one another; as alſo the Greeks pictures do teach concerning two men, the one lame, and the other blind, who ſhewed kindneſs the one to the other, as much as in them lay; the lame guided the blind in the way, which elſe he neither knew nor ſaw; and the blind carried the lame, that elſe could not go; ſo that they both were holpen and came forward, as this verſe following deſcribeth:

Verſiculi de Cæco & Claudo.

Inſidens Cæco graditur pede Claudus utroque,
Quo caret alteruter, ſumit ab alterutro.
Cæcus namque pedes Claudo greſsùmque miniſtrat,
At Claudus Cæco lumina pro pedibus.

How God deals with his upright Saints and holy People.

GOD is wonderful in his ſaints (ſaid *Luther*), and deals ſtrangely with them, contrary to all human wiſdom and underſtanding; to the end, thoſe that fear God, and are good Chriſtians, may learn to depend on inviſible things, and through mortification they may be made alive again; for God's Word is a light that ſhines in a dark place, as all examples of faith do ſhew. Eſau was accurſed, and yet it went well and fortunately with him; he was Lord in the Land, and Prieſt in the Church; but Jacob muſt fly away and dwell in poverty in another country.

God deals with the godly and good Chriſtians (ſaid *Luther*) almoſt even as he deals with the ungodly, yea, and ſometimes far worſe. He doth even like a houſe-father with a ſon and a ſervant; he whips and beats the ſon much more and oftener than the ſervant, yet, nevertheleſs, he gathers for the ſon a treaſure to inherit; but a ſtubborn and a diſobedient ſervant he beateth not with the rod, but he thruſteth him out of the doors, and giveth him nothing of the inheritance.

What

What God would have of us Mankind.

GOD (ſaid *Luther*) is a good and gracious Lord; he will be held for God only and alone, according to the Firſt Commandment: *Thou ſhalt have none other Gods but me.* He deſires nothing of us, no taxes, ſubſidies, money, nor goods; he only will have that he may be our God and Father, and therefore doth he give unto us richly, with an overflowing cup, all manner of ſpiritual and temporal gifts; but we look not once ſo much as towards him, neither will we have him to be our God.

That God is not angry.

GOD the Lord (ſaid *Luther*) is not angry; for if God ſhould be earneſtly angry, then were we all utterly loſt and gone. God doth not willingly ſtrike mankind, except, as a juſt God, he be conſtrained thereunto; he having no pleaſure in unrighteous and ungodly doings, and therefore he muſt ſuffer the puniſhment to go on; as I do ſometimes look through the fingers, when the tutor beateth my ſon John, or when he whips him. And God uſeth ſo to do when we are unthankful and diſobedient to his Word and Commandments: as then he ſuffereth us, through the devil, ſoundly to be laſhed with peſtilence, with famine, and with ſuch like whips; and he doth the ſame, not that he is our enemy and will deſtroy us, but that through ſuch ſcourging he may call us to repentance and amendment, and thereby to entice us unto him, that we may ſeek him, run unto him, and call upon him for help. Of this (ſaid *Luther*) we have a fine example in the Book of Judges, where the Angel, in God's perſon, ſpeaketh thus: *I have ſtricken you ſo often, and ye are nothing the better for it* (I think, ſaid *Luther*, it was done in Gideon's time): and the people of Iſrael ſaid, *Save thou us but now, we have ſinned and done amiſs: puniſh thou us, O Lord, and do with us what thou wilt, only ſave us now*, &c. When (ſaid *Luther*) we give and yield ourſelves to this man, and deſire that he would help us, then moſt certainly he helpeth as a true God; but it fails only herein, namely, that we cannot yield. The text ſaith, *Do to us what thou wilt, only deliver and help us.* Then he ſtruck not all the people to death. In like manner did David, when he had ſinned, in cauſing the people to be numbered, for which ſin God puniſhed the people with peſtilence, that 70,000 died; then David humbled himſelf, and ſaid, *Behold, Lord, I have ſinned, I have done this miſdeed, and have deſerved this puniſhment: What have theſe ſheep done? Let thy hand be upon me, and upon my father's houſe*, &c. Then our Lord God could not be angry, by reaſon of David's humility, as the text ſaith: *And the Lord repented him of the evil, and ſaid to the Angel that deſtroyed the people, It is enough, ſtay thy hand.*

Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) he that can humble himſelf earneſtly before God in Chriſt, the ſame hath already won; otherwiſe, the Lord God would loſe his Deity, or Godhead; whoſe own work it is, that he have mercy on the poor and ſorrowful, and ſpare them that do humble themſelves before him, as the whole Scriptures do boaſt of him. For if he ſhould not do ſo, then no human creature would come unto him, no man would call upon him, no man would be heard, no man ſaved, nor would thank him; *For in hell no man praiſeth thee*, ſaith the Pſalm, &c. *The devil* (ſaid *Luther*) *can affright, murder, and ſteal; but God only reviveth and comforteth.*

For this little word, GOD, is, in the Scripture, ſuch a word as hath manifold ſig-

nifications, and it is oftentimes underſtood of a thing after the nature of its operation and eſſence: according to this, the devil is called a *God*; namely, a God of ſin, of death, of deſpair, and damnation.

Here (ſaid *Luther*) we muſt make a right difference between this God, and the upright and true GOD, who is a GOD of life, comfort, ſalvation, juſtification, and of all goodneſs. For there are manifold ſignifications that have no right nor certain underſtanding of things, ſpeeches, and words; *Erroris enim mater eſt æquivocatio ſemper:* Equivocation is always the mother of error.

Of God's Goodneſs, if we could but truſt unto him.

ONCE, towards evening, came flying into *Luther*'s garden two birds, and made a neſt therein, but they were oftentimes ſcared away by thoſe that paſſed by: then, ſaid *Luther*, O ye loving pretty birds! fly not away; I am heartily well contented with you, if ye could but truſt unto me. Even ſo it is with us, we neither can truſt in God, who, notwithſtanding, ſheweth and wiſheth us all goodneſs.

That God is patient.

GOD (ſaid *Luther*) is patient, long-ſuffering, and merciful; in that he can keep ſuch ſilence, and can ſuffer ſo long the moſt wicked wretches to go unpuniſhed. I could not do ſo, ſaid *Luther*.

That God made all Things for Mankind.

GOD's power is great (ſaid *Luther*), who holdeth and nouriſheth the whole world, and maintaineth it; and it is a hard article, where we ſay and acknowledge, *I believe in God the Father.* He hath created all things ſufficiently for us. All the ſeas are our cellars, all woods are our huntings; the earth is full of ſilver and gold, and of innumerable fruits, which are created all for our ſakes, and the earth is a corn-houſe, and a larder for us, &c.

That God's Creatures are uſed, or rather abuſed, for the moſt part by the Ungodly.

THE wicked and ungodly (ſaid *Luther*) do enjoy and uſe the moſt part of God's creatures; for the tyrants have the greateſt power, lands, and people in the world; the uſurers have the money; the farmers have eggs, butter, corn, barley, oats, apples, pears, &c.; but good and godly Chriſtians muſt ſuffer, be perſecuted, muſt ſit in dungeons, where they can ſee neither ſun nor moon, muſt be thruſt out into poverty, muſt be baniſhed, and plagued, &c. But certainly it muſt be better one day, it cannot always ſo remain; let us have but patience, and ſtedfaſtly remain by the pure doctrine, and notwithſtanding all this miſery, let us not fall away from the ſame.

The Chanceries of God, and of the Devil.

OUR Lord God and the devil (ſaid *Luther*) have two manner of chanceries, which do not agree together, but are quite oppoſite the one to the other. God's chancery at the firſt doth affright, and afterwards it lifteth up and comforteth again; and that becauſe the fleſh and the old man ſhould be killed, and the ſpirit, or new man, ſhould live. In ſuch manner the good Angels do firſt make afraid, and afterwards they comfort thoſe again which are affrighted; as in St. Luke the firſt, when Mary

was

was afraid at the Angel's ſpeech, he comforted her, and ſaid, *Fear not Mary*, &c. and, in the ſecond chapter, he ſaid to the Shepherds that were ſore afraid, *Fear not, behold I bring you tidings of great joy*, &c.

But the devil turns it quite about in deſpite of God, he uſeth and takes a quite contrary courſe; for he makes, at the firſt, people ſecure and bold, that they, void of all fear or frighting, do commit ſin and wickedneſs, and do not only remain in ſin, but alſo they take delight and pleaſure therein, and think they have done all well: but at laſt, when Mr. Stretch-leg comes, then he affrighteth and ſcareth them without meaſure, inſomuch, that either they die of great grief, or elſe in the end, by reaſon of evil and fearful conſequences, they make away themſelves, and are left without all comfort, and ſo do deſpair of God's grace and mercy.

That God, and not Money, preſerves the World.

GOD only (ſaid *Luther*), and not money and wealth, maintains and preſerves the world; for riches, and much money, do make proud and lazy people. As at Venice, where the richeſt people are, a horrible dearth fell among them in our memory, ſo that they were driven to call upon the Turks for help, who ſent twenty-four gallies laden with corn; all which, as they almoſt were arrived, went down into the ſea, and ſunk before their eyes.

Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) great wealth and money cannot ſtill the hunger, but rather occaſioneth more dearth; for where rich people are, there it is always dear, and things are at high rates. Moreover, money maketh no man right merry, but much more penſive and full of ſorrow; for they are thorns which do prick people, as Chriſt calls riches; yet is the world ſo mad that they will ſet thereupon all their joy and felicity.

That God's Anger is at the greateſt when he holds his Peace, and ſpeaks not with us.

NO greater anger (ſaid *Luther*) than when God is ſilent, and talketh not with us, but ſuffereth us to go on in our ſinful works, and to do all things according to our own luſts and pleaſures; as it goeth now with the Jews, againſt whom God hath fixed his wrath ſo fiercely, that in the ſpace of fifteen hundred years he hath not given them ſo much as one word, neither ſheweth he them any ſign; as he threatened them in the 81ſt Pſalm, and ſaith, *Hear my people, and I will aſſure thee, O Iſrael, if thou wilt hearken unto me, there ſhall no ſtrange God be with thee, neither ſhalt thou worſhip any other God; I am the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt. Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it. But my people would not hear my voice, and Iſrael would not obey me; ſo I gave them up unto their own hearts luſt, and let them follow their own imaginations.*

They cried ſore, and prayed vehemently (ſaid *Luther*), with great earneſt zeal, as their books of prayers do ſhew. I do much wonder that God did not hear them; certainly his anger was very great. When they cry now, ſo anſwered them God in this manner: As I preached and cried to you, there was none that would hear, therefore will I not hear; my threatening ſermons have ye deſpiſed, therefore I will not hear you.

Ah, God! (ſaid *Luther*) puniſh, we pray thee, with peſtilence, with famine, and with what evil ſickneſſes elſe may be on earth; but be not ſilent, Lord, towards us. God ſaid to the Jews, *I have ſtretched forth mine hand, and have cried, Come hither and hear*, &c. *But ye ſaid, we will not hear.* I ſend to you my ſervants the Prophets, Iſaiah, Jeremiah, &c. and ſay unto you, Hear ye, &c. But ye ſay, No; we will kill them. I ſend unto you my Son, O! ſay ye, that is right; we will hang him, &c.

Even

Even ſo likewiſe do we now (ſaid *Luther*); we are weary of God's Word, and are overcloyed therewith; we will not have upright, good, and godly preachers and teachers that threaten us, and do bring God's Word pure and unfalſified before us, and ſo vehemently do condemn falſe doctrine, and do truly warn us: No, ſay we, ſuch cannot we endure; we will not hear them, nay, we will perſecute and baniſh them; therefore will God alſo puniſh us. Thus it goes with wicked and loſt children, that will not hearken to their parents, nor be obedient unto them, they will afterwards be rejected of them again.

No man (ſaid *Luther*) was ever able to deſcribe or expreſs the fierceneſs of God's anger when it is kindled. O heavenly Father! (ſaid he) let us conſtantly remain, we pray thee, by this bright ſhining ſun, and let us never fall from thy Word, or be brought to falſe and corrupted doctrine.

Although the Jews have been puniſhed ſo long, and ſtill are puniſhed to this day, yet (ſaid *Luther*) they will not hear, but do ſtill blaſpheme. How wickedly do they blaſpheme that good maid, the bleſſed Virgin Mary; truly, if ſhe had been a Heathen, as Æneas Sylvia, yet were it too much.

Behold and conſider (ſaid *Luther*), they have now ſuffered fifteen hundred years; what will be then their ſuffering in hell? No people on earth are ſo hardly puniſhed and plagued as the Jews. I adviſe (ſaid *Luther*) that no man talk with a Jew of Chriſt, that he is the Son of God, for he will not believe it; therefore will I diſpute no more with them.

Rabbi Abida, a Jew, ſaid once to me, Meſſiah is already come; but, ſaid he, He was the ſon of a ſtar, and was begotten of Jacob's ſtar. That poor wretched people know not whereon they be; ſometimes they will ſay, He is come; otherwhile again, they deny it. For my part (ſaid *Luther*), I take the Jews to be merely epicures, and have deſpaired of Meſſiah. They believe, whoſo doth good works, the ſame is juſt; whoſo heareth Moſes, is ſaved, whether Meſſiah come or not. They alledge, Meſſiah will ſet up the Law again, and will not take it away: to conclude, they expect a temporal kingdom.

What it is that moſt diſpleaſeth God.

NOTHING diſpleaſeth Almighty God more (ſaid *Luther*), than when we defend and cloke our ſins, and will not acknowledge that we have done wrong, as Saul did; for the ſins that be not acknowledged, are againſt the firſt Table of the Ten Commandments of God. Saul ſinned againſt the firſt Table, but David ſinned againſt the ſecond. Thoſe are ſinners againſt the ſecond Table, that do look on the Sermon of Repentance, that ſuffer themſelves to be threatened and reproved, do acknowledge their ſins, and better themſelves; *do ſanctify God's Name, and give him the honour due unto his Name*, &c.; but the other that do ſin againſt the firſt Table, as idolaters, unbelievers, contemners, and blaſphemers of God, and falſifiers of God's Word, &c. they do attribute to themſelves wiſdom and power, they will be wiſe and mighty, both which God will reſerve for himſelf, as being his own proper qualities.

God's Courſe when he intendeth to deſtroy a Land.

WHEN God intendeth to deſtroy a kingdom, a country, or a principality, then (ſaid *Luther*) he draweth and taketh from them wiſdom, that is, he blinds them, and afterwards bereaves them of their power and ability, &c.

That God puniſheth, and no Man can fly away from it.

IT is not to be expreſſed (ſaid *Luther*) how ungodly and wicked the world is, as we may eaſily perceive from hence, that God hath not only ſuffered the puniſhments to increaſe, but alſo he hath conſtituted and appointed ſo many executioners and hangmen that muſt puniſh his ſubjects; as there are the wicked ſpirits, the tyrants, diſobedient children, knaves, and wicked women, wild beaſts, vermin, ſickneſſes, &c. yet all this can make us neither to bend nor to bow.

Better it were, that God ſhould be angry with us, than that we were angry with God, for he can ſoon be at an union with us again, becauſe he is merciful; but when we are angry with him, then the caſe is not to be helped.

That God, if he pleaſes, could purchaſe great ſtore of Money and Wealth.

GOD (ſaid *Luther*) could be exceeding rich in money, and temporal wealth, if he ſo pleaſed, but he will not. If he would but come to the Pope, to the Emperor, to a King, to a Prince, to a Biſhop, to a rich merchant, to a citizen, or farmer, and would ſay, Except thou giveſt me a hundred thouſand crowns, thou ſhalt die at this inſtant. Then every one would preſently ſay, I will give it with all my heart if I may but live. But now we are ſuch unthankful ſlovens, that we give him not ſo much as a *Deo gratias*, although we receive of him richly, and overflowing, ſo great benefits, merely out of his goodneſs and mercy. Is not this a ſhame? Yet, notwithſtanding ſuch our unthankfulneſs, our Lord God and merciful Father doth not ſuffer himſelf thereby to be ſcared away, but continually doth afford and ſhew unto us all manner of goodneſſes. But (ſaid *Luther*), if in his gifts and benefits he were more ſparing, and in imparting the ſame unto us were more cloſe-handed, then we would learn to be thankful. If he cauſed every human creature to be born into the world but with one leg or foot, and ſeven years afterwards gave him the other leg; or in the fourteenth year gave one hand, and afterwards in the twentieth year the other, then we ſhould better acknowledge God's gifts and benefits, we ſhould alſo then value them at a higher rate, and be thankful to Almighty God for the ſame. But now, ſeeing that God heapeth upon us theſe and the like his bleſſings, we never regard the ſame, nor ſhew ourſelves thankful unto him.

Now (ſaid *Luther*) hath God given unto us a whole ſea full of his Word, he giveth unto us all manner of languages and good free liberal arts; we buy at this time cheap, and for a ſmall price all manner and ſorts of good books; moreover, he giveth unto us learned people, that do teach well and orderly, inſomuch that a young youth (if otherwiſe he be not altogether a dunce) may learn and ſtudy more in one year now, than formerly in many years. Arts are now ſo cheap, that almoſt they go about a begging for bread; woe be to us (ſaid *Luther*) that we are ſo lazy, improvident, ſo negligent, and ſo unthankful.

But God (I fear) will ſhut and cloſe up his liberal hand and mercy again, and will give unto us ſparingly enough, ſo that we ſhall have again ſects, ſchiſms, preachers of lies, and ſcoffers of God, and them we ſhall adore, and carry upon our hand, ſeeing that now we do contemn his Word and ſervants.

When God holdeth not his Hand over us, then are we quite Loſt.

WE are (ſaid *Luther*) worth nothing at all with our gifts and qualities, how great ſoever they be, if God continually holdeth not his hand over us: when he forſaketh us, then is our wiſdom, art, ſenſe, and underſtanding nothing worth. If he

do not conſtantly aſſiſt us, then our higheſt knowledge and experience in divinity, or what elſe we are able to attain unto, will nothing avail; for when the hour of trial and temptation comes, we ſhall be diſpatched in a moment; ſo that the devil, through his craft and ſubtilty, teareth away from us even thoſe texts and ſentences in holy Scripture wherewith we ſhould comfort ourſelves, and, inſtead thereof, he ſetteth before our eyes, only ſentences of fearful threatenings, in great innumerable inſtances.

Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) let us well learn and mark, when God takes his hand from us, that then we ſoon and ſuddenly do fall to the ground; as it fell out with St. Peter, ſoon after the firſt Council at Antioch, where St. Paul withſtood him to the face, and publicly reproved him by reaſon of his hypocriſy, wherewith he offended the weak Gentiles.

Wherefore, let no man appear with proud boaſting and bragging of his own righteouſneſs, wiſdom, or with other gifts and qualities which he hath, but let him humble himſelf, and pray with the loving holy apoſtles, and ſay: Ah, Lord! ſtrengthen and increaſe the faith in us.

That God's corporal Gifts are but little regarded.

THE greater God's corporal gifts and wonderous works are, the leſs (ſaid *Luther*) they are regarded. The greateſt and moſt precious treaſure that we receive of God is, that we can ſpeak, hear, ſee, &c. but how many are of thoſe that do acknowledge the ſame for God's ſpecial gifts, much leſs that they ſhould give God thanks for them. On the contrary, the world highly doth eſteem of riches, honour, power, and of other things that are of leſs worth; for what coſtly things can thoſe be that ſoon do vaniſh away? A blind man (if otherwiſe he be in his right wits) would willingly miſs all theſe if he might but ſee. The reaſon (ſaid *Luther*) why the corporal gifts of God are ſo much undervalued is, that they be ſo common, that God beſtows them alſo upon ſenſeleſs beaſts, which as well as we people, yea, alſo in part better than we, do hear and ſee. But what ſhall I ſay? Chriſt made the blind to ſee, he drove out devils, raiſed the dead, &c. yet nevertheleſs, he muſt be upbraided by the ungodly hypocrites, which gave themſelves out for God's people, and muſt hear of them that he was a Samaritan, and had a devil. Ah! (ſaid *Luther*) the world is the devil's, whereſoever it goeth or ſtandeth; how then can they acknowledge God's gifts and benefits? It is with Almighty God, as it is with parents and their children which are young; they regard not ſo much the daily bread, as an apple, a pear, or other toys.

One evening, *Luther* ſaw cattle going in the fields, in a paſture, and ſaid: Behold, there go our preachers, our milk-bearers, butter-bearers, cheeſe and wool-bearers, which do daily preach unto us the faith towards God, that we ſhould truſt in him, as in our loving Father; he careth for us, and will maintain and nouriſh us.

That God nouriſheth all the Beaſts.

NO man (ſaid *Luther*) can account the great charges which God is at, only in maintaining the birds, and ſuch creatures, which in a manner are nothing or little worth. I am perſuaded (ſaid he) that it coſteth God yearly more to maintain only the ſparrows, than the yearly revenue of the French King amounteth unto: What then ſhall we ſay of all the reſt of his creatures?

That

That God is ſkilful in all Manner of Trades.

GOD (ſaid *Luther*) is ſkilful in all occupations and trades, in a moſt perfect and excellent manner; for, like a ſkilful taylor, he makes ſuch a coat for the ſtag, which he wears nine hundred years together, and of itſelf it is not torn: alſo, like a good ſhoemaker, he gives him ſhoes on his feet, that laſt longer than the ſtag himſelf, &c.

God gives this world, with all his works, to thoſe people, which (as he knows before) will anger, contemn, and blaſpheme him. What then, may we think, will he give to thoſe that through faith are juſtified, and do know that they, ſo juſtified, ſhall live and remain with him everlaſtingly?

That God is ſore vexed, by reaſon we will not hold him for our God.

ALL evil thoughts (ſaid *Luther*) proceeds from the devil: he will not have us to truſt in God. Now God is ſorely vexed, ſeeing he is ſo gracious and true a God, that we, notwithſtanding, will not hold nor have him for a God: as in the Prophets he complains continually, and ſaith, *Am not I God? Is there any other God beſides me? Have I no hand, no arm, power, or ſtrength that I can help?* If (ſaid *Luther*) God ſhould chide me, in ſuch a manner as he chides the Pope, in the Prophet Jeremiah, then ſhould I die; but the Pope careth not for it, he ſcoffeth and ſcorneth it.

I am thy GOD, *what it is; and of the abuſing of God's Name.*

I Am thy God. This (ſaid *Luther*) heretofore was to me a ſlight and ſimple thing when I read it. Who knows not that? thought I. But now I ſee well what God will have therewith; and now it is much more wonderful unto me, that every Preacher doth preach theſe words, *I am thy God*; as the Pope, and his ſhaved crew, the Friars; and yet, notwithſtanding, they do diſſemble and lie in their hearts, that it may remain true which they uſe to ſay: *In God's Name beginneth all misfortune.* I think, indeed (ſaid *Luther*), thoſe ſectaries and ſeducers do thoroughly approve the ſame.

If the Name of God (ſaid he) were not ſo abuſed in the world, then it would ſtand well on earth; but we will be mere idolaters. Even ſo went it in the time of Ezekiel, that God, through him, ſaid, Wilt thou worſhip idols? ſo worſhip them in the devil's name. But it ſtands written therein alſo: He that abuſeth God's Name ſhall not go unpuniſhed.

That God will be praiſed in all Languages.

ALL that hath breath praiſe the Lord, ſaith the Pſalm: thence it followeth, that in all and every language, ſpeeches, and tongues, we ſhould preach and praiſe the Lord. Why then (ſaid *Luther*) have the Pope and the Emperor forbidden to ſing and pray in the German tongue?

To call God to an Account.

JEREMIAH ſaith: Lord! is it right, that the good and godly are thus plagued of the world? Sin and the devil do fiercely ſet upon them with all power, craft, and ſubtilty; but the ungodly do live in luſt and pleaſure, and have good days: Art thou a juſt God?

To

To give God the Lie, he cannot endure.

MURDER, adultery, theft, deceit, and ſuch like ſins, are againſt the ſecond table of God's Commandments: God will eaſily pardon thoſe that do confeſs and acknowledge ſuch offences; but to reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt, and to make God a liar, the ſame he neither can nor will endure.

That God is more loving unto us than a Father towards his Children.

GOD (ſaid *Luther*) hath a better and more friendly heart towards his faithful ones, than a father or mother can have towards their children; as God himſelf ſaith in the Prophet Iſaiah, Chapter xlix. *Can a woman forget her ſucking child, that ſhe ſhould not have compaſſion of the ſon of her womb? yea, they may forget, yet will not I forget thee,* &c. But God muſt have patience with us. I believe (ſaid *Luther*) that St. Paul was at enmity with himſelf, becauſe he could not believe and love Chriſt ſo entirely as willingly he would have done. Fie on the devil, and on our wicked fleſh, that we cannot believe and truſt in God, who hath given us ſo great and manifold benefits, and ſtill doth give us all his goodneſſes. I myſelf muſt confeſs, that I can put more truſt in my wife, and in every one of my friends, than in Chriſt: when as, notwithſtanding, I well know, that none among them all would do and ſuffer for me that which he ſuffered, namely, to be crucified and ſlain for me.

That God is a God of the Lowly.

OUR God (ſaid *Luther*) is a God of the lowly and meek; his power is ſtrong in weakneſs. If we were not weak, then we ſhould be high-minded and proud. God cannot ſhew his power, but in our weakneſs: *He will not quench the ſmoaking flax*: the devil would not only hinder the ſmoaking thereof, but would alſo willingly put it quite out.

How God ſhews himſelf in our Temptations.

GOD delighteth in our temptations (ſaid *Luther*), and God hateth them; he delighteth in them, when they drive us to prayer: again, he hates them, when we deſpair through the ſame. But the Pſalm ſaith, *An humble and contrite heart is an acceptable ſacrifice unto God,* &c. Therefore, when it goeth well with you, then ſing and praiſe God with a fine ſong, or with an hymn: goeth it evil, that is, when temptation cometh, then pray, *For the Lord hath pleaſure in thoſe that fear him,* but that which follows is the beſt, namely, *and in them that hope in his goodneſs*: for God helpeth the lowly and humble, ſeeing he ſaith, *Thinkeſt thou my hand is ſhortened, that I cannot help?*

That God hath but a ſmall Heap on Earth.

GOD in this world (ſaid *Luther*) hath ſcarce the tenth part of the people that ſhall be ſaved; the leaſt and ſmalleſt number will be ſaved, which in the Law is ſignified by the Tenth. The world is exceeding ungodly and wicked; for who would believe that our people ſhould be ſo unthankful towards the Goſpel?

That God hath hidden great Gifts in ſmall and contemned Things.

I DO much admire (ſaid *Luther*) that God hath put ſuch excellent phyſic in dung and muck; for, ye know by experience, that ſwine's dung ſtints the blood; horſe dung ſerves for the pleuriſy; the dung of mankind healeth wounds and black blotches; aſſes dung is uſed for the bloody flux, and cow dung with preſerved roſes ſerves for the epilepſy or the convulſion of children.

God's Improvidence.

GOD will ſeem (ſaid *Luther*) as if he had dealt inconſiderably and improvidently, in that he hath commanded the world to be governed by the Word of Truth, eſpecially, inaſmuch as he hath clothed and hooded the ſame with a poor, weak, and contemned Word of the Croſs. For, the world will not have the truth, but they will have lies; neither do they willingly any thing that is upright and good, except they be by main force hauled thereunto. The world hath a loathing of the Croſs, and will rather follow the luſts and pleaſures of the devil, and have good days, than to carry the croſs of our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt Jeſus. But the beſt member that governeth the world, as very worthy, is Satan, in his lieutenant the Pope, he can pleaſe the world well, and knows how to make it give ear unto him; for his kingdom hath a mighty great ſhew and repute, and that is acceptable to the world, and is fitting for it. Like unto like.

That God is reſiſted by Satan, and by all his Members, the Ungodly.

EVEN as the devil (ſaid *Luther*) ſetteth himſelf in all things againſt God in words and works, juſt ſo do all the ungodly, which certainly are poſſeſſed of the devil, though not corporeally, yet ſpiritually, as we plainly ſee by the Papiſts and other heretics.

Why God worketh his Goodneſs through Means.

GOD (ſaid *Luther*), if he pleaſed, could maintain and nouriſh us without all our labours and means; but he will open the hand to the end we may ſee he is a rich Lord, and it is a wonderful work of God, that we muſt ſay, We have all from him. No man can conceive what benefits he giveth us through the four elements: the earth bringeth trees, many ſorts of beaſts and cattle, metals, water, grain, herbs, &c. The fire warmeth, boileth, and roaſteth.

That Men are ſoon wearied with one only Thing.

PYTHAGORAS (ſaid *Luther*), the heathen philoſopher, ſaid, that the motion of the ſtars do give a very ſweet harmony and celeſtial conſent; but the people through continual cuſtom are now wearied and cloyed therewith. Even ſo it is likewiſe with us, we have ſurpaſſing fair creatures, but by reaſon they are too common, we regard them not.

Philip Melanchthon (ſaid *Luther*) deſired of me, that I would give a ſyllogiſm out of the Bible, but (ſaid he) give me ſuch an one as I may not be weary of. *Luther* ſaid, That could never yet be given to any man, which always he could love and affect, and of which he would not be weary; yet the devil would, as

we ſee, that whores and knaves do remain conſtant together, but married people can ſoon part and ſeparate themſelves. Likewiſe whoring, ſtealing, and all manner of ſin and wickedneſs can always be driven and ſet forward, but that which is good cannot always be loved. The devil ſpoils and hinders God's works; and again, Chriſt deſtroys the works of the devil. Theſe are two things contrary the one to the other; the woman's ſeed, and the ſerpent.

That God maintaineth all People and Creatures in the World.

THE third part of the ground (ſaid *Luther*) ſcarcely beareth corn, and yet we are all maintained and nouriſhed. I verily believe (ſaid he) that there do not grow ſo many ſheaves of corn as there are people in the world, and yet we are all fed; yea, and alſo there remains a good overplus of corn at the year's end. This is a wonderful thing, and thereby we ſhould ſee and perceive God's bleſſing.

That God will be wronged in whatſoever he doeth.

THE cauſe why God paſſed ſo ſharp a ſentence againſt Adam, was (ſaid *Luther*), that he had eaten of the forbidden tree, and was diſobedient unto God; inſomuch that for his ſake the ground was curſed, and alſo the whole generation of mankind was made ſubject to all manner of miſeries, fears, neceſſities, ſickneſſes, plagues, and, finally, death ſent upon us all. The ſenſe and reaſon of the worldly-wiſe, who only do look upon the biting of the apple, do hold that for a ſlight and trivial thing, they think it was too cruel and hard a proceeding againſt poor Adam; they take ſnuff in the noſe, and ſay, or at leaſt they think, O, is it then ſo heinous a matter and ſin for one to eat of an apple? As people now uſe to ſay of ſuch and the like ſins, which God expreſsly in his Word hath forbidden, eſpecially of drunkenneſs, exceſs, &c. What hurt is it, ſay they, that one is merry, and takes his cup with good fellows? Therefore, according to their blindneſs, they conclude from hence, God hath done too much, he is too cruel, and ſeeks it too ſtrictly.

Again (ſaid *Luther*), theſe worldlings do ſtumble and are offended at this, namely, that Chriſt, as they think, lets go and rejecteth good, honeſt, and holy people. He will not know them; he ſhews himſelf harſhly towards them, yea, he ſends them away from him, and calls them malefactors; notwithſtanding ſome in his Name have propheſied, have caſt out devils, and have done miracles, &c. On the contrary, he receives public ſinners, as whores, knaves, publicans, murderers, &c. If they hear his Word, and believe in him; he forgives them their ſins, he covers and will not impute their ſins unto them, be they never ſo great and many; yea, he makes them righteous and holy, God's children, and heirs of everlaſting life and ſalvation, out of mere grace and mercy, without any of their deſerts, good works, and worthineſs. This they conceive to be too much, yea, to be altogether unjuſt, &c.

Now (ſaid *Luther*) who can be herein an arbitrator, theſe two things or proceedings being ſo quite contrary to each other, and are oft compared as fire and water together; namely, that God uſeth the cruelleſt and ſevereſt juſtice againſt the innocent, as the worldly-wiſe conceive, and ſheweth too great goodneſs and mildneſs towards the ſinners, &c. Herein (ſaid he) man's wiſdom, ſenſe, reaſon, and underſtanding is made a fool. Therefore the Scripture ſaith, *Except ye be converted, and become like little children, ye ſhall not enter into the kingdom of God.* Human reaſon, wiſdom, and underſtanding cannot comprehend God in his Majeſty; therefore we muſt neither ſeek nor ſearch out what God's Will, his Subſtance, and Nature is, no further than ſo far as he hath commanded us. He hath given us his Word, and therein he hath richly

richly revealed what we ſhould know, hold, and believe, and what from him we ſhould expect; thereafter ſhould we direct ourſelves, and then we could not err. But (ſaid *Luther*) he that hath thoughts of God's Will, of his Nature and Eſſence, without the Word, and will ſpeculate and ſearch out the ſame with his human wit and wiſdom, he makes himſelf much labour and diſquietneſs in vain. For the world, ſaith St. Paul, with their wiſdom, knows not God in his wiſdom. 1 Cor. i.

Such ſearchers (ſaid *Luther*) ſhall never learn nor know how God is inclined towards them. Thoſe alſo, that ſo vainly trouble themſelves, whether they be predeſtinated, foreſeen, or choſen. They, I ſay, that do fall into ſuch ſpeculations, in them there goeth up a fire in their hearts, which they cannot quench; ſo that their conſciences can never be at peace, but in the end they muſt deſpair.

He therefore that will ſhun this evil and everlaſting danger, I truly do adviſe him that he hold faſt the Word; for then he ſhall find that our gracious God hath laid and made a ſure and ſtrong foundation, on which we may ſurely and certainly take footing, namely, Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, through whom only (merely *gratis*, for nothing, and through none other means) we muſt enter into the kingdom of heaven. For *He*, and no other, *is the Way, the Truth, and the Life.*

Now (ſaid *Luther*) will we deſire to know God in his divine eſſence and being, and how he is inclined towards us: then it muſt be done through his Word, for even for that cauſe hath God ſent his only begotten Son into the world, to be made *Man, like unto us in every thing, ſin only excepted*, to dwell among us, and to reveal his Father's heart and will unto us; as God hath appointed and ſet him to be unto us a Teacher, when he called from heaven, *This is my well-beloved Son, &c. him ſhall ye hear.* As if he would ſay, It is in vain and loſt labour, when people take in hand to ſearch out my Divine Majeſty. Human wit and wiſdom cannot take hold on me; I am far too high and great; therefore I will make myſelf little, ſmall, and low enough, that people may faſten, comprehend, and take hold on me. I will give them my only Son, and I will give him in ſuch manner, that he ſhall be a ſacrifice, yea, he ſhall be a ſin and a curſe for them; and herein he ſhall be obedient unto me even unto death, yea, to the death of the Croſs. This will I cauſe to be preached afterwards in the whole world, and they that believe herein ſhall be ſaved. Thu meaneth St. Paul, when he ſaith, ſeeing the world with their wiſdom knew not God in his wiſdom, *It pleaſed God, by the fooliſhneſs of preaching, to ſave them that believe.* 1 Cor. i.

Thus the Divine Majeſty may well and fitly be called Little and Comprehenſive indeed; inſomuch, that no man in reaſon can complain that he knoweth not how the caſe ſtandeth with him towards God, or what he ſhall expect from him. But (ſaid *Luther*) the world is blind and deaf, they neither ſee nor hear what God doth and ſaith through his Son, therefore he will require it at their hands. Deut. xviii.

We (ſaid *Luther*) can ſeek, find, and underſtand the heavy temptations of that everlaſting predeſtination, which terrifies many people, no where better than in the wounds of our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, of whom the Father hath commanded, ſaying, *Him ſhall ye hear.* The Father in his Divine Majeſty is too high and great for us; we cannot take hold of him; therefore he ſheweth unto us the right way by which we may certainly come unto him; namely, Chriſt; and ſaith, Believe on him, depend on him, ſo ſhall ye eaſily find who I am, and what my will and eſſence is. But (ſaid *Luther*) the wiſe of the world, the mighty, the high-learned, and the greateſt company in the world by no means do this. Therefore God is and remains unknown unto them, notwithſtanding they have much learning, and do diſpute and talk much of God; for it is a ſhort and a round concluſion that, *Without Chriſt, God will not be found, known, nor comprehended.*

If

If now thou wilt know, Why ſo few are ſaved, and ſo infinitely many damned; this is the cauſe, The world will not hear Chriſt; they care nothing for him; yea, they do contemn that which the Father witneſſeth of him, namely, *This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleaſed.* As if he would ſay, By him only ye ſhall find what and who I am, and what I will have. Otherwiſe ye ſhall never find me, neither in heaven, nor on earth.

If now ye believe in the Son, whom I have ſent to be a Saviour unto you, then will I be to you a Father, and that ſhall be *Yea* and *Amen.* What this my Son ſaith and promiſeth, the ſame I will make good and perform, and will not make him a liar. Hereupon, therefore, it doth follow moſt certainly (ſaid *Luther*), that all people which intend and labour to come to God, through any other means than only through Chriſt (as there are Jews, Turks, Papiſts, falſe Saints, Heretics, &c.), they do all walk in horrible darkneſs and error; and it helpeth them nothing that they carry outwardly a civil and ſtrict kind of life, do pretend great devotion, ſuffer much, love and honour God, as they boaſt of themſelves, &c. For ſeeing they will not hear Chriſt, nor believe in him (without whom no man knows God, no man obtains forgiveneſs of ſins, no man comes to the Father), therefore they remain always in doubt and unbelief, know not how they ſtand with God, and ſo at laſt they muſt die, and be loſt in their ſins. For, *He that honoureth not the Son, honoureth not the Father.* 1 Joh. ii. *He that believeth not the Son, ſhall not ſee life, but the wrath of God remains upon him.* Joh. iii.

Why God ordains that it goeth well with the Wicked, and ill with the Godly, in this World.

I MYSELF (ſaid *Luther*) cannot unlooſe this argument, Why deſperate wretches have ſo good days, and live a long time in jollity and pleaſure, according to their hearts deſire; God honoureth and gives them health of body, fine children, &c. But contrarywiſe, the good and godly people that are highly enlightened, he ſuffers them to ſtick and remain in calamity, in danger, anguiſh, and in neceſſity all the days of their lives; yea, and ſome to die alſo in miſery, as St. John the Baptiſt did, who was the greateſt Saint on earth. I will ſay nothing of our only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who died in unſpeakable miſery, the moſt ſhameful and contemptible death of the Croſs, between two murderers.

But (ſaid *Luther*) God doth like an honeſt and godly Father, that fain would bring up his ſon in the knowledge and fear of the true faith, to the end he might live to have joy of him afterwards, and might convey unto him all the treaſure which he had gathered together, with all that he poſſeſſed beſides. Therefore he chaſteneth and ſcourgeth him more and oftener than he doth a ſervant, from whence the proverb cometh, *The lovinger child, the ſharper rod:* yea, he ſuffers the diſobedient ſervant to go a while unpuniſhed, to uſe his wilfulneſs, and will not ſeem to regard it; but in the mean time he thinks, Well, thou ſhalt not drive it long; and when the time comes, he thruſts him bare and naked out of the houſe. In this plain and ſimple manner (ſaid *Luther*) do I uſe to ſolve and unlooſe this argument, Why God permits and ordains that the good and godly, eſpecially the great ſaints, as the Prophets, the Apoſtles, &c. muſt ſuffer anguiſh and calamity in this world; but the ungodly do live a long time in peace, and do reſt in all ſuperfluity, without want, calamity, and trouble.

The Prophets (ſaid *Luther*) have all run themſelves upon this rock, have written much thereof, and therewithall they have ſhewed how the good and godly ſhall and may overcome ſuch offenſive doubts, and may comfort themſelves againſt the

ſame, as Jeremiah ſaith: *Why goeth it ſo well with the ungodly, and wherefore are all they happy that deal very treacherouſly?* Jer. xii. But it brings them to an evil end, as he ſaith further: *Thou ſuffereſt them to go at liberty like ſheep that are to be ſlain, and thou prepareſt them for the day of ſlaughter:* of this alſo read Pſalms, xxxvii. xlix. lxxiii.

God is not therefore angry with his children, though he ſcourgeth and puniſheth them; but he is angry with the ungodly, which do not acknowledge Chriſt to be the Son of God, and the Saviour of the World, but do blaſpheme and contemn the Word; ſuch are to expect no grace and help of him, except they believe in Chriſt, honour, and worſhip him. And, indeed, he himſelf doth not ſcourge and beat his ſmall and poor flock that do depend on Chriſt; but he ſuffereth them to be chaſtened and beaten, when they are ſecure and unthankful unto him for his unſpeakable graces and benefits ſhewed unto them in Chriſt, and when they are diſobedient to his word, &c. As then he permitteth that the devil bruiſeth our heels, ſends peſtilence and other plagues unto us, tyrants to perſecute us, &c. and he permits the ſame to be done for our beſt good, that thereby we ſhould be moved, and, in a manner, forced to turn ourſelves unto him, to call upon him, to ſeek help and comfort from him through Chriſt.

That God is a God of the Living, and not of the Dead.

THIS text (ſaid *Luther*) doth Chriſt put on, and alledgeth, Matt. xxii. and thereout powerfully ſheweth the reſurrection of the dead; for if there were no hope of the reſurrection of the dead, nor of another and better world, after this ſhort and miſerable life, wherefore then doth God offer himſelf that he will be our God, that he will give us all that is neceſſary and healthful for us, and in the end will deliver us out of all trouble, both temporal and ſpiritual? To what purpoſe is it that we hear his Word and believe in him? What are we the better when we cry and ſigh to him in our anguiſh and need, that we wait with patience upon his comfort and ſalvation, upon his grace and benefits which he ſhews in Chriſt? Why do we praiſe and thank him for the ſame? Why are we daily in danger, and ſuffer ourſelves to be perſecuted and ſlain for the ſake of Chriſt's Word, which we teach and hold for our greateſt treaſure, and do acknowledge it before the wicked world?

But foraſmuch as the everlaſting merciful God, only through his Word and Sacraments, talketh and dealeth with us (all other creatures excluded), not of temporal things which pertains to this vaniſhing life, all which in the beginning he hath provided richly for us, but where we ſhall remain when we depart from hence, and giveth unto us his Son for a Saviour, who delivereth us from ſin and death, and hath purchaſed for us everlaſting righteouſneſs, life, and ſalvation; that we believe in him, and at his commandment are baptized, &c. Therefore it is moſt certain that we do not die away like the beaſts that have no underſtanding; but ſo many of us as do ſleep in Chriſt, ſhall through him be raiſed again to life everlaſting at the laſt day; but the ungodly to everlaſting ſhame and deſtruction. Joh. v. Dan. xii.

That God uſes Evil to Good.

GOD (ſaid *Luther*) makes very good uſe of all things: on the contrary, the devil and mankind ſhamefully do abuſe all good things. Through and by ſecret ſuffering and luſt, God drives people to marry; for if people had not luſt,

love, and deſire one to another, who then would marry? only that afterwards forbidden luſt may be hindered; that a man may not hang on a ſtrange woman, but may joy and ſolace himſelf with his wife, and delight himſelf in her love, as alſo the wife towards him, &c. Again, through and by ambition God's drives many to hunt after wealth and honour, to have high eſteem in the world, to be preferred before others to high eſtate and dignity, as Governors, Councillors, &c. otherwiſe, who would deſire to be therein employed? Only that ambition afterwards may not ſtep out of her bounds of commanding and governing, but may remain therein, and not to look after that which is not his, nor to do hurt to the ſubjects and his neighbours, &c. Moreover, through and by covetouſneſs, God drives many to bethink themſelves how to be maintained and nouriſhed; otherwiſe who, without ſuch deſire, would have any increaſe of that which is their own already? Who would work and weary himſelf to get means and maintenance? yea, all good wealth would fall and go down. Only that the covetouſneſs may remain, and be kept alſo within her limits and bounds.

Only pride and envy are and remain plain vices of the devil; yet, notwithſtanding, God uſeth the ſame alſo to good, though in a contrariwiſe; not in thoſe which therewith are fooled and blinded, but in thoſe that are perſecuted of the proud and envious. For in that manner God exerciſeth his holy and godly ſervants for their good, through the devil and his members.

On the contrary, the devil abuſeth God and every good thing; chaſtity, and the unmarried kind of life, he perverteth into hypocriſy; he turneth humility to ſpiritual pride; love, to ſects and rebellion; wealth, to haughtineſs and idleneſs, &c.

That God ſuffereth nothing to be wanting in him.

GOD (ſaid *Luther*) gives all manner of wealth richly; firſt, to the end that no man may juſtly complain, and ſay, He hath not provided ſufficiently for the maintenance of this life. But in that there in now and then want, eſpecially in this laſt time, the ſame is not his, but the fault of the curſed, covetous cormorants, that do tear and rend all to themſelves; do buy up all manner of wares, and raiſe the prices thereof at their pleaſures, and do overſet and hurt the common people; much more miſchief do the wicked uſurers, with quite ſucking out and conſuming poor and needful people. Secondly, God doth juſtly in ſuffering his puniſhments to fall upon thoſe that do not know him, nor are obedient to the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, neither are any way thankful unto him for the temporal benefits which he rightly beſtows upon them to enjoy, not to pride and ſuperfluity; yea, thoſe that ſhamefully do abuſe the ſame againſt God, and to the hurt and undoing of their neighbours. What doth God deſire of us for all his benefits, both ſpiritual and temporal? but only that we ſhould thank him for the ſame; ſhould acknowledge him for our God and Father; ſhould hearken to his Word, believe and ſerve him; to call upon him in all our need, and not to doubt that he heareth us, for the ſake of Chriſt.

That Thankfulneſs is the moſt acceptable Service to God.

THE moſt acceptable ſervice that we can do and ſhew unto God, and which he only deſireth of us, is, that he is praiſed of us; but he is not praiſed, except he be firſt loved; he is not loved, unleſs he be firſt bountiful, and doth well; he doth well when he is gracious; gracious he is when he forgives ſins. Now (ſaid *Luther*), who are thoſe that do love him? They that are the ſmall flock of the

the faithful, that do acknowledge ſuch graces, and do know that through Chriſt they have forgiveneſs of their ſins, &c. But the children of this world do not trouble themſelves herewith; they ſerve their idols, that wicked and curſed Mammon, but in the end he will evil reward them.

That God is willing we ſhould make uſe of his Creatures.

OUR loving Lord God is willing that we eat, drink, and be merry, and make uſe of his creatures, for therefore he hath created them. He will not have that we ſhould complain, as if he had not given ſufficient, or that he could not maintain our poor carcaſes; only that we do acknowledge him for our God, and thank him for his gifts.

That God fills the Bellies of the Ungodly, but he gives the Kingdom of Heaven to the Good and Godly.

WE believe (ſaid *Luther*) that God will give to us no better things than he giveth to the rich ungodly wretches in this world, to whom he gives an overplus, and the fill of good wine, money, wealth, power, honour, and all things that they would have, or can deſire. But the beſt wealth and treaſure, which they do not deſire, he denies them; namely, himſelf. But he that hath not God, let him have elſe what he will, ſo is he, notwithſtanding, more miſerable than was Lazarus, that lay at the rich man's gate, and was ſtarved to death. But it will go even ſo with them, as it went with the glutton, that they everlaſtingly muſt hunger and want, and ſhall not have in all their power ſo much as the leaſt drop of water, &c.

If then (ſaid *Luther*) the almighty and liberal God in ſuch wiſe doth heap bleſſings upon his worſt enemies and blaſphemers, with all manner of temporal goods and wealth, and gives to ſome alſo kingdoms, principalities, &c. Then may we, that are his children, eaſily conceive what he will give unto us, who for his ſake muſt ſuffer, yea, what he hath already given us. He hath given unto us his only begotten Son, and with him hath beſtowed all things upon us; ſo that through him we are God's children, and alſo heirs of his celeſtial treaſure, and are co-heirs with Chriſt according to hope.

God, the Lord, hath divided his goods and benefits to this wicked world very unequally; that is, he hath made ſubject to the world all the creatures on earth, in the water, and in the air. They command and govern over fiſh in the ſea, over birds and fowl under heaven, and over all beaſts that are upon earth; but heaven he hath reſerved for himſelf, for he is Lord of life and death. If God would ſell thoſe two, then would he ſoon bring to himſelf again all the wealth and treaſure which he hath divided to the world.

That God hath long Patience with Tyrants.

GOD is patient, and of great goodneſs (ſaid *Luther*), in that he can hold his peace, and be ſilent ſo many hundred years, and hath ſuffered the Pope and Turk to go ſo long unpuniſhed. The cauſe is, that few do know, or at leaſt will believe, that God will fearfully puniſh the blindneſs of the damned world, which will not receive the truth, or cannot long endure it, to the end they might be ſaved, but do blaſpheme and perſecute the ſame: therefore doth God ſend unto them powerful errors, that they do believe lies. 2 Theſſ. ii.

In the time of the Apoſtles, and long afterwards, the Goſpel had its full courſe

in

in Arabia, in Syria, in Egypt, Aſia, Greece, and in other kingdoms which the Turkiſh tyrant now poſſeſſeth. But (ſaid *Luther*) at ſuch time as the people were weary thereof, and many ſects aroſe, then came that blaſphemous Mahomet with his Alcoran; from that time forward they forſook Chriſt, and worſhipped the devil Mahomet. Even ſo went it likewiſe in Popedom, and I fear, after our time, will go alſo in Germany, and other places, more by reaſon of the horrible unthankfulneſs, and contemning of the all-ſaving holy Word, which clear and purely is now preached unto them. And then after this bright ſhining light there will come a grizzly and fearful darkneſs. Chriſt Jeſus comfort and help his little flock, and give an end to theſe miſeries, through his glorious coming, Amen.

That God delays his Puniſhments for a while.

GOD ſees well (ſaid *Luther*) how the drunken throw pots and glaſſes out at windows; but when he begins to viſit, then he puniſheth horribly, without meaſure and end. I ſpeak this (ſaid *Luther*) of the waſteful, filthy, and ſwiniſh manner of life, which, void of all ſhame, in this our laſt time, is exerciſed and cheriſhed by great Kings, Princes, by the ignoble Nobility, but eſpecially by the Pope, and by his Cardinals, Biſhops, Prebends, and by his whole crown-ſhorn generation.

The Signs that go before the Puniſhment.

WHEN God will devaſt and puniſh a people or a kingdom, then he firſt takes away from them good and godly Teachers and Preachers; alſo he bereaves them of wiſe, godly, and honeſt Rulers and Counſellors, he takes away good and upright experienced ſoldiers and other good people. Then are the common people ſecure and merry, they go on in all wilfulneſs, they care no more for the truth and divine doctrine, yea, they deſpiſe it and fall into blindneſs: they regard neither threatening, civility, nor honeſty; they drive all manner of ſins and ſhame, out of which follows a wild, diſſolute, and deviliſh kind of living, as now, alas! we ſee and are too, too well aware of, and cannot long endure. Therefore I fear (ſaid *Luther*) the axe is laid to the root of the tree that it ſoon muſt be cut down. God of his infinite mercy take us graciouſly away, that we may not live to ſee ſuch calamity.

How God regards great Perſons that are Ungodly.

GOD regards ungodly great Potentates, Kings, and Princes, even as children regard playing at cards. While they play, and have good cards, they hold them in their hands; then, afterwards, when they have bad cards, they are weary of them, and throw them under the bench. Juſt ſo doth God with great Potentates: while they are in the government, and rule well, he holds them for good; but ſo ſoon as they do exceed, and govern ill, then he throws them down from their ſeat (as Mary ſings), and there he lets them lie. *Ut Regem Daniæ.*

The Queen of Denmark, that was ſiſter to the Emperor Charles and King Ferdinand, died at that time when her huſband, King Chriſtian, was taken priſoner, who was kept in priſon twenty years. And his ſon, who was the only heir of the kingdom, and was in the Court of the Emperor, died alſo at the Imperial Diet held at Ratiſbon the ſame year, 1541. God hath taken up and gathered together a fine and glorious game at cards, all of mighty Potentates, as Emperors, Kings, Princes, &c. they ſcuffle and fight one with another; touching which (ſaid *Luther*) I could ſhew many examples done in our time, &c.

The

The Pope (ſaid *Melanchthon*) for the ſpace of theſe certain hundred years hath been held for the principal Head of all Chriſtendom. When he did but wink or hold up one finger, ſo muſt the Emperors, Kings, and Princes have humbled themſelves and feared; inſomuch that he was Lord of all Lords, King of all Kings on earth; yea, he was an earthly God. But now comes Almighty God, throws down the Pope, and wins that great king with the ace (*Luther*), and there he lies. This is God's government, as Mary ſings in her Magnificat: *Depoſuit potentes.* He puts down the mighty from their ſeat, &c.

If I were rich (ſaid *Melanchthon*), I would have artificially made me a game at cards, and a cheſt-board all of gold and ſilver, in a remembrance of God's game at cards, which are all great and mighty Emperors, Kings, and Princes, where he always thruſteth one out through another. *N.* is the four of diamonds, the Pope is the ſix of diamonds, the Turk is the eight of diamonds, the Emperor is the king in the game.

At laſt comes our Lord God, divides the game, beats the Pope with *Luther* (he is the ace). But the Pope is not yet quite dead, Chriſt hath begun to ſlay him with the ſpirit of his mouth, ſo that he is dead in the hearts of believing Chriſtians; I hope it is almoſt come ſo far, that, *in leſs than two hundred years*, God will quite make an end of him, and of that antichriſtian idolatry, by his glorious coming.

Ezekiel and the Revelation do ſpeak thereof, as if the Turk ſhould be conſumed with fire from heaven, which is a very dark prophecy: it may well be done (ſaid *Luther*) by a ſpiritual fire, which executeth and conſumeth Antichriſt, the Pope. For when God gives the Word, he gives alſo therewith the ſpirit of faith and prayer; when the ſame is powerful in the hearts of believers, then is the wicked world beaten, the devil overcome and executed, who cannot endure the Word; nay, it is in his eyes like a thick miſt or fog. Well (as I ſaid before), it cannot be very long, but that both the Pope and Turk with their retinue muſt be ſtruck down to the pit of hell.

That out of the Beſt comes the Worſt.

OUT of Abraham came Iſaac and Iſhmael; out of the Patriarchs and holy Fathers came the Jews that crucified Chriſt; out of the Apoſtles came Judas the Traitor; out of the city Alexandria (where a fair, illuſtrious, and famous ſchool was, and from whence proceeded many upright and godly learned men) came Arius and Origenes; out of the Romiſh Church, that yielded many holy martyrs, came the blaſphemous Antichriſt, the Pope of Rome; out of the holy men in Arabia, came Mahomet; out of Conſtantinople, where in that noble city many laudable Emperors courts were kept, comes the Turk. To conclude, out of married women come adultereſſes; out of virgins, whores; out of brethren, ſons and friends, come the cruelleſt enemies; out of Angels come Devils; out of Kings come Tyrants; out of the Goſpel and godly truth come horrible lies; out of the true Church come Heretics; out of *Luther* comes fanatics, rebels, and enthuſiaſts, &c. What wonder is it then that evil is among us, comes from us, and goeth out of us; they muſt indeed be very evil things that cannot ſtay by ſuch goodneſs; and they muſt alſo be very good, that can endure ſuch evil things.

That God extolleth his Mercy in us Sinners through his Benefits.

ALTHOUGH original ſin hath well deſerved, that many wild beaſts ſhould hurt mankind, as there are lions, wolves, bears, ſnakes, adders, &c. yet, notwithſtanding, the merciful God hath in ſuch manner leſſened our well-deſerved puniſh-

ments, that there are many more beaſts which muſt ſerve us for our good and profit, than of thoſe which can do us hurt: for there are more ſheep than wolves, many more oxen than lions, many more cows than bears, many more ſtags and deer than foxes, many more crayfiſh and lobſters than ſcorpions; many more ducks, geeſe, and hens, than ravens and kites, &c. And (ſaid *Luther*) he that with diligence would compare them one with another, ſhould find, that there are in the world many more good and profitable beaſts than hurtful; and that in all creatures are found more good than evil, more benefits than hurts and hinderances.

The ſparrows are the leaſt birds, and yet they are very hurtful, and have the beſt nouriſhment; they have throughout the whole year the beſt days, and do the greateſt hurt. In winter time they lie in the barns and corn-houſes; in the ſpring they eat the corn from the fields, alſo they eat the plants, and other growth; in time of harveſt they have enough in the fields, and ſoon after the grapes and fruits are their refreſhments. *Ergò digni ſunt omni perſecutione.*

Gracious Puniſhments of God.

WHEN God is angry with us, and is jealous of us, and delivereth us into the hands of our enemies, that through them he puniſheth our ſins and vices; and ſendeth upon us peſtilences, plagues, famine, &c. yet, nevertheleſs, ſo long as he ſpeaks with us through his Word, it is a certain ſign of his grace and favour towards us; *for, whom the Lord loveth he chaſteneth.* But (ſaid *Luther*) when people are ſecure, they hear indeed the Word, but it goeth in at one ear, and out at the other; they prate much thereof, but no amendment of life, nor fruits of the faith do follow; as we ſee, alas! before our eyes, every one will be a true Chriſtian and an upright Proteſtant, and yet there is no meaſure of carping and caring for the belly; wicked covetouſneſs, uſury, and other ſins go on in full flouriſh and ſway. And when God, through good and godly Teachers and Preachers, doth threaten us, and we will not turn and repent, &c. it is then a certain ſign, that God will ſhortly take from us his Word and pure doctrine, and will leave us in the darkneſs of our hearts to walk in our own counſels, as Chriſt threatened the Jews, and took from them the Kingdom of God, and gave it to others that brought forth their fruits. In this ſort it falls out, that kingdoms, countries, and people for the ſame cauſe are utterly waſted and deſtroyed.

Therefore it amazeth me (ſaid *Luther*), and I do fear that Germany in a ſhort time will be viſited, and horribly puniſhed, by reaſon of the great unthankfulneſs (on our part), in contemning and blaſpheming of God's Word (on the enemies part), that God in the laſt and dangerous times doth cauſe his Word to ſhine ſo bright and clear. God can have long patience, when the people are wicked; but when they contemn his Word, and perſecute the ſame, then hath patience an end, and the laſt puniſhment is at hand, as with the Jews, Greeks, Romans, and others.

What manner of People God will have for his Servants.

GOD will have his ſervants to be repenting ſinners, ſuch as do ſtand in fear of his anger, of the devil, death and hell, and that do believe in Chriſt. Therefore ſaith David, in the 34th Pſalm, *The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart, and helpeth them that be of an humble ſpirit.* And in Iſaiah, Chapter lxvi. *Where ſhall my ſpirit reſt, and where ſhall I dwell? By them that are of humble ſpirits, and that ſtand in fear of my Word.* The ſame doth the poor ſinner on the croſs. St. Peter did ſo, when he had denied Chriſt; Mary Magdalene that was poſ-

ſeſſed

ſeſſed of the devil; St. Paul the perſecutor, &c. All theſe were ſorrowful for their ſins, and ſuch ſhall have forgiveneſs of their ſins, and be God's ſervants.

The great prelates (ſaid *Luther*), the puffed-up ſaints, the rich uſurers, the ox-drovers that ſeek unconſcionable gain, &c. theſe are not God's ſervants, neither were it good they ſhould be; for then no poor people could have acceſs to God for them; neither were it for God's honour that ſuch ſhould be his ſervants, for they would aſcribe the honour and praiſe to themſelves, and would ſay, We are they, &c. Nevertheleſs, there are ſome great Kings and Princes that do call upon God, and ſerve him from their hearts; now theſe, although they be rich and powerful, rule over land and people; yet they are poor in ſpirit, that is, they acknowledge themſelves in good earneſt to be poor ſinners, and do pray with David, that great King, *Miſerere mei Deus.* Alſo they implore, and ſay, *Lord, enter not into judgment with thy ſervant*, &c.

That God's Puniſhments and the Devil's are not alike.

GOD puniſheth with meaſure, not in wrath and anger; he chaſteneth as a father doth his ſon; he woundeth that he may heal. To conclude, he doth all things for our good, happineſs, life, and ſalvation; even for this end, that we may learn to fear him, to acknowledge his goodneſs and benefits, to truſt in him, and to call upon him in our need. Like as a good child, chaſtened of his father, begins to better himſelf more than before, feareth and loveth his father; for it knoweth that he means well and truly with him, &c. But, on the contrary, the devil, if God permitteth him, doth affright, perplex, and wound, he chaſteneth not as a father his child, but as the hangman doth a thief, to the end he may drive him into deſpair and everlaſtingly to deſtroy him; he carries into hell, and not out again; all his doings do tend to utter ruin, death, and deſtruction.

God is the Beginning of all Righteouſneſs; yea, he is the Middle and the End.

ALL righteouſneſs comes originally from God. Firſt, he ſpeaketh unto us through his Word; he offereth unto us his grace, and forgiveneſs of our ſins through Chriſt; like as he ſpake to Adam and Eve in Paradiſe ſoon after their fall, when they had been deceived through the ſerpent: then God laid upon them a grievous puniſhment, but preſently after he comforted them, and promiſed Chriſt, that ſhould cruſh the ſerpent's head. Likewiſe dealt he with Abraham, commanded him to depart out of his native country, promiſed him he would make of him a great nation, would bleſs him, and make his name great. Moreover, he promiſed to him and his poſterity, to Iſaac, to Jacob, &c. that through their ſeed (Chriſt) all people on earth ſhould be bleſſed. Likewiſe, he called Moſes, Exod. xiii. and David through Samuel, Sam. xvi. Alſo Mary, when ſhe was to be the mother of Chriſt, did nothing elſe but hearkened to the angel, received his Word with faith, and ſaid, *Behold, I am the Lord's handmaid, be it to me as thou haſt ſaid.*

In ſuch manner (ſaid *Luther*) doth God always begin, he lays the firſt ſtone, that is, the Word of the Promiſe of Grace muſt go before. This doth offend the Papiſts, and all ſeeming-holy workers, when they hear the Word, for they are thereby hindered, ſo that inſtead of receiving the ſame, they perſecute it: for they neither know nor underſtand, that the grace, through which God juſtifieth us in Chriſt, is the forgiveneſs of ſins. And although there be ſtill in us an overplus of ſins; yet, notwithſtanding, God will not impute them unto us for the

the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt. Ah! (ſaid *Luther*) to know Chriſt is the higheſt treaſure, of whom the wicked world, Pope and Papiſts know nothing; yea, they contemn him, &c. It goeth with them even as St. John writes in his firſt Chapter: *The light ſhined in darkneſs, and the darkneſs comprehended it not.*

Two manner of Sacrifices pleaſing to God.

THE Scriptures (ſaid *Luther*) do ſhew two manner of Sacrifices that are acceptable to God, the firſt is called a Sacrifice of Thanks or Praiſe. When we teach and preach God's Word purely; when we hear and receive it with faith; when we acknowledge the ſame, and do every thing that tendeth to the ſpreading of it abroad, and thank God from our hearts for the unſpeakable benefits which through the ſame are laid before us, and beſtowed upon us in Chriſt; when we praiſe and glorify him, &c. Hereof the 50th Pſalm ſaith, *Offer unto God thankſgiving.* Alſo, *He that offereth thanks praiſeth me.* And Pſalm cxviii. *Thank the Lord, for he is gracious, becauſe his mercy endureth for ever.* And Pſalm ciii. *Praiſe the Lord, O my ſoul, and all that is within me praiſe his holy Name. Praiſe the Lord, O my ſoul, and forget not all his benefits.*

Secondly, when a ſorrowful and troubled heart in all manner of temptations hath his refuge in God, calls upon him in a true and upright faith, ſeeks help by him, and waits patiently upon him, Pſalm cxviii. *In my trouble I called upon the Lord, and he heard me at large.* Pſalm xxxiv. *The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a contrite heart, and will ſave ſuch as be of an humble ſpirit.* And Pſalm li. *The ſacrifice of God is a troubled ſpirit; a broken and contrite heart, O God, ſhalt thou not deſpiſe.* And Pſalm l. *Call upon me in the time of need, ſo will I deliver thee, and thou ſhalt praiſe me.*

The perverted Wiſdom of the Epicures in theſe Times (which are many, and daily do increaſe), that preſume to cenſure God's Government.

IT is (ſaid *Luther*) a very evil and dangerous temptation (yet common) eſpecially by the worldly-wiſe and learned people, which do think and ſpeculate in this manner: If (think they) God were juſt and almighty, and did ſtand for the good of the world, then he could in no wiſe endure, that the good and godly people ſhould be plagued with ſo many troubles and adverſities, and the wicked wretches to have ſuch good days. He puniſheth the ungodly well in the end, but in the mean time the good and godly are tormented (for the moſt part) in this world without ceaſing. This Epicurean and ungodly weening proceeds from hence, they dream that human wiſdom and ſtrength is ſtill whole, ſound, and unremoved. But the poor blind people do not ſee that our underſtanding, wit, and wiſdom is altogether foul and fearfully ſpoiled and blinded through original ſin. Therefore do they mean that God ſhould be ſo minded as they have thoughts of him, and as they behold him with their blind ſpectacles, from whence they get blue eyes.

But the cauſe why they do not know, nor will know, that all our ſtrength both of ſoul and body is ſo lamentably ſpoiled, is this, they do not underſtand what a great evil and miſchief original ſin is; they expound it only of the loweſt ſtrength of the fleſh; from hence all the writers in Popedom do name original ſin, only the luſts of the fleſh; they write nothing of unbelief, of contemning of God, and of other ſins againſt the firſt table of the Ten Commandments. They hold them for ſmall and ſlight ſins.

To ſerve God and the Emperor.

DOCTOR Eck on a time ſaid to me (ſaid *Luther*) theſe words: He that ſerves God and the Emperor, hath but ſmall profit thereby. I anſwered him, and ſaid, It is a blaſphemous ſpeech, flatly againſt the firſt and ſecond Tables. Againſt the firſt, where God commands, *Thou ſhalt ſerve the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy ſoul, and with all thy ſtrength.* Deut. vi. *and him only ſerve.* Matt. iv. Againſt the ſecond: *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers.* Rom. xiii. And Chriſt ſaith, *Give to God the things which are God's, and to Cæſar which are Cæſar's.* Matt. xxii.

That the Firſt-born was holy unto God.

IN the Old Teſtament, all the firſt-born were hallowed to God, both of mankind and beaſts. The firſt-born ſon had an advantage before the other brethren; yea, he was their Lord, as the principal in offering and riches, that is, in ſpiritual and temporal government; for he had right to the prieſthood and dominion, &c. But there are many examples opened unto us in holy Scriptures, where we ſee that God rejected the firſt-born, and choſe the younger brethren, as Cain, Iſhmael, Eſau, Ruben, Eliab, &c. who were firſt-born; from them God took their right, and gave it to their younger brethren, as to Abel, Iſaac, Jacob, Judah, David, &c. And he did the ſame for this cauſe, That they were haughty, proud, and preſumptuous of their firſt-birth, and deſpiſed their brethren that were more good and godly than they; the ſame could God not endure, and therefore they were bereaved of their honour, ſo that they could not boaſt themſelves of their firſt-birth, although they were highly eſteemed in the world, were poſſeſſed of lands and people, as the Scripture mentioneth.

But the ſpiritual promiſe, that Chriſt ſhould come out of their ſeed, they dallied the ſame away through their pride, to the end they ſhould not brag of the firſt-birth after the fleſh. For God will not be upbraided, nor ſuffer us in no wiſe to go on in our ways. He that walketh not in God's ways, goes aſtray, and is a loſt ſheep.

Of the Obedience towards God and the Devil.

THE obedience towards God that pleaſeth him, is the obedience of faith, to teach and hear his Word, to believe the ſame, to live thereafter, and to ſhew it by the fruits of faith; that is by good works, which God hath commanded.

But the obedience ſhewn to the devil is unbelief, when one departs from the profeſſion of the true faith, follows and depends upon deviliſh lies and doctrine of men, do act many and great works of their own choice and devotion, without and againſt God's Word and command, and therewith do torment themſelves; from whence the common proverb comes, *Hell is gotten more bitterly and hardly by the martyrs of the devil, than heaven is gained by the martyrs of God.*

How it would have gone if Adam had not ſinned.

IF Adam had remained in his innocence, and had not tranſgreſſed God's command, yet he had begotten children; but he ſhould not have lived and remained continually in that ſtate in Paradiſe, but ſhould have been taken into the everlaſting glory in heaven; not through death, but through being tranſlated into another life.

That God ſcorns and mocks the Devil.

GOD ſcorns and mocks the devil, in that he ſets under the devil's noſe a poor, weak, human creature, that is duſt and aſhes; yet hath the firſt-fruits of the Spirit, againſt whom the devil can do nothing, although he is ſo proud, ſubtil, and powerful a ſpirit. We read in hiſtories (ſaid *Luther*), that a mighty powerful King of Perſia was utterly routed at the city Edeſſa, through a wonderful hoſt ſent from God; namely, through an innumerable multitude of great flies and gnats. Even ſo God takes pleaſure to triumph and overcome, not through power, but by weakneſs. Flies and gnats ſhall beat and overcome great Kings, and ſhall drive away the powerful armies of horſe and chariots. Alſo, a weak human creature ſhall bid defiance to the devil, and ſhall overcome the prince and god of the world through faith.

Of God's greateſt Anger and Grace.

FALSE teachers and ſectaries (ſaid *Luther*) are puniſhments for evil times, and are God's greateſt anger and diſpleaſure, as Hoſea ſaith, Chap. ix. *The prophet is a fool; the ſpiritual man is mad; for the multitude of thine iniquity, and the great hatred.* Even ſo, on the contrary, good and godly teachers are glorious witneſſes; they are God's graces and mercies. From hence St. Paul nameth Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Prophets, Shepherds, Teachers, &c. gifts and preſents of our Saviour Chriſt, ſitting at the right hand of the Father. And the Prophet Micah compareth the Teachers of the Goſpel to a fruitful rain.

That God hardeneth whom he will.

PHILIP Melancthon aſked *Luther* if this word, hardened, were to be underſtood directly as it ſounded, or in a figurative and coloured ſenſe? To which queſtion *Luther* anſwered, and ſaid, We muſt underſtand it properly, and not operatively: for God worketh and doth no evil. But through his almighty power he worketh all in all; and as he finds a man, ſo he worketh in him, as he did work in Pharaoh. He was evil by nature, which was not God's, but his own fault; he continually proceeded to be wicked, and to do evil. But he was hardened, becauſe that God with his ſpirit and grace did nothing hinder his ungodly proceedings, but ſuffered him to go on, and to have his mind. Now, why God did not hinder nor reſtrain him, thereafter ought not we to enquire. For this word (*Quere*, Why) hath miſled and deſtroyed many ſouls, is too high for us to ſearch into. Therefore ſaith God, Why I do this, thou ſhalt not know: Look thou upon the Word, believe thou in Chriſt, and pray; I will make it well enough. If God ſhall be aſked at the laſt day of judgment, Why he ſuffered Adam to fall? then will he anſwer and ſay, Becauſe my goodneſs may be known and ſeen towards the generation of mankind, in that I gave to the world my Son to be a Saviour.

Whoſo from his Heart can humble himſelf before God, he hath gained.

WHOSO can earneſtly humble himſelf from his heart before God, he hath gained. For God can do nothing, but to be merciful towards them that humble themſelves. For if God ſhould always be ſtern and angry, ſo ſhould I (ſaid *Luther*) be afraid of him as of the executioner. And ſeeing that I muſt ſtand in fear of the Pope, of the Emperor, of the Papiſtical Biſhops, and of other tyrants, which

are

are God's enemies, to whom then ſhould I fly and take my refuge, if I ſhould alſo be afraid of God?

To know God aright is the higheſt Art.

GOD ſtileth himſelf, in all the holy Scriptures, A God of Life, of Peace, of Comfort and Joy, for the ſake of Chriſt. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) I am an enemy to myſelf, that I cannot believe it ſo conſtantly and ſurely as I ſhould and ought to believe. No human creature can rightly know how mercifully God is inclined toward thoſe that ſtedfaſtly do believe in Chriſt.

That God preſerves Nurture and Diſcipline.

GOD's works and actions will be where good nurture and diſcipline is maintained, eſpecially in wars, where a good government is ſettled: otherwiſe it goeth ſtrangely, diſſolutely, and ill, as in this time we ſee too well.

When God will confound the wiſdom of the wiſe, he makes them firſt mad and furious in their proceedings; as he dealt with the Popiſh Princes and Biſhops at the Imperial Diet held at Augſpurge.

Let the adverſaries rage and ſwell their fills (ſaid *Luther*), and as long as they can. God hath ſet the ſea her bounds; he ſuffers the ſame to beat and rage with her waves, as if they would over-run, cover, and drown every thing; yet, notwithſtanding, they muſt not paſs the ſhore and banks; although God keeps the waters in their compaſs, not with iron, but with weak walls of ſand. This diſcourſe *Luther* held at that time when letters were written unto him from the Aſſembly at Franckfort, concerning the Papiſts, with their practices and exploits, intending to fall upon the Proteſtants in all parts.

The ſecond Pſalm (ſaid *Luther*) is one of the beſt Pſalms. I love that Pſalm with my heart. It ſtrikes and ſlaſhes valiantly amongſt the Kings, Princes, Counſellors, Judges, &c. If it be true what this Pſalm ſaith, then are the allegations of the Papiſts ſtark lies. If I were as our Lord God, and had committed the government to my ſon, as he hath done to his Son, and that theſe angry gentlemen were ſo diſobedient as they now be, I would (ſaid *Luther*) throw the world into a lump.

Mary, the poor child-maid of Nazareth, alſo combateth with theſe great Kings, Princes, &c. as ſhe ſings, *He hath put down the mighty from their ſeat*, &c. No doubt (ſaid *Luther*) ſhe had an excellent undaunted voice; I, for my part, dare not ſing ſo. The tyrants ſay, *Let us break their bonds aſunder*. What that is (ſaid he) preſent experience teacheth us: for we ſee how they drown, how they hang, burn, behead, ſtrangle, baniſh, and torture; and all this they do in deſpite of God. *But he ſits above in heaven, and laugheth them to ſcorn*. If (ſaid *Luther*) God would be pleaſed to give me a little time and ſpace, that I might expound a couple of ſmall Pſalms, I would beſtir myſelf ſo boldly, that, Sampſon-like, I would take all the Papiſts away with me.

How God will judge.

GOD judgeth now through the Goſpel; but at the day of judgment he will openly publiſh it. Then will he come with thunder and lightning, and will draw us all in the twinkling of an eye together to meet him; inſomuch, that we muſt ſtand there before him, and muſt openly hear the ſentence, Matt. xxv. This is called, *to judge the quick and the dead*.

Whereby

Whereby a Man may acknowledge God's Goodneſs.

THE temporal Magiſtrate (ſaid *Luther*) is a ſign of God's grace, that God is gracious, and hath no pleaſure nor delight in mangling and ſlaughtering; otherwiſe he would ſuffer all to go on in a confuſion, and without government, as is amongſt the Turks, and amongſt the wild, fearful, and ſenſeleſs beaſts, ſwine, bears, wolves, lions, &c. Even ſo would people diſpatch and deſtroy one another.

To ſerve God aright.

IF a man ſerves not God only (ſaid *Luther*), then ſurely he ſerves the devil; becauſe no man can ſerve God, unleſs he hath his Word and Command. Therefore, if his Word and Command be not in thy heart, then thou ſerveſt not God, but thine own will: for this is called upright ſerving of God, when a man doth that which in his Word he hath commanded to be done, every one in his vocation, not that which he thinketh good out of his own ſelected devotion.

The Pope and his crew are merely worſhippers of idols and ſervants of the devil, with all their doings and living; for they regard nothing at all God's Word, yea, the Pope condemneth and perſecuteth the Divine Word, and directs all his juggling to this point, that he may draw us away from the true faith in Chriſt. He pretends great holineſs, under the colour of the outward ſervice of God; for he hath inſtituted orders with hoods, with ſhaving, with faſting, with eating of fleſh, with ſaying Maſs, and ſuch like; but in the ground, it is altogether the doctrine of the devil. And the cauſe why the Pope ſo ſtiffly holdeth ſuch deviliſh doctrine is, that which the Goſpel relateth, Matt. iv. The devil hath ſhewn him the kingdoms of the world, and hath made promiſe to him as he did to Chriſt. This makes him to contemn and ſcorn our ſermons and God's ſervice; for we are beggars thereby, and muſt endure and ſuffer much. But he raiſeth his doctrine up to the heavens; for thereby he getteth money and wealth, honour and power, and is ſo great a monarch, that he can bring Emperors under his girdle.

Thus a man may ſee how the devil hath ſo powerfully poſſeſſed him with theſe temptations; hath driven him ſo far, that he hath forſaken God's Word, and inſtead thereof hath brought in and ſet up ſelf-feigned ſanctity; yet, notwithſtanding, God hath preſerved ſome amongſt ſuch deviliſh ſpirits.

That God is not the Cauſe of Evil.

ORIGENES, the Teacher (ſaid *Luther*), made himſelf much labour about this queſtion, *Whether God were the cauſe of Evil?* But we ſay flatly, No; God is not the cauſe of evil, but a Creator of all creatures, &c. When a man ſpeaketh in that ſort, he muſt conſider the end, the author, and the cauſe; for, operatively, God is not the cauſe of evil. He createth and doth nothing that is evil, although he gives to the ungodly a perverſe mind, as is written in the Pſalm. *But my people hearkened not to my voice, and Iſrael would not obey me: therefore I left them in the darkneſs of their hearts, that they walked after their own counſel.*

That God's Mutability diſtracts the People.

IT troubleth and diſturbeth the hearts of people not a little, that God ſeems as if he were mutable or fickle-minded: for he gave to Adam the promiſe and ceremonies,

monies, which afterwards he altered with the rainbow, and the ark of Noah. He gave to Abraham the circumciſion; to Moſes, he gave miraculous ſigns; to his people, he gave the law. But to Chriſt, and through Chriſt, he gave the Goſpel; which may be held as if he took away and aboliſhed with the ſame all the former. From hence the Turks do take advantage at theſe proceedings of God, and ſay, Their laws may be eſtabliſhed and endure for a time, but at laſt they will be altered.

By reaſon of our ſtiff-necked Hardneſs, God muſt be both harſh and good too.

I WAS (ſaid *Luther*) very lately ſharply reprimanded and taxed by a Popiſh flattering Courtier, a Prieſt; becauſe with ſuch paſſion I had written, and ſo vehemently had reproved the people. But I anſwered him, and ſaid, Our Lord God muſt firſt ſend a ſharp pouring ſhower, with thunder and lightning, and afterwards cauſe it mildly to rain, as then it wetteth finely through. In like manner, a willow or a hazel wand I can eaſily cut with my trencher-knife; but for a hard oak, a man muſt have and uſe axes, bills, and ſuch like, and all little enough to fell and to cleave it.

What that is, God is nothing, and yet he is all Things.

PLATO, the Heathen, diſputed of God, that God is nothing, and yet he is all things; him followed Dr. Eck, and the Sophiſts, who underſtood nothing thereof, as their words do ſhew, which no man could underſtand. But (ſaid *Luther*) we muſt underſtand and ſpeak of it in this manner: God is incomprehenſible and inviſible, therefore what may be ſeen and comprehended, that is not God. And thus a man may ſpeak alſo in another manner and wiſe: As God is either viſible or inviſible; viſible he is in his Word and Works, but where his Word and Works are not, there a man ſhould not deſire to have him; for he will be found no where elſe, than where he hath revealed himſelf. But theſe and ſuch like will find and take hold of him with their ſpeculations; ſo that inſtead of God, they take hold of the devil, and find him, for he will be alſo a god. But I do truly admoniſh and warn every one, that they abſtain from ſuch ſpeculations, and not to flutter too high, but remain by the manger, and by the ſwaddling cloaths wherein Chriſt doth lie (in the holy Scriptures), *in whom dwelleth all the fulneſs of the Godhead bodily*, as St. Paul ſaith, Col. ii. There a man cannot fail of God, but finds and hits upon him moſt certainly. I would willingly that this rule might be obſerved after my death; namely, Human comfort and divine comfort are of two ſorts: human comfort conſiſteth in external viſible help, which a man may ſee, hold, and feel; but divine comfort conſiſteth only in words and promiſes, where there is neither ſeeing, hearing, or feeling.

When human Help is at an End, then God's Help begins to them that believe.

WHEN (ſaid *Luther*) we ſee no way, means, advice, counſel, nor wiſdom, through which we may be helped in our miſeries, then we preſently conclude according to our ſenſe and reaſon, Now our condition is deſperate; but when we believe, then our deliverance begins. The phyſician ſays, *Ubi deſinit philoſophia, ibi incipit medicina:* Where philoſophy ends, there phyſic begins. After that manner ſay we alſo, *Ubi deſinit humanum auxilium, ibi divinum incipit, vel fides in verbum:* Where human help hath an end, there God's help begins, or faith

in God's Word. Trials and temptations do appear before deliverance, and after deliverance comes joy. To be ſuppreſt and troubled, is to be built, and yet to grow and to increaſe.

Our Lord God frames his will towards us Chriſtians in a ſtrange and various manner; inſomuch that a man ſcarcely knows where he is. God's kingdom dwelleth in the people that are baptized, and, from their hearts, do believe in Chriſt, and do ſhew it alſo in their lives and converſations. The true and upright Chriſtians are God's kingdom, but not the mouth and coloured Chriſtians. And although the true Chriſtians are plagued and ſlain here, yet their Lord lives in heaven, and therefore muſt they alſo live.

The devil (ſaid *Luther*) hath his luſt and pleaſure, and it is his only work and delight to ſuppreſs God's work, to torment and plague thoſe that love God's Word, and hold faſt thereby; the other that do the contrary, he lets alone. Now, ſeeing the true Chriſtians are God's kingdom, ſo muſt they be plagued, tormented, and ſuppreſſed.

A true Chriſtian muſt have evil days, and ſuffer much. But our Adam's fleſh and blood will have good and eaſy days, and will ſuffer nothing. How may theſe agree together? Our fleſh is given over to death and hell. Shall then our fleſh be delivered from death and hell, and be taken away again from the devil? ſo muſt it keep and hold itſelf again to God's commandments, and muſt ſtep to him; which is nothing elſe than to believe in Chriſt Jeſus, that he is the Son of God and our Redeemer, and to cleave faſt to his Word. Now, Chriſt's Word is nothing elſe, but to carry the croſs, and to believe that he will not ſuffer us to be plagued everlaſtingly, but will deliver and remove us out of this life into life eternal; and to have patience in the croſs, to bear with the weakneſs of another, who is alſo under the croſs, and that holds with Chriſt.

Therefore, he that will boaſt himſelf to be Chriſt's diſciple, and will be a true Chriſtian, and ſaved, he muſt not expect good days; but all his faith, hope, and love muſt be directed to God, and to his neighbour, that ſo his whole life to be nothing elſe than altogether ſuffering croſs and perſecution, and every twinkling of an eye muſt expect all manner of adverſities and tribulations.

Luther's *Letter, written to Doctor* Caſpar Aquila, *of God's unſearchable Majeſty.*

THE diſputation of that poet (your gueſt), of which you wrote unto me, touching the ſecret and hidden works of God, is a high temptation, which we call blaſpheming of God, in which many are loſt and made away. And I myſelf not only once, but ſundry times have been tempted therewith, even to danger of death. And what is it, that we poor wretched people do grapple for? when as we cannot as yet comprehend the ſparks of God's Promiſes with our faith, nor ſo much as a glimmering of his Commandments and Works; both which, notwithſtanding, he himſelf hath confirmed with Words and Miracles. And yet, nevertheleſs, we that are weak, impure, torn, and ſpoiled, will be ſo preſumptuous, as to ſearch out, and underſtand the incomprehenſible Majeſty of the incomprehenſible light of God's wonders.

Do we not know, that he dwelleth in a light to which a human creature cannot come? and yet we go on and preſume to come unto it. We know that his judgments are incomprehenſible, and his ways paſt finding out, *Rom.* xi. and yet we undertake to find them out; and that we do err before we be inſtructed and ſprinkled with the ſtreams and glimmering of God's Promiſes and Commandments, ere we have learned the A, B, C, &c. We do look with blind eyes, like a mole, on the Majeſty of God, and of that light which is ſhewed neither with words nor miracles, but

but is ſignified, hidden, and in ſecret. What wonder were it then, that the glory fell upon us, and covered us, ſeeing we ſearch after the Majeſty? I ſay, what wonder were it, ſeeing we turn it about, and out of curioſity and perverted wilfulneſs will behold the higheſt and greateſt light of the celeſtial ſun, and will take it to be the morning ſtar? Let the morning ſtar (as St. Peter ſaith) go firſt up in our hearts, as then we ſhall ſee him at noon lying and reſting.

True it is, we muſt teach of God's incomprehenſible and unſearchable will; but to undertake to comprehend the ſame, that is very dangerous, and there we ſtumble, fall, and break our necks. I do uſe to hold in (ſaid *Luther*) and to bridle myſelf with theſe words, which our Saviour Chriſt ſpake to St. Peter: *Follow thou me: What is it to thee?* &c. for Peter diſputed and troubled himſelf alſo about God's works; namely, how he would do with another? How he would do with John? And as he anſwered Philip, that ſaid, *Shew us the Father.* What ſaid Chriſt? *Believeſt thou not that the Father is in me, and I in the Father? He that ſeeth me, ſeeth the Father alſo,* &c. For Philip would alſo willingly have ſeen the Majeſty and fellowſhip of the Father. Therefore ſaith Solomon, the wiſe King, *What is too high for thee, thereafter enquire thou not.* And (ſaid *Luther*) were it ſo, and although we knew all theſe ſecret judgments of God, what good and profit would it bring unto us more than God's Promiſes and Commandments.

Therefore tell your friend (will he have peace in his heart, and not ſee and find the danger of blaſpheming and deſpair) that he expel ſuch cogitations and abſtain from them, ſeeing he knows for certain that they are incomprehenſible. Why would he permit himſelf to be ſo plagued of the devil with that which is impoſſible? Even as when a man would take care and trouble himſelf, how the kingdom of the earth could ſtand and continue upon the water, that it go not down and ſink, or the like. But above all things, I adviſe, that he exerciſe the faith of God's Promiſes, and works of his Commandments; when he hath done, and obſerved that, then let him ſee and conſider, whether it be expedient for him or no, to trouble himſelf with and about impoſſible things. If he will not hearken thereunto, nor receive the ſame, then let him take heed, that he repenteth not too late, ſeeing there is no other counſel fit for him to take, than to forbear, contemn, and abſtain from ſuch reaſonings, although it be a very difficult thing to deſpiſe and expel them, ſo fiercely drives the devil. For that ſearcher and villain makes them neceſſary to be ſearched out: therefore a man muſt not ſtrive leſs in this caſe to contemn and expel ſuch cogitations, than to ſtrive againſt and to reſiſt unbelief, deſpair, hereſies, and ſuch like temptations. For the greateſt number are deceived herewith, becauſe they believe not that ſuch thoughts do proceed from the devil. In ſuch manner doth he try and tempt theſe people which he finds any way fitted or inclined to be poſſeſſed with ſuch and the like cogitations: therefore there are very few that contemn them, and although they do contemn them, yet they ſtrive and fight not againſt ſuch fiery beloved darts of the prince of this world, who governs in the darkneſs of this world, and with the evil ſpirits under heaven, as St. Paul ſaith. For through the ſame cogitations, Satan fell from heaven, and was thruſt out from thence, at ſuch time, when he would be equal with the Moſt Higheſt, and would know all that God knoweth, and rejected to know what he ſhould know, and what was needful for him.

Therefore we muſt fly before them, and take heed, and not deſire to be wiſer than we ought to be, but diſcreetly with meaſure to deal therein; he that doth not ſo, will be ſuppreſt, and muſt vaniſh away. For we can think nothing of Chriſt, ſolong as theſe reaſonings do laſt and govern in us. In this manner Satan alſo aſſaulted Adam through the ſerpent, deceived and tempted him from God's wiſdom and will, in forbidding him to eat of the Forbidden tree.

Moreover,

Moreover, let him know, my true advice is, that he would attend his office, which God hath commanded him; and would let that go which is not commanded, namely, why another heareth not. *What is that to thee?* ſaid Chriſt to Peter, *Follow thou me*; follow me, and not thy queſtions, or cogitations, &c. Given under my hand this 21ſt of October, 1530.

MARTIN LUTHER.

That God's Works are wonderful.

A QUESTION was demanded of *Luther*, from whence Balaam was? If he did dwell by the water of Aram in Syria, as the Text ſaith; how then do the Scriptures accord, that ſay, He was ſlain amongſt the Midianites.

Luther's Anſwer: It may be, Balaam flew from Moſes like a rebel (as they called and reviled him at that time); as if Balaam ſhould ſay, Now will the people go all into confuſion, ſeeing they are in an inſurrection. Therefore Balaam flew and betook himſelf to the Midianites, which at that time overcame and won the field: for he, Balaam, ſaw how ſorely the Children of Iſrael were plagued, and what a wonderful confuſion went amongſt them, that there was neither peace nor reſt. God cauſed them to be plagued, yea, God himſelf plagued them for this end; namely, that the Gentiles ſhould be more hardened; for they hoped continually that Iſrael ſhould fall and go to ground, as the Papiſts at this day have great hope that we Proteſtants ſhall go to ſhame, and be rooted out with our doctrine.

In like manner, God's people were held and eſteemed of the Heathen for the moſt ungodly ſect. And I believe (ſaid *Luther*) that Pharaoh, King of Egypt, purſued after Moſes and the Children of Iſrael with ſo great aſſurance, that he thought God ſtood for him againſt Iſrael, juſt as if for his ſake and good the ſea had parted itſelf; as if he ſhould ſay, *Nunc implebitur anima mea* (as the text ſeemeth to ſay). Now (thought Pharaoh) I have them ſure enough, I ſhall now take them napping in the ſea: in ſuch aſſurance he was overthrown and ſlain with all his horſemen and chariots; but the weak eſcaped him and got the victory.

In ſuch wonderful manner God carrieth himſelf in his government, that, what ſeemeth to be againſt him, the ſame is for him; and again, what ſeems to be on his ſide, even that is againſt him: for, now he ſhews himſelf as a ſtrong, powerful Potentate; ſoon after, he appears to be weak and ſtrengthleſs, ſo that neither the devil, nor all human wiſdom, can know how to carry themſelves therein. Chriſt hath oftentimes ſhewed himſelf before Satan with wonderful ſigns in the powerfulleſt wiſe, but ſoon after weak in ſuffering as the moſt feeble; and therewith he hath made the devil amazed and altogether aſtoniſhed. Wherefore there pertains to God's wonderful works, faith, which takes hold of the ſame, and acknowledgeth the Creator, and praiſeth him, not the wiſdom of the fleſh.

That God will once awake.

IT ſeemeth (ſaid *Luther*) as if our God were a ſleepy, a ſilent, and a blind God, that ſeeth not, as the Pſalmiſt names him in many places: but he will once awake, and will ſpeak with his enemies in his wrath. As then they may look to themſelves, for it is written, *I will awake from ſleep, ſtand up, and will ſmite my enemies.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

OF THE CREATION.

That the Creation was written by Moſes briefly.

HIGH myſteries (ſaid *Luther*) in the Scriptures, ſeeing they are hard to be underſtood, the unlearned and light-minded ſpirits are thereby confounded, inſomuch that they produce many ſorts of errors and hereſies to their own and others condemnation. 2 Pet. iii. Therefore Moſes would deſcribe and faſten the creation in ſo brief a manner. On the contrary, he ſpends a whole chapter in ſetting forth and deſcribing the buying the field and the cave over againſt Hebron, which Abraham bought of Ephron the Hittite for a ſepulchre to bury Sarah therein. Gen. xxiii. He deſcribes likewiſe, through many and divers chapters, ſundry ſorts and manners of ſacrifices, how they ſhould be prepared, and concerning other cuſtoms and ceremonies, &c. for he well knew that ſuch and the like make and produce no hereſies, &c. The cauſe why the hiſtory of the cave lying in the land of Canaan, over and againſt Hebron, ſo diligently by Moſes was deſcribed, with ſo many words, was this: This field, with the cave, was a remembrance for Abraham to believe that his poſterity (according to God's promiſe, Gen. xii.) ſhould certainly be poſſeſſed of the Land of Canaan. That the unbelieving Heathen might give a teſtimony that he had his own goods and land in Canaan; and for more ſecurity, he buried Sarah there, and afterwards Abraham himſelf; Iſaac and Jacob were alſo buried in that cave. Gen. xxv. xxxv. l. Likewiſe, it was done to this end, that, after his death, his poſterity, before they went into Egypt, ſhould not be driven out of the Land of Canaan by the unbelieving envious Heathen. For the devil grudgeth the good and godly a bit of bread; and when they have it, then would he willingly take it out of their mouths.

In the Beginning God created Heaven and Earth.

BEFORE a man rightly underſtands and learns the firſt few words in Moſes *(In the beginning God created heaven and earth)*, he is dead; and although he lived a thouſand years, yet could he not learn it out. But the world (ſaid *Luther*) hath ſo far forgotten their Creator, and all his unſpeakable benefits and graces, that he was fain to ſend alſo his only begotten Son into the world, to the end he might put them in remembrance of his goodneſs and benefits which he hath ſhewed unto them; not only therein that he created all things neceſſary for them, but alſo gave unto them his only Son.

In ſuch Manner Heaven and Earth was finiſhed with their whole Hoſt. Gen. ii.

ALL creatures (ſaid *Luther*) are God's hoſts. I have kept (ſaid he) and reſerved in ſtore that little word *exercitus*, hoſts, as it is in the Hebrew, therewith to ſpite and upbraid the devil; who, with all his force, in ſundry ways, doth labour to hinder all creatures in their works whereunto God hath created them. The ſun, moon, and ſtars do light and ſhine days and nights;

the ſea gives an overplus of all ſorts of fiſh; other waters and ponds likewiſe; and always they keep and obſerve their certain courſe without hinderance. The earth beareth and giveth all manner of neceſſaries (herbs, corn, wine, fruits, graſs, &c.) for the preſervation and profit both of mankind and beaſts. All theſe things the devil would willingly let and hinder, but God bridleth and prevents him: from hence God is called in the Scriptures, *the Lord of Hoſts*; for he createth and preſerveth, that every creature accompliſheth that whereunto he hath ordained and created them. But ſometimes God ordaineth that an unfruitful ſeaſon falleth out; inſomuch that corn and all ſorts of fruits do proſper ill, and thereupon a dearth follows, for the puniſhment of the ungrateful world, which doth not acknowledge that all fruits and other bleſſings are God's gifts.

Of God's Proceeding in the Creation, and in his Works.

GOD (ſaid *Luther*) uſeth to hold this cuſtom, to the end his power and might may be accompliſhed and made ſtrong in and through weakneſs. Thus he firſt made the world out of a vaſt and empty lump *(chaos)*, which was dark and without ſhape; then he gave to every creature, in order, form and faſhion, viſible and glorious. He created not mankind firſt, but the earth. He ſtuck and hid in the ground firſt a buſh, which preſently muſt not be a tree. He could as well have created all things at an inſtant, fully and complete, with one word, but he would not; for this manner pleaſeth him beſt, that out of nothing he maketh ſomething. Even ſo he made it with our caſe about the Goſpel; at the firſt it went weakly forward, but, God be praiſed! ever ſince it hath grown and increaſed, ſo that always more and more are joined thereunto; but I fear it will fall again, by reaſon of our unthankfulneſs and contempt.

Why Moſes doth not remember the Creating of Angels.

MOSES (ſaid *Luther*) remembereth nothing of the creating of angels: firſt, becauſe he would only deſcribe the creating of the viſible world, and the creatures that are therein. Secondly, he would not give occaſion for us to ſpeculate of needleſs things. Nevertheleſs, he remembereth the angels in the hiſtory of Abraham and Lot, Gen. xviii. and xix.; as alſo the Scripture here and there ſpeaketh of angels.

Therefore God hath done exceeding well, in that he hath not cauſed many things to be written; otherwiſe, we had caſt in the wind, and ſcorned to learn and conſider of that which now we have plainly expreſſed in the Scriptures, and which ſerves for our ſalvation; and, inſtead thereof, we had undertaken to ſearch and find out that which is above and too high for us, with which we ſhould have been nothing the better.

Queſtions touching the Creation.

IT may be demanded (ſaid *Luther*) how Moſes could have written of the creation, and of other things, when, two thouſand years before his time, the creation was finiſhed, and the Patriarchs, Adam, Seth, Enoch, &c. had been alive and dead long before his time. I anſwer (ſaid he): Many things were written or deſcribed before Moſes was born; and doubtleſs, Adam did briefly faſten and note the hiſtories of the Creation, of his Fall, of the Promiſed Seed, &c. Likewiſe, the other Patriarchs afterwards, no doubt, did ſet down what was done in each of their times, eſpecially Noah. Afterwards Moſes, as I conceive, took and brought it into a right method and

and order, diminiſhed therefrom, and added thereunto, ſuch things as God commanded; as eſpecially touching the Seed that ſhould cruſh the Serpent's head, the hiſtory of the Creation, &c. all which, doubtleſs, he had out of the doctrine and ſermons of the Patriarchs, which always one inherited from another. For I verily believe, that the ſermon of the Woman's Seed, promiſed to Adam and Eve, after which they had ſo hearty a longing and yearning, was uſed and preached more powerfully before the Deluge, than now in theſe laſt dangerous times the ſermons of Chriſt are uſed and preached with us.

Doubtleſs at that time (ſaid *Luther*) there were alſo heretics; for if Cain had not fallen ſo abominably, and had not been a murderer of his own brother, then certainly he would have ſeduced moſt part of the people, and brought in all ſorts of hereſies; therefore God ordained that he ſlew Abel.

This is the end of all heretics, that at laſt they take hold on the ſword, and become murderers; as is to be ſeen by the Arians, and in Popedom, &c. Firſt, they begin their buſineſs under the colour of godlineſs; they paint and trim up their lies with the Scripture, through which they do great miſchief, and ſeduce many people, until at laſt, when their lies are diſcovered, they bring it to the ſword. Surely the will in them is not wanting, only the occaſion and opportunity fails them; for the devil cannot be hidden in his members, but he muſt diſcover himſelf to be a liar and a murderer, &c. I am perſuaded that the death of Cain did cauſe a very great cry and fear, eſpecially by them that were of his kindred, in that they complained and bewailed: Behold, Lamech hath ſlain our father Cain.

Of the Acts and Legends of the Patriarchs before the Deluge, and how they ought to be deſcribed and noted.

A World were to be given (ſaid *Luther*) that we might have the acts and legends of the Patriarchs (if it were poſſible) that lived before the Deluge; for therein a man might ſee how they lived, preached, and what they ſuffered, &c. But it pleaſed our Lord God to overwhelm all their acts and legends with the Deluge, becauſe he knew that thoſe which ſhould come after would not regard, much leſs underſtand them; therefore God would keep and preſerve them until they came again together in the life to come. And as then the loving Patriarchs (that lived after the Deluge), as Abraham, Iſaac, Jacob, &c. alſo the Prophets, the Apoſtles, their poſterity, and other holy people (which in this life the devil would not leave untempted), will yield unto the Patriarchs that lived before the Deluge, and will give unto them a great deal of pre-eminence, *in advantage of divine and ſpiritual honour*; and will ſay, Ye loving and moſt venerable Patriarchs! I have lived a ſhort time before the Flood in regard of you; preached but a few years, and ſpread God's Word abroad, and thereby did ſuffer many croſſes, &c. but what is that to reckon in compare of the great, tedious, intolerable labour and pains, anguiſh, torments, and plagues, which ye, holy fathers, endured before the Deluge (ſome ſeven hundred, ſome eight hundred years and longer) of the devil and the wicked world.

That Cain was not the Man Adam took him to be.

ADAM (ſaid *Luther*) failed much in Cain; he thought, ſeeing he was the firſt born, ſo ſhould he far exceed in goodneſs, go before, and be preferred above Abel, ſhould be his Lord, and chief in ſpiritual and temporal government; but it fell out far otherwiſe, for God turns it upſide down; he rejects Cain, and gave the right of the firſt-born to Abel. Gen. iv. God beheld Abel and his offering with a gracious

gracious acceptance; but on Cain, and on his offering, he looked without all reſpect, &c. Eve, the loving holy mother, had a ſpecial good hope of Cain; ſhe was ſure, as ſhe flattered herſelf, that he was the woman's ſeed which ſhould cruſh the ſerpent's head, according to the promiſe made to Adam, and to her; from whence ſhe ſpake with joy when ſhe had born him; This ſhall do the deed, and quit us of our ſorrow into which the ſerpent hath brought us, for this is the Lord himſelf; this, thought ſhe, is both true God and natural man born of me.

But the loving mother was much deceived; ſhe knew not yet right her miſery; ſhe knew not that out of fleſh nothing elſe could be born but fleſh; and that through fleſh and blood, ſin and death could not be conquered and taken away. She erred alſo much touching the time in which this bleſſed ſeed, conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould be born into the world of the Virgin Mary. The holy Patriarchs neither knew the time, although the promiſe was always made clearer and clearer, through the revelation of the Holy Ghoſt; even as we now know that the day of judgment will come, but in what day or hour we know not.

That we cannot fundamentally underſtand God's Creation.

AS lately I lay very ſick (ſaid *Luther*) and ſo ſorely ſick that I thought I ſhould have left this world, many cogitations and muſings I had in my weakneſs. Ah! thought I, What may that eternity be? What joys may it have? &c. Nevertheleſs, I know for certain, that the ſame eternity is already ours; through Chriſt it is given and prepared for us, if we can but believe. There it ſhall be opened and revealed; here we ſhall not know when a new, or a ſecond creation of the world ſhall be, ſeeing we underſtand not the firſt creation. If (ſaid he) I had been with God Almighty, before he created the world, I could not have given him ſuch advice and counſel, that out of nothing he ſhould make ſuch a round ball or globe; that he ſhould have created the firmament, and ſet therein ſuch a ſpangle the ſun, which through his ſwift courſe gives light to the circle of the whole earth. Alſo, that he ſhould in ſuch manner have created man and woman, &c. All which he made for us, without any of our counſel. Therefore ought we juſtly to give him the honour, and to leave to his divine power and goodneſs the new creation of the life to come, and not to preſume to ſearch or ſpeculate out the ſame.

Of Paradiſe.

I HOLD (ſaid *Luther*) that the whole world was named a Paradiſe. Moſes deſcribes it, according to Adam's ſight, ſo far as he could ſee: but it was called Paradiſe by reaſon it was all over ſo ſweet and pleaſant. Adam was, and dwelled towards the Eaſt in Syria and Arabia, when he was created; but after he had ſinned, then it was no more ſo delightful and pleaſant.

Even ſo in our time hath God curſed likewiſe fruitful lands, and hath cauſed them to be barren and unfruitful by reaſon of our ſins; for where God gives not his bleſſing, there grows nothing that is good and profitable; but where he bleſſeth, there all things grow plentifully, and are fruitful.

That Children are God's ſpecial Bleſſings and Creatures.

DR. Jonas, inviting *Luther* to a dinner, had cauſed a bough, with ripe cherries, to be hung up over the table where they dined, in remembrance of the creation, thereby to put his gueſts in mind to praiſe the glorious God in his bleſſing and creating

creating ſuch fruits, &c. But *Luther* aſked him, Why he did not rather remember the ſame by his children that were the fruit of his body? For (ſaid he) they ſurpaſs, and are far more excelling creatures of God than all the fruits of trees; by them we ſee God's Power, Wiſdom, and Art, who hath made them all out of nothing, hath given them in one year, life, and all members, ſo exquiſitely hath created and will maintain and preſerve them. Yet, notwithſtanding, we do not much regard it; nay, we are in ſuch gifts of God, blind and covetous, as commonly it falleth out, that people when they have got children grow worſe and more covetous; they rake and rend all they can, to the end enough may be left for their children. They do not know, that before a child comes to the world, and is born, it hath his lot, and already is ordained and determined, what, and how much it ſhall have, and what ſhall be thereout. In the ſtate of matrimony we learn and find, that begetting and bearing of children ſtands and conſiſteth not in our wills and pleaſures; for the parents can neither ſee nor know whether they be fruitful or no, nor whether God will give them a ſon or a daughter. All this is done without our ordaining, thinking, or foreknowledge. My father and mother did not think that they ſhould have brought a *ſuperintendent* into the world, it is only God's Creation which we cannot rightly underſtand nor conceive. I believe (ſaid *Luther*), that in the life to come, we ſhall have nothing elſe to do, than to meditate of our Creator, and of his celeſtial creatures, and wonder at the ſame.

Of Comets.

A COMET (ſaid *Luther*) is alſo a ſtar that runneth, and is not fixed like a planet, but is a baſtard among the planets. It is a haughty and proud ſtar, that engroſſeth the whole element, and carrieth itſelf as if it were there alone. It hath ſuch a nature and kind as hath an heretic, that alſo will be ſingular and alone, will brag and boaſt above others; heretics do think that they are the only people which are endued with underſtanding.

Of Adam's *Moderation.*

WHERETO (ſaid *Luther*) ſerves and profiteth ſuch ſuperfluity, ſuch bravery, bragging, and ſuch extraordinary luſtful kind of living? If Adam ſhould now come again and be among us, and ſhould ſee our kind of life, our food, drink, and apparel, how would he bleſs himſelf, and ſay, Surely, I have not been here in this world; it was, doubtleſs, another Adam (would he ſay), and not I, that was here at the firſt. For he drank water, ate fruit from the trees, he had a houſe ſet up and ſupported with four wooden forks (if ſo good); he had no knife nor iron; he wore a coat of ſkin, &c. But now is uſed an immeaſurable coſt in eating and drinking; now are raiſed royal and princely palaces, chargeable trimmings, apparel beyond compariſon, &c. The ancients, in times paſt, kept and maintained themſelves with more temperate moderation and quietneſs, as Boaz ſaid: *Dip thy bread in vinegar, and refreſh thyſelf therewith.* For thoſe countries were full of people, as we read in the Book of Joſhua. A great multitude of people teacheth well how to live ſparingly.

Of Adam's *Miſery on Earth.*

ADAM, our father (ſaid *Luther*), was, doubtleſs, a moſt miſerable plagued man. It was a mighty ſolitarineſs for him to be alone in ſo wide and vaſt a world; but as he, with Eve (which was his only companion and loving conſort),

obtained Cain their ſon, then there was great joy; in like manner alſo, when Abel was born; but ſoon after followed thereupon great trouble, miſery, and ſorrow of heart, when one brother ſlew another, and Adam thereby loſt one ſon, and the other was baniſhed and proſcribed from his ſight. This, ſurely, was a great croſs and ſorrow, inſomuch that the ſame murder cauſed him more grief than his own fall; for through the ſame, he, with his loving Eve, were reduced again to a ſolitary kind of life. Afterwards, when he was one hundred and thirty years old, then he begat Seth. It was, doubtleſs, a great grief and woe, ſo long a time to ſee God's anger: Ah! he was a perplexed man, which no human creature can conceive or believe: our ſufferings, in compariſon of his miſery and ſorrow of heart, are altogether childrens' toys; but he was afterwards comforted and refreſhed again with the promiſe (through faith) of the woman's ſeed.

Of the Difference among Beaſts.

ALL wild beaſts (ſaid *Luther*) are beaſts of the Law, for they live in fear and in quaking, they have all ſwarthy and black fleſh, by reaſon of their fear; but tame beaſts have white fleſh, for they are beaſts of Grace, they live ſecurely by people.

Of Adam's *Fall.*

MISERABLE and lamentable was the Fall of Adam (ſaid *Luther*), who, from the ſtate of innocency, fell into ſuch calamity as is not to be uttered; for during the ſpace of nine hundred years, he ſaw God's anger in the death of every human creature.

Of Adam's *Sorrow of Heart after the Fall.*

AFTER that Adam had loſt the righteouſneſs in which God created him, he was, without all doubt (ſaid *Luther*), much decayed in body, by reaſon of anguiſh and ſorrow of heart. I believe that before the Fall he could have ſeen a thouſand miles with more eaſe than we can ſee half a one, and ſo in proportion with all the other ſenſes. No doubt, after the Fall, he ſaid: Ah! God! how is it with me? I am both blind and deaf, where have I been? &c. It was a horrible Fall; for he ſaw before that all creatures were obedient unto him, inſomuch that he durſt dally and play even with the ſerpent.

Of the miſerable State of People's Lives.

WHAT miſerable poor people are we (ſaid *Luther*)? We earn our bread with ſin; for until we attain to ſeven years, we do nothing but feed, drink, play, and ſleep; afterwards from the eighth year we go to ſchool, it may be three or four hours in the day; from this time to the one-and-twentieth year, we drive and commit all manner of riot, with playing, running, drinking, ſwilling, and what not? and then we begin a little to work or labour. When we come to fifty years, then we have done with labouring, and become children, we eat our bread again with ſin. The half part of our life we conſume in ſleeping, inſomuch that ſcarce five years are ſpent in labouring; we hardly do work the tenth part of our life; fie upon us, we do not give to God the tenth: what then are we able with our good works to earn of God Almighty? &c. and yet we brag and boaſt of the ſame. Job ſaith, *Si Deus volet contendere mecum, non potero ei reſpondere:* therefore, inſtead of ſuch boaſting of our own good works and deſerts, we ſhould ſay, *Domine, nè intres in judicium cum ſervo tuo.*

Twenty

Twenty years (ſaid *Luther*) is but a ſhort time; yet, notwithſtanding, in that ſhort time the world would be empty, if there were no marrying and begetting of children. God aſſembles unto himſelf a Chriſtian Church out of little children. For I believe, when a little child dies of one year old, that always one, yea, two thouſand dies with it of that age or younger; but when I, *Luther*, die, that am ſixty-and-three, I believe not, that threeſcore, or one hundred at the moſt, dies with me of that age, or elder; for the people in the world are now not old; not many people do live now to my years. We old people muſt live ſo long, to the end we may ſee the tail of the devil, to be witneſſes that he is ſuch a wicked ſpirit. Mankind is nothing elſe but a ſheep-ſhambles, where they are ſlain and ſlaughtered by the devil.

How many ſorts of deaths are in our bodies? Nothing is therein but death altogether. Let us but take a view of our members, and it will plainly appear ſo to be.

There is no tenderer ſkin on man's body than that on the face, and yet no part ſuffereth ſo much as even the ſame, neither indeed could any part endure ſo much.

Whether a Father may diſinherit a diſobedient Child.

IT ſtandeth in the father's power (ſaid *Luther*) to diſinherit a diſobedient child, as old Chremes ſaid in Terence: Should I give my goods to that idle houſewife Bachides? God commanded, by Moſes, that diſobedient children ſhould be ſtoned to death, much more diſinherit them; therefore, a father may diſinherit a ſon; yet with this proviſo, that, upon bettering and amendment, he be reſtored again.

Why our Firſt Elders did eat only Fruit.

WHAT need (ſaid *Luther*) had they of other food, ſeeing the herbs taſted ſo well, and gave ſuch ſtrength? The pomegranates and oranges, without doubt, yielded ſuch a ſweet and pleaſant ſmell, that one might have been ſatisfied with the ſcent thereof; but the Deluge ſpoiled all. It followed not, God created all things, therefore we muſt eat of all things. Fruits were created chiefly that they ſhould be food for people, and for beaſts; the other were created to the end we ſhould laud and praiſe God. Whereunto ſerve the ſtars, but only to praiſe their Creator? Whereunto ſerve the ravens and crows, but to call upon the Lord? and he nouriſheth them.

Of the Curſe of Parents.

A CERTAIN wicked and diſobedient ſon cut off two of his father's fingers; the father wiſhed that his ſon lay in the river Albi, or Elbe; his wiſh was accompliſhed, for that very day his ſon was drowned in that river, near Wittemberg. I read in St. Auſtin (ſaid *Luther*), that when the mothers curſed the children with a certain uſual curſe, at that time the children preſently fell into a fearful trembling, which continued upon them, until, by common prayer, they were reſtored again.

That a Father, during his Life, ſhould not part with his Goods to his Children.

A CERTAIN honeſt man at Iſleben (ſaid *Luther*) addreſſed himſelf unto me, complaining of his great miſery, he having beſtowed on his children all his goods, and now in his old age they forſook and trod him under their feet. *Luther* ſaid unto him: Jeſus Sirach gives unto parents the beſt counſel, where he ſaith:

Give

Give not all out of thy hands while thou liveſt, &c. for the children keep not touch nor promiſe. *One father* (as the proverb ſaith) *can maintain ten children, but ten children can* (*or at leaſt will*) *not maintain one father.* Therefore, in former time, a ſermon was uſually preached againſt unthankful children, of a certain father that had made his laſt will, which he locked up ſafely in a cheſt, and laid a note thereby (together with a good ſtrong cudgel) written with theſe words: *That father which gives his goods out of his hands to his children, the ſame were worthy to have his brains beaten out with cudgels.*

The world is wicked (ſaid *Luther*), it begins with the bloſſom; therefore hath God commanded: *Honour thy father and mother*, &c. But the Pope, that Antichriſt, with his traditions, hath made void that Commandment, and treads it under his feet.

A certain father (ſaid *Luther*) that was grown old, had given over all his goods to his children, with condition they ſhould maintain him; but the children were unthankful, and being weary of him, they kept him very hard and ſparingly, and gave him not ſufficient to eat. The father, being a good old wiſe man, and more crafty than his children, locked himſelf ſecretly into a chamber, and made a great ringing and a jingling with gold crowns (which, for the ſame purpoſe, his rich neighbour had lent unto him), as if he had ſtill much money in ſtore. When his children heard that, they gave him afterwards good entertainment, in hope he would leave them much wealth; the father ſecretly reſtored the crowns again to his neighbour, and ſo worthily deceived his children.

Of Wives.

AS on a time *Luther*'s wife anointed his feet, by reaſon of ſome pain which he felt, he ſaid unto her: In former times the wives were anointed by their huſbands, but now thou anointeſt me: for this word in Latin [*Uxor*, wife,] is derived of anointing, *ab ungendo*; for as the Heathen ſaw, that many rubs, lets, and hinderances were in the ſtate of matrimony, therefore, to prevent ſuch misfortunes, they uſed to anoint both the legs of the new-married women.

I have oftentimes noted (ſaid *Luther*) when women do receive the doctrine of the Goſpel, they are far more fervent in faith, they hold on it more ſtiff and faſt than men do, as we ſee on the loving Magdalen, who was more hearty and bold than Peter.

That Women ſhould not be talkative.

A CERTAIN Engliſh gentleman, very learned, at Wittemberg, was much converſant with *Luther* at his table; but the gentleman had not his Dutch language well, therefore *Luther* ſaid unto him: I will give unto you my wife for a ſchoolmiſtreſs, ſhe ſhall teach you finely and readily to ſpeak Dutch, for ſhe is very eloquent, and ſo perfect therein, that ſhe far ſurpaſſeth me: *Howſoever, when women are ready in ſpeaking, it is not to be commended, it becomes them much better when they keep ſilence and ſpeak little.*

What ill becomes the Women.

THERE is no gown nor garment that becomes a woman worſe (ſaid *Luther*), than when ſhe will be wiſe.

Of Mother's Milk, and Women's Breaſts.

MOTHER's milk (ſaid *Luther*) is the child's beſt nouriſhment, drink, and food, for it nouriſheth well. As alſo the young calves do take and proſper better with

with the milk which they ſuck, than with all the fodder they eat beſides; even ſo, the children are ſtronger by ſucking of milk.

The Breaſts are a woman's ornaments, eſpecially when they have the right proportion; big and fleſhy breaſts are not the beſt, neither do they well become a woman, they promiſe much, but give little. The breaſts that are full of veins and ſinews (although they be little) becometh well the low women, and have much milk, wherewith they may ſtill many children.

The mother's milk is the beſt, and for their children moſt wholeſome, for they are uſed thereunto in the mother's body. When children are put out to groſs nurſes, then they take thereafter, as experience teacheth: it is therefore an unkind and unnatural part, when a mother ſtilleth not her own child; for, for the child's ſake God hath given her breaſts, and milk therein: but if in caſe ſhe be not able to ſtill, then *need breaks iron*, as we uſe to ſay, ſhe is then to be excuſed.

Men (ſaid *Luther*) *have broad and large breaſts, and ſmall narrow hips, therefore they have more underſtanding than the women, which have but ſmall and narrow breaſts; but they have broad hips and ſeats, to the end they ſhould remain at home, ſit ſtill, and keep houſe, carry and bring up children.*

To what End Women are Created.

THE Holy Ghoſt (ſaid *Luther*) commendeth women; as Judith, Eſther, Sarah, &c. and by the Heathen were extolled Lucretia, Artemiſia, &c.

Marrying cannot be without women, neither can the world ſubſiſt without them. To marry is phyſic againſt whoring, which thereby, in a manner, is croſſed; for fleſh and blood remain always according to its nature, unclean, until it be covered with ſhovels. A woman is (or at leaſt ſhould be) a friendly, courteous, and a merry companion of the life; from whence they are named, of the Holy Ghoſt, houſe-honours, that they ſhould be the honour, ornament, and the trimming of the houſe, inclined to pity, for thereunto are they chiefly created, that they ſhall bear children, and ſhould be the pleaſure, joy, and ſolace of their huſbands.

That Children ſtand and cleave beſt to God.

THE life and faith of children (ſaid *Luther*) is the beſt, for they have but only the Word, thereon they do depend, and in plain ſimple wiſe do give the honour unto God. What he promiſeth and ſaith, the ſame they hold for certain to be true. But we old fools have ſorrow of heart, and fear of hell; we diſpute a long time of the Word, which they, the little children, do plainly believe, in pure faith, without diſputing; and at laſt, when all is done (would we otherwiſe be ſaved) we muſt alſo, according to their example, give ourſelves only to the Word, as Chriſt ſpeaketh and confirmeth it with an high aſſeveration: *Verily, verily I ſay unto you, Except ye be converted and become like the little children, ye ſhall not enter into the kingdom of heaven*, &c. Matt. 18.

It is one of the devil's maſter-pieces, and chief deceiving tricks, that we (through other temporal affairs) ſuffer ourſelves ſo pitifully to be drawn away from the Word; we think, they are of greater weight than the hearing, reading, and conſidering of God's Word, wherein, notwithſtanding, all our welfare and ſalvation conſiſteth both temporal and eternal.

That Women muſt not have the Government.

THE wives of great Kings and Princes have not the government. For God ſaith to the woman: Thou ſhalt be obedient to thy huſband, &c. The man hath the Government in the houſe, except he be *Verbum anomalum*, that is, a fool; or, that out of love to his wife, he ſuffers her to govern, as ſometimes the maſter follows his ſervant's counſel. Otherwiſe the woman muſt wear a handkerchief, as an honeſt woman ought to do; ſhe muſt help to bear her huſband's croſſes, troubles, ſickneſſes, and misfortunes. The law bereaves the women of wiſdom, and governing; therefore St. Paul ſaith: *I command, yet not I, but the Lord*, 1 Cor. vii. And 1 Tim. ii. *I allow not a woman to teach*, &c.

Whether Languages, and other good Arts and natural Gifts, are any way needful and profitable to Divinity, and to the underſtanding of the Holy Scriptures.

ONE knife (ſaid *Luther*) cutteth better than another; ſo likewiſe, one that hath learned languages and good arts, can better and more diſtinctly read and teach than another. But in that, many of them (as *Eraſmus Rotterodamus*, and other learned men), are well ſeen in languages and good arts, and yet do err with great hurt; the ſame happeneth even as with the greater ſort of weapons, which are made to kill and to hurt; therefore we muſt diſtinguiſh and ſeparate the thing from the abuſe, even as Job diſtinguiſhed, as he ſpake to his wife when ſhe flouted him: *Thou ſpeakeſt* (ſaid he) *as one of the fooliſh women.* Which Text I like very well (ſaid *Luther*) becauſe he made a difference between the creature and the abuſe.

That we acknowledge not God's Creatures.

I SHOULD never have believed (ſaid *Luther*) that the dew had been ſo ſweet and amiable a creature, if the Holy Scripture itſelf had not ſo highly extolled it, where God ſaith: *Dabo tibi de Rore cæli*, I will give thee of the dew of heaven. *Creatura*, is a moſt excellent thing. If we ſhould believe *Creationem tum balbutimus et bleſi ſumus*, and we ſay, *Cledo* pro *Credo*, as the little children ſay, Bed, for Bread: the words are ſtrong, but the heart ſaith, *Cledo, ſed per hoc ſalvamur, quia cupimus credere.* O! our Lord God knows well that we are poor children, if we could but acknowledge ſo much ourſelves. The holy Apoſtles ſaid: *Domine, adauge nobis fidem.* But we will all be wiſer than God, although we underſtand nothing, *niſi per filium, id eſt, Chriſtum.* And his ſermon was this altogether, where he ſaith: *Per me, per me, per me*; ye are not able to do it, no, not although you would fret yourſelves into pieces: we are brought to the Father through the Son, therefore we were holpen, if we could but believe that God is wiſer than we are.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE NATURE OF THE WORLD.

Of the World, and of the Manner thereof.

THE world (ſaid *Luther*) will neither have nor hold God for God, nor the devil for the devil. And if a man were left to himſelf, and ſhould be ſuffered to do after his own kind and nature, then would he willingly throw our Lord God out at the window; for the world regards God nothing at all, as the Pſalm ſaith, *Dixit impius in corde ſuo, non eſt Deus.* On the contrary, the god of the world is riches, pleaſure, and pride, wherewith they abuſe all the creatures and gifts of God.

The Monks and Friars, in time paſt, boaſted much of their contemning of the world, and they made uſe of that ſpeech of St. Paul, Rom. xii. *Be not conformed to this world*; from whence they would touch no money, as if it were againſt God to make uſe of riches, money, and wealth; when as St. Paul, and the whole Scriptures, forbids but only the abuſe of heart, wicked luſt, deſire and inclination; as there is ambition, incontinency, revenge, &c. which luſts do hang on the world; yea, they altogether flow and flouriſh.

Of the Inſatiableneſs of the Hearts of People, and whereas they are ſoon weary of a Thing.

HE that is now a Prince (ſaid *Luther*), would willingly be a King, or an Emperor. A ſuitor, that beareth love to a virgin, doth always caſt about and thinketh how he may come to marry her, and in his eyes there is none fairer than ſhe; but when he hath gotten her, he is ſoon weary of her, and thinketh another is much fairer, which eaſily he might have had. Even ſo thinketh a poor man: Had I but twenty pounds, I would deem myſelf rich enough; but when he hath gotten that, then he would have more. To conclude, the heart remains inconſtant in every lawful thing, which the Heathen had by experience; ſaying, *Virtutem præſentem odimus, ſublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.* It is a ſign of God's ſpecial grace and gift, when a man hath taken a wife, afterwards conſtantly to love her, and ſuch an one may give God hearty thanks for it; for *Copula carnalis* doth it not, there muſt be thereby alſo, *Ut conveniant mores & ingenium.*

God ſaith, in the Prophet, He hath graciouſly endued his people with many fair gifts, but it profited not, he got nothing thereby. Our people do now carry themſelves as the people did two thouſand years paſt; always remaineth one and the ſelf ſame nature and kind in the people at all times, when God's voice and word gives the ſound. The Papiſtical Biſhops, and thoſe that hold with the Pope, do now ſay even juſt ſo, as, in former times, the chief Rulers and Phariſees ſaid; namely, Have any of us believed in him? Even ſo ſay the Biſhops in Popedom now; namely, Have any of the great Princes and Biſhops believed in the doctrine of the Goſpel? Truly (ſaid *Luther*) they believe now as little therein, as the Rulers and Phariſees did believe Chriſt and the Apoſtles.

The wickedneſs of the enemies of the Word is not human, but deviliſh altogether. A human creature is wicked according to the manner and nature of mankind, and according

according as he is ſpoiled through original ſin; but when he is poſſeſſed and driven of the devil, as then begins the moſt bitter and cruel combat between him and the woman's ſeed. Gen. i. 3.

Of the World's Unthankfulneſs for the Goſpel.

THE thanks which now the world giveth for the doctrine of the Goſpel, is even that which they gave to Chriſt; namely, the Croſs: the ſame muſt we expect, and nothing elſe. This year (ſaid *Luther*) is a year of unthankfulneſs; but the next that followeth will be a year of revenge. God muſt needs puniſh, although it be againſt his will, nature, and kind, we ourſelves are the cauſe thereof.

Of the Manner of People in Eating.

WE have the nature and manner of all wild beaſts in eating. The wolves eat ſheep; we alſo. The foxes eat hens, geeſe, &c.; we alſo. The hawks and kites eat fowl and birds; we alſo. Pikes do eat other fiſh; we alſo. With oxen, horſe, and kine, we alſo eat ſallets, graſs, &c.

Why God created the World.

GOD might have left the world uncreated (ſaid *Luther*): but he created it to the end he might ſhew his honour and power. We muſt not ſay to God, *Quare hoc facis?* We muſt do what we are commanded, and not aſk, why he hath created the world? We muſt content ourſelves to know that God is wiſer than we are.

Why the Heathen did write ſuch excellent Things of Death.

I DO much wonder (ſaid *Luther*) what induced the Heathen to write ſuch fair and excellent things of death, ſeeing it is ſo griſly and fearful? But when I remember the nature and manner of the world, then I wonder nothing at all; for they did ſee great evil and wickedneſs to flow and flouriſh among themſelves, and in their Rulers, which did ſorely grieve them, and they had nothing elſe to threaten and terrify their Rulers with, but only with death.

Now, if the Heathen ſo little regarded death, yea, ſo highly and honourably held and eſteemed of it, how much more ought we Chriſtians to do the ſame? For they, poor people, knew leſs than nothing of the life eternal; but we know and are inſtructed in it, and yet, when we but only ſpeak of death, we fright ourſelves exceedingly.

Well (ſaid *Luther*), the cauſe thereof is our ſins, and we muſt confeſs withal, that we live worſe than the Heathen, therefore we cannot juſtly complain that we receive wrong thereby; for the greater our ſins are, the more fearful death is, as we ſee by ſuch people as have rejected God's Word, when they are at the point of death, and are put in mind of the day of judgment, how fearfully then do they rage, and are rejected.

When I (ſaid *Luther*) was yet in the Friar's hood, and began to write, I did not think that the devil plagued the world ſo ſorely. I thought that we only, in the monaſteries, had the devil (which was very likely), becauſe the Friars had alſo taken poſſeſſion of the world. The devils are now gotten into the nobility, *Quia multum peccant in Rempublicam*; they make havock of country and people.

Of

Of flattering and high-eſteemed Counſellors.

THERE is (ſaid *Luther*) not a more dangerous evil, than a flattering high-eſteemed diſſembling Counſellor. When his counſel and advice is heard, then it hath hands and feet; but when it ſhould be put in practice, then it ſtands like a ſtarting horſe, which by no means can be ſpurred forward.

Three Degrees of People.

THERE are (ſaid *Luther*) three degrees of people's natures. The firſt, are the great and common ſort, that live ſecurely without remorſe of conſcience; they acknowledge not their corrupted manners and natures; they are not ſenſible of God's wrath againſt their ſins, are careleſs thereof. The ſecond ſort, are thoſe which through the law are ſcared, do feel God's anger, and fly from him; do ſtrive and wreſtle with deſpair, as Saul did, &c. The third ſort, are they that do acknowledge their ſins, and God's wrath due unto them for the ſame; do feel themſelves to be conceived and born in ſin, and therefore deſerve everlaſtingly to be damned and loſt; but, notwithſtanding, they attentively hearken to the ſound of the Goſpel; that God, merely out of grace, for the ſake of Jeſus Chriſt, forgiveth ſins, who hath ſatisfied the Father for us; they do receive and believe it, and ſo are juſtified before God, and afterwards alſo they ſhew the fruits of their faith by all manner of good works, which God hath commanded. The other two ſorts of people go the wrong way.

The Unthankfulneſs of Huſbandmen and Farmers.

THE huſbandmen and rich farmers (ſaid *Luther*) are not worthy of ſo many benefits and fruits which the earth doth bear and bring unto them. I give more thanks to our Lord God for one tree or buſh, than all rich farmers and huſbandmen do for their large and fruitful grounds. Yet (ſaid he) we muſt except ſome huſbandmen, as Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Iſaac, who went out to ſee their grounds, to the end they might remember God's gifts in his creatures. Gen. xxiv.

The world will have night owls (ſaid *Luther*), that is, ſectaries, ſeducers, and unbelievers, about whom the birds do fly; that is, the world wonders at them, entertains them with great honour, and gives them money and wealth enough.

The World believes not, that all Things which are Good come from God, and are his Creatures and Ordinances.

THAT matrimony is matrimony, that the hand is a hand, that riches and goods are goods, the ſame people do well underſtand: but to believe that matrimony is God's creation and ordinance; that the hands and other creatures (as food and raiment, and other goods which we uſe) are given and preſented unto us of God, the ſame is God's ſpecial work and grace when men can believe it.

That God is more learned and wiſer than we and the whole World.

THE worldly-wiſe people do meaſure and cenſure all things according to their natural reaſon and underſtanding, and they confound themſelves therewith. But (ſaid *Luther*) I give thanks to the Lord God that I can believe, God is able to do more than I can comprehend; he can make viſible things out of inviſible: for all that

is now done and wrought through the power of the Goſpel, are viſible things out of inviſible. Who did think, ten years paſt, that it would have gone and been as it is now? But fleſh and blood is ungodly, and God's enemy; God, out of grace, forgiveth us our ſins, and doth threaten to puniſh contempt and unthankfulneſs; for he ſaith always, If ye do not believe, ye ſhall die: but rather than we would believe the ſame, and receive that gift from God for nothing, merely out of grace, I ſay we would rather torment ourſelves to death; yea, we would rather go heavy laden, and with great pains to St. Jacob. What ſhall I ſay? Truth and life pertain not to the world, but lying and murdering; the one of which is the work of the Pope, the other of the Turks; however, the *mouſe is almoſt like the mother*; *they are two hoſe made out of one piece.*

Inconſtancy in People's Hearts.

THE heart of a human creature (ſaid *Luther*) is like to quickſilver, which is now here, ſoon after there; this day ſo, on the morrow otherwiſe minded. Therefore vanity is a poor miſerable thing, as (Eccleſiaſtes the Preacher) Solomon ſaith, A man deſireth and longeth after things which are uncertain, and knoweth not what will come thereof; on the contrary, he contemneth that which is certain, which is already done and well accompliſhed. Therefore what God giveth us, that we will not have; for which cauſe *Chriſt would not govern on earth*, but gave it over to the devil, and ſaith to him, *Rule thou.* But God is another, and hath another kind of nature, manner, and mind. I (ſaid he) am God, and therefore I change not; I hold faſt and keep ſure my promiſes and threatenings.

True Chriſtians ought to give thanks for that which is preſent and certain, which is good and acceptable to God, and he provideth and giveth it out of his unſpeakable endleſs mercy, and for the ſame we ſhould heartily ſing the 117th Pſalm, *Praiſe the Lord all ye Heathens, and praiſe him all ye nations, for his loving kindneſs is ever more and more towards us, &c.*

The Goſpel diſcovereth the Wickedneſs of Mankind.

AS the cold (ſaid *Luther*) is always greater and more piercing in winter, when the days begin to lengthen, and when the ſun draws near unto us, for that maketh the cold thicker, and preſſeth it together: juſt ſo the wickedneſs of mankind is greater, that is, more viſible, and breaks out when the Goſpel is preached: for the Holy Ghoſt reproveth the world of ſin, which the world neither can nor will endure.

The World's Unthankfulneſs towards the Servants of God.

HE muſt be of a high and great ſpirit that undertaketh to ſerve the people both in body and ſoul, and nevertheleſs muſt ſuffer the utmoſt danger, and higheſt unthankfulneſs. Therefore Chriſt ſaid to Peter, Simon, &c. *Loveſt thou me?* and repeats it three times together. Afterwards he ſaid, *Feed my ſheep:* as if he would ſay, Wilt thou be an upright Miniſter, and a Shepherd, then love muſt only do it, thy love to me muſt do the deed, otherwiſe it is impoſſible: for who can endure unthankfulneſs? to ſtudy away his wealth and health, and afterwards to lay himſelf open to the higheſt danger and unthankfulneſs of the wicked world; therefore he ſaith, It is very needful that thou loveſt me.

The Pope and Turk (ſaid *Luther*) have thoroughly revenged our cauſe, and have done to the world a great deal of right, as by ſcourging experience they have thorougly been taught, for ſo the world will have it; upright and true ſervants of God they will not

not endure, nay, they murder them, therefore they muſt have ſuch fellows, yea, and moreover they muſt maintain and hold them in great honour and eſteem, and yet, nevertheleſs, muſt by them be curſed and deceived.

The World muſt have ſtern and fierce Rulers.

THE world (ſaid *Luther*) cannot be without ſuch ſtern Governors, by whom they muſt be ruled. King Ferdinand, with his Popiſh tyranny, is even a fine liquoriſh bit for the world; therefore ſaid God, through the Prophet Samuel, to his people of Iſrael that prayed for a King, He would give them a King, but this ſhall be his rule: *He will take your ſons, and appoint them for himſelf, for his chariots, and to be his horſemen, and will take your daughters to be cooks, &c.* As Ferdinand, the Prince Elector of Saxony, returned home from the election of the Emperor Charles at Colon, he aſked me how I liked the news, that they had elected Charles King of Spain to be Roman Emperor? I anſwered him, and ſaid, *The ravens muſt have a kite.*

The World's higheſt Wiſdom.

THE higheſt wiſdom of the world is (ſaid *Luther*) to trouble themſelves with temporal, earthly, and vaniſhing things; and as it happeneth and falleth out with thoſe things, they ſay, *Non putarâm*; I had not thought it. For faith is a certain and a ſure expectation of that which a man hopeth for, and maketh no doubt of that which he ſeeth not, as the Epiſtle to the Hebrews ſaith: Faith looks to that which is to come, and not to that which is already preſent: therefore a true Chriſtian doth not ſay, *Non putarâm*, I had not thought it; but he is moſt certain that the beloved Croſs is near at hand, and will ſurely come upon him; therefore he is not afraid when it goeth evil with him, and is tormented. But the world, and thoſe that live ſecurely in the world, cannot brook misfortunes; they go on continually leaping and dancing in pleaſure and delight, like the rich Glutton in the Goſpel. He could not ſpare the ſcraps to poor Lazarus; but Lazarus belonged to Chriſt, and he took his part.

Temporal Peace.

PEACE (ſaid *Luther*) is one of the greateſt gifts of God, but we directly abuſe it; every one liveth ſecurely, and doth what he will againſt God and the Magiſtrate. Oh! (ſaid he) how will it go with our Princes and Nobility in Germany? they will one day pay ſweetly for it, as the Hungarians and Auſtrians have done.

The Older the World the Worſe.

I BELIEVE (ſaid *Luther*) it will come to that paſs, that the greater and clearer the light of the Goſpel is, the more wicked will the world be. Even ſo it was in the time of Chriſt, worſe and worſe; neither did St. Paul make many godly Chriſtians.

Sin goeth before Puniſhment.

AS the Jews were to be ſcourged of the Romans, to be taken captives, and their lands devaſted, they muſt firſt and before crucify the Lord of Life, our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt Jeſus: even ſo do we now likewiſe; we contemn God's Word, although we carry it in our mouths, and boaſt of the Goſpel, yet we hunt and drive away the Miniſters and true ſervants of God; we raiſe up and build ramparts, ſtrong walls, and great forts, but we build not up ourſelves.

Jeruſalem

Jeruſalem was an exceeding ſtrong city and fort; the King of Babel lay before it one whole year, yet, notwithſtanding, at laſt it was overcome; there was no remedy. Alſo, ſaith God, through Jeremiah the Prophet, although ye ſlew all the Chaldeans, and left but three alive, yet thoſe three ſhall fall into your windows and deſtroy you.

The Language and Doings of the World.

ALBERTUS, Biſhop of Mentz, had a phyſician attending on his perſon who was a Proteſtant, and therefore the leſs in the Biſhop's favour: the ſame being covetous, and puffed up with ambition, recanted his religion and fell to Popery, uttering theſe words: I will, for a while, ſet Chriſt behind the door, until I be grown rich, and then I will take him to me again: ſuch, and the like blaſphemous words, do deſerve the higheſt puniſhments, as befel that wicked diſſembling wretch; for the ſame night he was found in his bed in a moſt fearful manner, with his tongue torn out of his mouth, as black as a coal, and his neck wrung in twain; myſelf (ſaid *Luther*) at that time coming from Franckfort to Mentz, was an eye-witneſs of that juſt judgment of God. If (ſaid he) a man could bring to paſs, and at his pleaſure could ſet God behind the door, and take him again when he liſted; then was God his priſoner. They were words of a damned Epicure, and ſo accordingly he was rewarded.

The World will not have Chriſt for their God.

THE world will not have him to be God that took upon him our fleſh and blood, that for our ſins was crucified, died, and was buried, and that roſe again from the dead; that preacheth, teacheth, and threateneth; O no! ſay they, away with him, kill, kill him. But they will have ſuch a God, as with their natural ſenſe, wit, and wiſdom they are able to comprehend.

Luther's *Compariſon of the World.*

THE world ſeems to me like unto a decayed houſe. David and the Prophets are the ſpars; Chriſt is the main pillar in the midſt that ſupporteth all.

The World ſeeketh Immortality with their Pride.

WHEREAS all people do feel and acknowledge, yea, do ſee that they muſt die and vaniſh away, every one therefore ſeeketh here on earth immortality, that he may be had in everlaſting remembrance. Sometimes great Princes and Kings ſought it by cauſing great columns of marble ſtone, and exceeding high pyramids, buildings, and pillars four ſquare to be erected; as at this time they do with building of great churches, coſtly and glorious palaces and caſtles, &c. Soldiers do look and hunt after great praiſe and honour, by overcoming and obtaining famous victories. The learned ſeek an everlaſting name in writing books, as in our time is to be ſeen; with theſe, and ſuch like, people do think to be immortal. But on the true, everlaſting, and incorruptible honour and eternity of God, no man thinketh nor looketh after the ſame. Ah! we are poor, ſilly, and miſerable people!

The common and public State the beſt.

TO live in an open public ſtate (ſaid *Luther*) is the ſafeſt; Chriſt did alſo live and walk in an open and public ſtate here on earth amongſt the people, and did warn

warn thoſe that were his, and ſaid: When they ſhall ſay, Behold he is in the wilderneſs, go not out; or in chambers, believe it not; for in ſuch cells and corners have the wicked wretches (the Friars, Monks, and Nuns) uſed and led ſhameful and beaſtly lives and manners. But openly, and among people, a man muſt live civilly and honeſtly, muſt fear God and man, &c.

The World's Cenſure of God's Servants.

TO build up and comfort a ſorrowful conſcience (ſaid *Luther*) is much more and better than to poſſeſs many kingdoms; but the world regards it not; yea, they contemn it; they call us rebels, diſturbers of the peace, and blaſphemers of God, that do turn and alter Religion. Truly, they will be their own prophets, and propheſy to themſelves; howbeit, the ſame to us is a great grief of heart. Even ſo ſaid the Jews of Chriſt; If we ſuffer him to go on in this manner, then the Romans will come and take from us land and people, &c. But after they had ſlain Chriſt, did the Romans come, or not? Yea, they came, and ſlew an hundred thouſand of them, and deſtroyed their city. Even ſo the contemners and enemies of the Word will diſturb the peace, and turn Germany upſide down. We bring evil upon ourſelves, for we wilfully oppoſe the truth.

The Shew and Form of the World, and the Church.

THE world, to look upon (ſaid *Luther*), is like a Paradiſe; but on the contrary, the Church of God, and of the Lord Chriſt, which hath the clear and pure doctrine, and holdeth faſt thereby, is evil favoured and ugly in the eye of the world; but before, and in the ſight of God, ſhe is dear and precious, coſtly, and highly eſteemed.

Aaron appeared gloriouſly in the temple in his rich attire; therefore we muſt not regard what the world cenſureth of us, nor trouble ourſelves how they eſteem of us. For, what do I care (ſaid he) that the Popiſh Princes, Nobility, Citizens, and Commons (thoſe covetous throats and rakehells) do hold and eſteem of me as of dirt and nothing worth? I will in due time, and in the day to come, regard and eſteem of them as little. It is in us comfort ſufficient to be pleaſing to the good and godly.

The World is ſoon wearied and tired with God's Works.

I AM perſuaded (ſaid *Luther*) if Moſes had continued his working of miracles in Egypt but two or three years, they would have been ſo accuſtomed thereunto and eſteemed thereof, as we now are accuſtomed to the ſun and moon, which we hold in no eſteem.

The World cannot endure the Good and Godly.

ABRAHAM was held in no honour among the Canaanites, for all the wells which he had digged, the neighbours filled up, or took them away by force, and ſaid unto him, Wilt thou not ſuffer it? then pack thee hence and be gone, for thou art with us a ſtranger and a new comer in, &c.

In like manner Iſaac was deſpiſed; but ſuch a faith poſſeſſed the beloved Patriarchs, that I am not able ſufficiently to admire. How ſtrong and conſtantly they ſtood and believed that God, nevertheleſs, was gracious unto them, whereas,

notwithſtanding, they ſuffered ſo long a time exceeding much trouble and adverſity.

I hold (ſaid *Luther*) that thoſe Heathens ſinned not ſo ſorely againſt God as they did againſt the beloved Fathers; and therefore God drove them out of the land, and ſuffered them to be hunted away and ſlain.

In like manner dealt the Centaurians with the holy Patriarch Iſaac, in the Court of Abimelech, King of Gerar; for, as they ſaw that Iſaac reaped an hundred fold increaſe of the ground which the King had rented unto him; then they came quickly, and inſtigated the King againſt him, to take from him the ſame ground again; for they thought, the ground and the increaſe thereof ſhall be ours, we have more right thereto than he. They thought ſoon to grow rich again when they had gotten from Iſaac the ground; but they little knew or conſidered, that *benedictio Dei* was with him, and that they were curſed. *Sic et noſtri Principes jam nihil aliud agunt, quàm ut fiant maledicti à Deo*, Our Princes make it their only work to get the curſe of God. They hunt Iſaac alſo out of the land, but the bleſſing of God is very ſmall which is left behind him.

What is to be conſidered in executing of Offices.

IF (ſaid *Luther*) the great pains and labour which I take, ſprang not from love and for the ſake of him that died for me, the world could not give me money enough to write only one book, or to tranſlate the Bible. I deſire not to be rewarded and paid of the world for my book; the world is too poor and ſimple to give me ſatisfaction; I have not deſired the value of one penny of my maſter the Prince Elector of Saxony, ſo long as I have been in this place. The whole world is nothing elſe but a turned-about *Decalogus*, or, the Ten Commandments backwards, a vizard, and a picture of the devil. All contemners of God, all blaſphemers, all diſobedient; whoredom, pride, theft, murder, &c. are now almoſt ripe for the ſlaughter; neither is the devil idle, with Turk and Pope, hereſies and other erroneous ſects. Every man draws the Chriſtian liberty only to carnal exceſs, as if now they had free liberty and power to do what they liſt; therefore the kingdom of the devil and Pope is the beſt government for the world, for therewith they will be governed, with ſtrict laws and rights, with ſuperſtition, unbelief, &c.

The world grows worſe through the doctrine of God's Grace, and preaching of the Goſpel; for when they hear, that after this life there is another, they are well enough content with this life, and that God ſhould keep the other to himſelf; if they may have here but only good days, honour, and wealth, that is all they care for, or deſire.

At the time of my being in Rome (ſaid *Luther*) there died a Cardinal very rich, and left behind him great ſtore of money; ſhortly before his death he made his will, and laid it in a cheſt where the money was; after his death the cheſt was opened, and therein, by the money, was found lying a bull, written on parchment, with theſe words:

Dum potui, rapui; rapiatis, quando poteſtis.

I extorted and oppreſſed as long as I was able: while ye have power get what you can.

O! (ſaid *Luther*) how finely (think you) muſt this Cardinal have departed and died?

The

The World is full of Diſſemblers and Blaſphemers: How many Sorts there be.

LUTHER diſcourſing (in the preſence of the Prince Elector of Saxony and other Princes) of the many ſorts and differences of wicked perſons, ſaid: *Colax*, *Sycophanta*, *Cacoëthes*; theſe ſins and blaſphemies are almoſt alike the one to the other, only that they go one after another, as a man going up the ſtairs and ſteps aſcends from one to another. *Colax*, in my opinion, is he that in Terence they name *Gnato*; an ear-ſcratcher, a diſſembler, a trencher-licker, one that talketh for his belly's ſake, and is altogether a man-pleaſer: this is a ſin of mankind, whoſe intent is to get all they can though others are hurt thereby.

Sycophanta is ſuch a diſſembler, traitor, and backbiter, that would earn a grey coat: this ſin is nearer allied to the devil than to mankind. *Gnato* acts his part in the comedies, but *Sycophanta* in the tragedies. *Phormio*, in Terence, is a very honeſt perſon, nothing, or very little ſtained with the other two vices.

Cacoëthes, is a wicked villain, that wittingly and wilfully prepareth miſchief.

Great and horrible are the puniſhments (ſaid he, at that time) which will come and fall upon Germany; for the people are ſo wicked and ſtiff-necked, that they will ſuffer no diſcipline, correction, ſermons of threatening, nor reformation. The world is grown very ſtubborn and headſtrong ſince the revealing of the Word of the Goſpel; it begins to crack ſorely, I hope it will ſoon break and fall down on a heap, through the coming of the Laſt Day of Judgment, for the appearing of which we wait with yearning and ſighs of heart. All ſins and wickedneſſes are now grown ſo common and uſual, that they are held no more for ſins, ſhame, and wickedneſs; therefore (ſaid he) let us pray, *Thy kingdom come. Deliver us from evil.* Howbeit, this is yet one comfort, it hath a better ſhew with us now than it had twenty years paſt: we have now, God be praiſed, many godly learned people, ſo have we moreover fair ſchools, in which the youth are well taught and inſtructed, the gracious God give a bleſſing and furthering thereunto; for I much fear there will come an horrible falling away after my departure.

The World neither can nor will endure the pure Word of God.

THE Philoſophers, and learned among the Heathen, have had innumerable, manifold ſpeculations, and meanings of God, of the ſoul, and of the life everlaſting; but they have been all uncertain and doubtful without God's Word. But to us God hath given his moſt ſweet and all-ſaving Word, pure, and uncorrupt; but we contemn it, according to the proverb, *Malum, malum, dicit omnis poſſeſſor*: It is naught, it is naught, ſaith the buyer. When we have a thing (how good ſoever) we are ſoon weary of it, and regard it not; but when the Word is gone, then we will ſeek after follies, and go about with lies, and with ſelf-choſen devotion and ſuperſtition of human inventions, and ſo with hurt we muſt learn to be wiſe. The world remains the world, which neither loveth nor endureth righteouſneſs, but is ruled by certain few heroics and principal people, even as a little boy of twelve years ruleth, governeth, and keepeth a hundred great and ſtrong oxen upon a paſture; ſo is the world governed ſupernaturally.

The Unthankfulneſs of the World (eſpecially of us Germans*) will help Popedom up again.*

IF (ſaid *Luther*) the Pope ſhould come again among us with his government, he would then double and treble his tyranny, as he did after the Council of Coſtnitz,

nitz, when he thoroughly revenged himſelf for the hundred years they had depoſed him; then he brought in moſt abominable ungodly prophanations and blaſphemies. But (ſaid *Luther*) I am not ſo much afraid of the Pope and tyrants, as of our own unthankfulneſs and contemning of God's Word; the ſame, I fear, will help the Pope again into the ſaddle; when that comes to paſs, I hope the Day of Judgment will ſoon after follow. For, even as the Iſraelites dealt with Moſes, who had led them out of Egypt, even ſo do people deal now with us, who, through God's aſſiſtance, have brought them out of the bondage of the Romiſh Antichriſt; yet Moſes prayed for them, but I pray that the wretches may be puniſhed. Ariſtotle the Heathen related certain occaſions, wherefore one might juſtly be angry, among which unthankfulneſs is one.

Scipio, that noble hero, could endure unthankfulneſs only at Rome, but elſewhere it made him mad. Truly, God's patience and anger are both great: and even as God, by word of mouth, ſpake with Moſes, as one good friend ſhould ſpeak with another, ſo ſpeaketh God likewiſe with us by word of mouth through his preachers, as our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, Matth. x. *Ye are not they that ſpeak, but it is the Father's ſpirit that ſpeaketh through you:* the ſame do we deſpiſe.

The World's Preſumption, Secureneſs, and Epicuriſm.

OH! (ſaid *Luther*) how great is the preſumption of the world, which (although but weak and ſmall) yet dareth to ſet itſelf againſt Chriſt, and undertake to tread him under feet; but that's not enough, it will yet be worſe, for Epicuriſm by force will come and break in again. The world that deſpiſeth God's Word is nothing elſe than a preparation and an approaching of an Epicuriſh life before the Laſt Day of Judgment; when people will neither believe that there is a God, nor a life eternal. Is it not a fearful abominable thing, that ſuch Epicures ſhould be among the people of God, not only in ſecret, but alſo openly among the preachers in the Church; as the Sadducees were among the Jews, which alſo were in the government, although they believed nothing of eternal life? Of the ſame kind are now our Papiſts, and ſuch like alſo among us. For what the Biſhop of Magdeburg ſaith and doth, the ſame muſt be all good and well done. So is likewiſe the city of Lubeck drowned in ſuch covetouſneſs, that they take monthly, upon uſury, one gilder of forty, yet all under the colour of godlineſs, as if it were right and Chriſtian-like; for it muſt have the name, and be called love towards the poor neighbour, to help him when one lendeth a hundred gilders, and taketh for the ſame yearly, upon uſe, five and forty. In ten years, the uſe of one hundred gilders, bringeth four hundred and fifty; Is not this an apparent Epicuriſm? Lubeck lies drowned in the ſea of covetouſneſs, deeper than the mountains lay in the Deluge of Noah; they were covered but fifteen ells deep in the water, but that City lies fifteen miles deep in the waves of covetouſneſs: and in the ſame ſtate and condition are all other uſurers and covetous gluttons. Ah! (ſaid he) wicked times are at hand; our Epicures are worſe than the Cardinals in Italy, and yet they ſay, We will teach others to be good and godly, but we ourſelves do what we pleaſe.

The Impiety and Unthankfulneſs of the World.

GOD, both in the Law and Goſpel, doth allure us with promiſes, that we ſhould hearken unto his Word; but the ungodly world doth not only diſregard it, but alſo they contemn and perſecute it; therefore are they juſtly loſt and damned, and are rightly ſerved, in that they are beggars here, and expoſed alſo

to temporal ſhame and confuſion. Ah, Lord God! (ſaid he) the impiety and unthankfulneſs of the world is great, which contemneth and perſecuteth thy unſpeakable grace. And we alſo, that do boaſt ourſelves of the Goſpel, and do know that it is God's Word pure and clear, and do acknowledge the ſame, and that God the Father himſelf witneſſeth from heaven, ſaying, *This is my well beloved Son*, &c. yet do we ſo little regard the comfortable and ſweet Goſpel of Chriſt, that great and ineſtimable treaſure, as if it were a ſentence or ſpeech taken out of Terence or Virgil.

The Papiſtical Prebends are all Epicures.

THE Prebends at Wurtzburg, Maintz, and Cologne have the beſt days; they live in idleneſs, they ſpend and waſte, they have all manner of proviſion provided for them beforehand without all care, they have here what their hearts can deſire, and afterwards they go to that heaven where it hiſſeth. The Popiſh Biſhops have not ſuch good days, for they are in the government, and have other buſineſs to do of greater weight than to meddle with God's Word. Eccius, a man of great underſtanding, and of good remembrance, but very impudent, ſhameleſs, and ungodly, in the time of his being at Rome, learned and ſaw ſo many examples of Epicuriſm, that ever ſince he neither regarded Papiſtry nor the Goſpel; ſuch fruits are reaped in Rome. Twenty years ſince (ſaid *Luther*), I did not think that now in the Chriſtian Church ſhould have been Epicures, whereas, notwithſtanding, almoſt all Popedom is drowned in the life of Epicuriſm. They trouble themſelves neither about God, nor the conſcience: theſe are abominable times, in which Epicuriſm goeth on in full ſway, and flouriſhes; for the end thereof is this life. Epicures lead the people from the everlaſting, to the timely and temporal life. Such an one was Pomponius, Scipio, and other worldly-wiſe people, wherein is ſhewn the folly of human wit, wiſdom, reaſon, and underſtanding. Notwithſtanding, Cicero, in his Epiſtle which he wrote to Octavius (who afterwards was Emperor, and named Auguſtus), ſhewed his opinion touching the Eternity what he held thereof. Nevertheleſs, there was in Cicero an high underſtanding; who out of and according to human ſenſe and reaſon concluded, That it was more ſafe and ſure to rely on his opinion and meaning that held, After this there was an everlaſting life, than to hold, That all were temporal and vaniſhing, both ſoul and body. And it is certainly true alſo (according to natural underſtanding) that it is better for one to give himſelf to Chriſtianiſm than to Epicuriſm; for if a man be deceived through the opinion of Epicures, then he loſeth the everlaſting with the temporal; but if Chriſtian opinion deludeth him (which is impoſſible), then he loſeth but only the temporal life, and not the everlaſting. God of his mercy preſerve us from ſuch Epicurean meanings and opinions. A Nobleman at Vienna, in Auſtria (in the time of my abode there), made a coſtly feaſt, and in the midſt of his joy and pleaſure therein, he ſpake theſe words: *If God would permit and leave me my riches, to live therewith but one thouſand years, and therein to take my luſt and pleaſure, then would I willingly leave to God his heaven.*

Theſe laſt times of the world (ſaid *Luther*) are not much to be wondered at; let us but conſider how it went in the time of Chriſt among the holy people of God; for with the Phariſees were alſo Sadducees in the government: all theſe were good fellows, and believed nothing. Neither did Doctor Hennage (who was a great Lawyer and chief Preſident with us here at Wittemberg), know much of our Lord God; for when I came to viſit him in his laſt ſickneſs, I ſaid unto

him, loving brother! you are a weak man; you would do well to think of preparing to meet God. The only way to do this, is to believe *he* will be gracious to them who repent of their ſins, and have faith in his Son: none ſhould preſume to come to God any other way. To which, my admonition, he anſwered me, and ſaid: O! as yet it is needleſs; God will not deal with me like a Switzer, and overtake me in that manner of haſte; but it fell out as I told him; for the next day after his ſpeech left him, and he died, went away in that ſort, and knew not much of God. Therefore we ſhould always be ready when God knocks to call us away from this life, that we be prepared to take our leave of this world like Chriſtians. For (ſaid *Luther*) even as the beaſt (called the lizard) killeth the ſtag, when he leapeth upon his head, and ſits between his horns, and eateth out the ſtag's brains, or catcheth him faſt by the throat, and gnaweth it in ſunder: Even ſo likewiſe, the devil, when he poſſeſſeth a human creature, the ſame is not ſoon nor eaſily freed from him; the devil leads him into deſpair, and hurteth him both in ſoul and body, as St. Peter ſpeaketh of him in his Epiſtle, and ſaith: *That he goeth about like a roaring lion*, &c. therefore we ought to reſiſt him with faith and prayer. I may well compare the devil to a fowler, that killeth all the birds he getteth, except ſome one pretty bird, which he keepeth to ſing what pleaſeth him.

Who they be that prepare the Way to Epicuriſm.

THE prophecy of Lyra (ſaid *Luther*) moveth me ſorely, and goeth near my heart; for it belongs to and pointeth at theſe our times, where he ſaith, *Detecto Antichriſto, erunt homines carnales, dicentes, nullum eſſe Deum*; that is, When Antichriſt ſhall be revealed, then will the world fall into great wilfulneſs, that they will hold there is no God.

Here the Antinomians and adverſaries of the Law do begin. Theſe take away all fear, they make the people altogether ſecure, ſo that they nothing regard their ſins; for when a man regardeth not his ſins, then he regardeth not Chriſt, who came for the ſake of ſinners to ſave them: for the ſtrong have no need of the phyſician, but the weak and ſick, as Chriſt himſelf ſaith. On the contrary, the Sophiſts and Canoniſts do preſs too hard upon the ungodly ordinances and traditions, and therewith will trouble and over-burden the conſcience. What ſhall I ſay? the greater God's goodneſs is, the greater is the wickedneſs of this ſinful world. The greateſt argument of the Canoniſts againſt us, is this: We ought and muſt (ſay they) teach that doctrine which is approved of and received by the Emperor. But the doctrine of the Proteſtants is not approved of by the Emperor, nor by him received, but condemned, &c. therefore it muſt not be taught. Theſe Gentlemen (ſaid *Luther*) are eaſily to be anſwered; for God is more and above all Emperors, Kings, Princes, and Lawyers; he ought juſtly and in all reaſon to be preferred before them, and obeyed.

The State of the World before the Flood.

BEFORE Noah's Flood (ſaid *Luther*) the world was highly learned, by reaſon they lived a long time, they attained to great experience and learning; but becauſe of their ſins and ungodly kind of lives, all was loſt and drowned. Therefore now, before we begin rightly to come to the true knowledge of a thing, we lie down and die. God will not have that we ſhould come to higher knowledge of things.

Of the World's Security.

A GREAT Biſhop at Auſpurgh (ſaid *Luther*) boaſted in my hearing, that it went well with him, and that he lived without tribulation or temptation. I told him, It was a gift of God; yet, nevertheleſs, I ſaid unto him, Every man, at one time or other, muſt be chaſtiſed for ſins, and feel the ſame, otherwiſe it were an evil ſign; for every one would willingly have good and eaſy days; no man is an enemy unto them; yet, if he feareth God, he ſhall and muſt have and feel his trials and temptations of the fleſh, as St. Paul complains.

The falſe Reaſoning of Epicures.

AN Epicure (ſaid *Luther*), when he thinketh of God, and ſeeth how matters proceed in the world, he can conclude nothing elſe, but thus: Either God cannot hinder this or that, therefore he is too weak; or elſe he will not hinder it, therefore he is unjuſt, and hath pleaſure in wickedneſs, and approves of evil; or elſe he knoweth nothing thereof, and ſo muſt be a fool. Thus the wicked world taketh away from God his almighty Power, Righteouſneſs, and Wiſdom.

Of the Wealth and Treaſure of the World.

THE Fuggars* of Auſpurgh, on a ſudden (ſaid *Luther*), are able to levy one hundred tons of gold (one ton of gold is one hundred thouſand rix dollars, making, in Engliſh money, two-and-twenty thouſand pounds ſterling, and more); which neither the Emperor nor King of Spain are able to perform. One of the Fuggars, after his death, left eighty tons of gold. The Fuggars and the money-changers in Auſpurgh lent the Emperor at one time eight-and-twenty tons of gold for maintaining of his wars before Padua.

The Cardinal of Brixen, who died at Rome very rich, left no great ſum of ready money behind him, but only there was found in his ſleeve a little note of a finger's length: this note was brought to Pope Julius, who preſently imagined it was a note of money, and therefore ſent for the Fuggar's factor that was then at Rome, and aſked him, if he knew that writing? The factor ſaid, Yea; it was the debt which the Fuggars did owe to that Cardinal, which was the ſum of forty hundred thouſand rix dollars. The Pope aſked him, how ſoon he could pay that ſum of money? He anſwered, and ſaid, Every day; or, if need required, at an hour's warning. Then the Pope called for the Ambaſſadors of France and England, and aſked them, if either of their Kings, in one hour's ſpace, were able to ſatisfy and pay forty tons of gold? They anſwered, No. Then, ſaid the Pope, one citizen of Auſpurgh can do it; and the Pope got all that money. One of the Fuggars being warned by the Senate of Auſpurgh to bring in and to pay his taxation, ſaid: I know not how much I have, nor how rich I am, therefore I cannot be taxed; for he had his money out in the whole world; in Turkey, in Greece, at Alexandria, in France, Portugal, England, Poland, and every where; yet he was willing to pay his tax of that which he had in Auſpurgh.

Covetouſneſs is a Sign of Death; we muſt not rely on Money and Wealth.

WHOSO hath money (ſaid *Luther*) and depends thereon, as is uſual, it neither proceeds nor proſpers well with that perſon. The richeſt monarchs have had bad fortune, and lamentably have been deſtroyed and ſlain in the wars; on the contrary, poor and unable people, that have had but ſmall ſtore of money,

* The name of a rich family.

have

have overcome and had great fortune and victory. As Emperor Maximilian overcame the Venetians, and continued wars ten years with them, who were exceeding rich and powerful. Therefore we ought not to truſt in money and wealth, nor to depend thereon. I hear ſaid (*Luther*) that the Prince Elector, George, begins to be covetous, which is a ſign of his death very ſhortly. When I ſaw Dr. Goad begin to tell his puddings, hanging in the chimney, I told him he would not live long, which fell out accordingly; and when I begin to trouble myſelf about brewing, malting, and cooking, &c. then ſhall not I drive it long, but ſoon die.

Mammon's Properties.

MAMMON (ſaid *Luther*) hath two properties; the firſt is, It maketh us ſecure when it goeth well with us, and then we live without all fear of God. The ſecond, when in the time of trouble and adverſity it goeth ill, then we tempt God, fly from him, and ſeek after another God.

The Pope's Covetouſneſs.

THE covetouſneſs of the Popes have exceeded all others; therefore (ſaid *Luther*) the devil made choice of Rome to be his habitation: for which cauſe the ancient have ſaid, Rome is a den of covetouſneſs, a root of all wickedneſs. I have alſo read in a very old book this verſe following:

Verſus Amor, *mundi caput eſt, & Beſtia Terræ.*

That is (when the word Amor is turned and read backward, then it is Roma), Rome, the head of the world, a beaſt that ſucketh out and devoureth all lands. Truly at Rome is an abominable trading with covetouſneſs, for all is raked to their hands without preaching or church-ſervice, but only with ſuperſtition, idolatry, and with ſelling their good works to the poor ignorant lay-people for money; therefore St. Peter deſcribeth ſuch covetouſneſs with expreſs and clear words, when he ſaith, They have an heart exerciſed with covetous practices. I am perſuaded, a man cannot acknowledge the diſeaſe of covetouſneſs, unleſs he knoweth Rome; for the deceits and jugglings in other parts are nothing in compariſon of thoſe at Rome: therefore, anno 1521, at the Imperial Diet held at Worms, the State of the whole Empire made ſupplication againſt ſuch covetouſneſs, and deſired that his Imperial Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſuppreſs the ſame.

At that time (ſaid *Luther*) my book was preſented to the German nobility, which Dr. Wick ſhewed unto me; then the Goſpel began to go on well, but the Pope's power, together with the Antinomians, gave it a great blow, and yet, notwithſtanding, through God's Providence, it was thereby furthered.

The Pope's power was above all Kings and Emperors, which power I oppoſed with my little book; and therewith alſo I aſſaulted the Bull on the Pope, and, by God's aſſiſtance, overthrew it. I did not write that book on purpoſe againſt the Pope, but only againſt the abuſes of Popedom; yet, nevertheleſs, it ſtartled them quickly, for their conſciences accuſed them.

Covetouſneſs hindereth God's Bleſſing.

CERTAIN tenants of a rich man complained to *Luther*, That their landlord almoſt deſtroyed them through his hard and cruel dealing. *Luther* ſaid: I am heartily ſorry for it, and have pity on you. Such covetouſneſs will hinder and prevent God's bleſſing towards us; for when one will undertake to get all, and ſo become inde-

independent on God, then God with his bleſſing flies and departs from him; for God, in his gifts, will be free and at liberty.

Princes do draw and tear ſpiritual Livings unto them.

THE proverb is (ſaid *Luther*), Prieſts livings are catching livings, and that Prieſts goods never proſper; this we know to be true by experience, for ſuch as have drawn ſpiritual livings unto them are grown poor thereby, and become beggars: therefore, this Fable I like very well:

There was an Eagle that made amity and friendſhip with the Fox, they agreed to dwell peaceably together. Now when the Fox expected from the Eagle all manner of good offices and turns, he brought his young ones and laid them under the tree on which the Eagle had his neſt and young ones: but the friendſhip between them laſted not long; for ſo ſoon as the Eagle wanted meat for his young (the Fox being out of the way), flew down and took the young Foxes, and carried them into his neſt, and therewith fed his young Eagles: when therefore the old Fox returned, and ſaw that his young were taken away, he made his complaint to the great god Jupiter, deſiring, that he would revenge and puniſh that injury of *Jus violati hoſpitii*. Not long after, as the Eagle again wanted meat to feed his young, he ſaw that on a place in the field they ſacrificed to Jupiter; the Eagle flew thither, and quickly ſnatched away a piece of roaſt from the altar, and brought the ſame to his young, and flew again to fetch more; but it happened that a hot coal hung to one of the pieces, the ſame falling into the Eagle's neſt, ſet it on fire; the young Eagles, not able to fly, were burned with the neſt, and fell to the ground. Even ſo it uſually fareth with thoſe that rake and rend ſpiritual livings unto them, which are given to the maintaining of God's honour and ſervice; ſuch at laſt muſt loſe their neſts; that is, they muſt be left deſtitute of their temporal goods and livings, and beſides, muſt ſuſtain hurt of body and ſoul. Spiritual livings have on them the nature of Eagle's feathers, for when they are laid to other feathers, they devour the ſame. Even ſo, when men will mingle ſpiritual livings *(per fas aut nefas)* with other goods, ſo muſt the ſame likewiſe be conſumed, inſomuch that at laſt nothing will be left.

I have ſeen a pretty dog, at Lintz in Auſtria, that was taught to go with a hand-baſket to the butcher's ſhambles for meat; now when other dogs came about him, and would take the meat out of the baſket, he ſet it down, bit and fought luſtily with the other dogs; but when he ſaw they would be too ſtrong for him, then he himſelf would ſnatch out the firſt piece of meat, leaſt he ſhould loſe all. Even ſo doth now our Emperor Charles; who, after he hath a long time defended the ſpiritual livings, and ſeeth that every Prince taketh and raketh the monaſteries unto themſelves, doth alſo now take poſſeſſion of biſhoprics, as newly he hath ſnatched to himſelf the biſhopricks of Utrich and Luttich, to the end he may get alſo *partem de tunica Chriſti*.

A fearful Example of Covetouſneſs.

A Covetous farmer, well known at Erfurt (ſaid *Luther*), carried his corn to ſell there in the market; but holding it at too dear a rate, no man would buy of him, nor give him his price; he being thereby moved to anger, ſaid, I will not ſell it cheaper, but will rather carry it home again and give it to the mice. As he came home therewith, an innumerable number of mice and rats flocked about his houſe and devoured up all his corn. And the next day following, going out to ſee his grounds, which were newly ſown, he found, that all the ſeed was eaten up, and no hurt at all done upon the grounds belonging to his neighbours; this certainly (ſaid

Luther) was a juſt puniſhment from God, and a token of his wrath againſt the unthankful world.

Three rich farmers (God be praiſed, ſaid *Luther*) have lately hanged themſelves: ſuch wretches that do rob the whole country, are worthy of thoſe puniſhments; for the dearth at this time is a wilful dearth. God hath given enough, only the devil hath poſſeſſed ſuch wicked cormorants wilfully to make this dearth. They are thieves and murderers of their poor neighbours. Chriſt will ſay unto them at the laſt day, *I was hungry, and ye have not fed me*, &c. Do not think (thou that ſelleſt thy corn ſo dear) that thou ſhalt eſcape puniſhment; for thou art an occaſion of the deaths and famiſhing of the poor; the devil will fetch thee away. They that fear God, and truſt in him, do pray for their daily bread, and againſt ſuch robbers as thou art, that either they may be put to ſhame, or be reformed.

A man (ſaid he) that dependeth upon the riches and honour of this world, and forgets God, and the welfare of his ſoul, is like to a little child that holdeth a fair apple in the hand, which on the outſide is pleaſing to behold, and thinketh it hath alſo ſome goodneſs within, but it is rotten and full of worms.

Riches make proud and covetous.

WHERE great wealth is (ſaid *Luther*), there are all manner of ſins; for through wealth cometh pride; through pride, diſſention; through diſſention, wars; through wars, poverty; and through poverty, great diſtreſs and miſery. Therefore they that are rich, muſt yield a ſtrict and great account; for to whom much is given, the ſame muſt give an account of much. Riches, underſtanding, beauty, and comelineſs are fair gifts of God, but we abuſe them ſhamefully. Yet, notwithſtanding, worldly wiſdom, and a witty brain, are evil things, when the cauſe engaged in is evil; for we uſe to ſay, *Qui velit ingenio cedere, nullus erit*, No man will yield from his own conceit; every one will be right. Much better it is, that one be of a fair and comely complexion in the face, for a ſickneſs may come and take that away; but the *Ingenium*, the mind and conceit, is not ſo ſoon altered. It is written, Ye ſhall be like God: yea, I ſuppoſe we are like God. This diſeaſe is from Adam conveyed unto us: *Ye ſhall be as Gods.*

Wealth is the leaſt Gift of God.

RICHES (ſaid *Luther*) is the ſmalleſt thing on earth, and the leaſt gift that God hath beſtowed on mankind. What is it in compariſon of God's Word? yea, what is it to be compared with corporal gifts; as beauty, health, &c.? nay, what is it to the gifts of the mind; as underſtanding, art, wiſdom, &c.? Yet are men ſo eager after it, that no labour, travel, nor danger is regarded in getting of riches, there is in it neither *Materialis, formalis, efficiens & finalis cauſſa*, nor any thing elſe that is good; therefore our Lord God commonly giveth riches to ſuch, from whom he withholds all Spiritual good.

Of one that was adviſed, at his laſt End, to put his Money out to uſe.

A Great Nobleman, whom I could name (ſaid *Luther*), as he was at the point to die, and his ſoul ſat already upon his tongue, was then inſtructed to put four hundred thouſand rix-dollars (which he had in ready coin) out to uſe at Lubeck: O! a fine inſtruction for his repentance. It were not amiſs that we ſuffered ſome ſuch to die away without ſacrament and comfort, for others to take warning thereby.

It

It is now alſo come to this paſs, that we ſay, O! my good works and charity will not ſave me, therefore I will be covetous, I will go on with uſury, and do what pleaſeth me beſt, &c. and when I am like to die, then I will have an abſolution: yea, but hark, good fellow, St. Auſtin ſaith, God indeed hath promiſed to be merciful unto thee, but doſt thou know for certain, that he will ſhew his mercy unto thee even at that inſtant, whereas thou haſt wilfully rejected his mercy ſo often before in thy young and healthful days.

Giving to the Poor that truly ſtand in need of our Help.

ST. John ſaith, *He that hath this world's goods, and ſeeth his brother have need, and ſhutteth up his bowels of compaſſion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?* And Chriſt ſaith, *He that deſireth of thee, give to him*; that is, to him that hath need and is in want. He ſaith not to every idle, lazy, and waſteful companion, which commonly are the greateſt beggars; to whom, although one gave much and often, yet were they nothing helped thereby. In this town (ſaid *Luther*) no men are in greater want then the ſtudents and ſcholars. The poverty here indeed is great, but idleneſs and lazineſs is far greater: a man can ſcarcely get a poor body to work for money, and yet they will all beg: there is (ſaid he) no good government: though I were able, yet I would not give to thoſe idle beggars; for the more one helpeth and giveth them, the more and oftener they come. I will not cut my bread away from my wife and children, and give it to ſuch; but when one is truly poor, to him I will give with all my heart, according to my ability. And no man ſhould forget that Scripture, which ſaith, *He that hath two coats, let him part with one*, &c. for the holy Scripture in naming a coat, meaneth all manner of apparel that one hath need of according to his ſtate and calling, as well for credit as for neceſſity. As alſo, by *the daily bread* is underſtood, all maintenance neceſſary for the body; therefore *a coat*, in Scripture, is ſignified to be all uſual apparel.

Of Lending.

LENDEST thou? ſo getteſt thou it not again. If it be reſtored again, it is not ſo ſoon as it outght to be reſtored, nor ſo well and good; but though it be ſo, yet thou loſeſt a friend thereby.

The World will always have new Things.

BEFORE I tranſlated the New Teſtament out of the Greek (ſaid *Luther*), every one longed after it, to read therein; but when it was done, their longing laſted ſcarce four weeks. Then they deſired the Books of Moſes; when I had tranſlated thoſe, they had enough thereof in a ſhort time. After that, they would have the Pſalter; of the ſame, they were ſoon weary; when it was tranſlated then they deſired other books.

In like manner (ſaid he) will it be with the book of Eccleſiaſticus, which they now long for, and about which I have taken great pains in tranſlating thereof. All are acceptable, ſo long and until our giddy brains be ſatisfied, afterwards they let them lie, and ſeek after new things; therefore in the end there muſt come errors among us.

The book of Eccleſiaſticus belongeth to the houſe government, and is for the inſtruction of families. The Preacher of Solomon, or Eccleſiaſtes, is for the worldly or temporal ruling, and is a City inſtruction.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

OF IDOLATRY.

Of Idolatry.

IDOLATRY (ſaid *Luther*) is called, and is all manner of ſeeming holineſs, worſhipping, and feigned ſpiritual actions (let them ſhine outwardly as glorious and fair as they will), and alſo all manner of fervent devotion of the hearts of thoſe that would ſerve God without Chriſt the Mediator, and without his Word and Command; as in Popedom it was held for a work of the greateſt ſanctity, when the Friars and Monks ſat in their cells, and meditated of God, and of his wonderful Works, were kindled with ſuch fervent zeal, kneeling on their knees, praying, and having their imaginary contemplations of celeſtial objects with great deſire and devotion, that they wept for joy. In theſe their conceits, they baniſhed away all deſires and thoughts of women, and what elſe is temporal and vaniſhing. They ſeemed to meditate only of God, and of his wonderful Works.

Yet notwithſtanding all theſe ſeeming holy actions of devotion (which the wit and wiſdom of man holdeth altogether to be angelical ſanctity) are nothing elſe but works of the fleſh, as St. Paul clearly ſheweth, where he ſaith, *The works of the fleſh are manifeſt, which are theſe: adultery, whoring, idolatry, witchcraft*, &c.

Therefore (ſaid he) all manner of religion, let it have never ſo great a name and luſtre of holineſs, when people will ſerve God without his Word and Command, is nothing elſe but plain idolatry; and the more holy and ſpiritual ſuch a religion ſeemeth to be, the more hurtful and venomous it is; for, it leadeth people away from the faith of Chriſt, and maketh them to rely and depend upon their own ſtrength, works, and righteouſneſs.

In like manner, all kinds of orders, faſtings, prayers, hairy ſhirts, the holieſt works of the Capuchins (which in Popedom are held to be the moſt holy of all) are altogether works of the fleſh; for they hold, that they are holy, and ſhall be ſaved, not through Chriſt (whom they behold and fear as a ſevere and angry Judge) but through the rules of their Order.

No man (ſaid *Luther*) can make the Papiſts believe, that the private Maſs is the greateſt blaſpheming of God, and the higheſt idolatry upon earth; the like to which abomination hath never been in Chriſtendom ſince the time of the Apoſtles: for they therein are blinded and hardened, therefore all their underſtanding and knowledge of God, and of all divine matters, is perverted and erroneous. They hold that to be the moſt upright and greateſt ſervice of God, which, in truth, is the greateſt and moſt abominable idolatry. And again, they hold that for idolatry, which in truth is the upright and moſt acceptable ſervice of God; as the acknowledging of Chriſt, and believing in him. But we (ſaid *Luther*) that truly believe in Chriſt, and are of his mind, we (God be praiſed) know and judge all things, but in truth we be judged of no human creature.

To erect a Service of God without God's Command.

DR. Andrew Carlſtad aſked this queſtion of *Luther*: When a man, out of a good meaning, ſhould erect a pious work or ſervice without God's Word or Command, if then he ſerved a true or a ſtrange God? *Luther* anſwered him, and ſaid: A man honoureth God and calleth upon him, to the end he may expect comfort, help, and all good from him. Now if the ſame honour and calling upon God be done according to God's Word, that is, when a man expecteth from him all graces for the ſake of his promiſes made unto us in Chriſt, then he honoureth the true, living, and everlaſting God. But if a man taketh in hand a work, or a ſervice, out of his own choſen devotion as he thinketh good, thereby to appeaſe God's anger, or to attain forgiveneſs of ſins, everlaſting life and ſalvation (as is the manner of all hypocrites and ſeeming-holy workers) then, I ſay flatly, that he honoureth and worſhippeth an idol in his heart: and it helpeth him nothing at all, that he thinketh he doth it to the honour of the true God; for that which is not of faith is ſin.

The Manner and Nature of Idolaters, or Falſe Holy-workers.

HYPOCRITES and Idolaters (ſaid *Luther*) have the ſame quality and nature in them that the Choriſters or Singers have, who will not ſing, or do it willingly, whe they are entreated thereunto; but being not deſired, they never leave off ſinging. Even ſo are the falſe-workers of holineſs; when God will have them in his ſervice which he hath commanded; when they ſhould love their neighbour and help him as they are able, with advice, with lending, giving, admoniſhing, threatening, comforting, &c. then no man can bring them to thoſe points; nay, they think, that themſelves are the people to whom men, in duty, are bound to perform ſuch offices. But, on the contrary, what they themſelves make choice of, and pretend out of their own devotion and good meaning to honour and ſerve God (as they eam) that they hold faſt and ſure. They plague and torment their bodies with faſting, with praying, ſinging, reading, hard-lying, &c. they pretend great humility and holineſs, and do all things with great zeal, fervency, and devotion without ceaſing: but ſuch as the ſervice and work is, ſuch will alſo the reward be, as Chriſt himſelf ſaith, Matth. xv.—out of the Prophet Iſaiah, Chapter xxix.—*In vain do they worſhip me, teaching for doctrine the commandments of men.*

The worſhipping of the Idol Moloch, *the Idol of the* Ammonites.

THIS Idolatry had a great luſtre and a glorious ſhew, as if the ſame worſhipping had been more acceptable and pleaſing to God, than the common ſervice which by Moſes was commanded; from whence many people that in outward ſhew were devout in holineſs (when they intended to perform an acceptable ſervice to God) did, out of great love and zeal in honour to God (as they dreamed), offer up and ſacrifice their ſons and daughters; and through ſuch works they thought to become loving and true children of God; they thought not otherwiſe, but that therein they imitated and followed the example of Abraham, Gen. xxii. and did that which was acceptable and pleaſing to God.

Againſt this Idolatry (ſaid *Luther*) the Prophets preached with hot-burning jealouſy; they called the ſame, not offerings to God, but to idols and devils, as the 106th Pſalm ſheweth: *They offered their ſons and daughters to devils, and ſhed innocent blood,*

the blood of their ſons and daughters, which they offered to the idols of Canaan. And Jeremiah, chap. xxiii. *They huilded the high places of Baal in the valley Ben-hinnom, and burned their ſons and daughters to Moloch, which I have not commanded them, neither came it into my mind that they ſhould do this abomination,* &c. Of this, read further in the 7th chapter of Jeremiah. But they held the Prophets to be liars and damned Hereticks.

This worſhipping of Idols was in Popedom very frequent in my time, and ſtill is, (ſaid *Luther*) though in another manner: for thoſe parents in Popedom were held and eſteemed holy people, that gave one, or more of their children into the Monaſteries to become either Friars or Nuns, that ſo they might ſerve God day and night, &c. From whence the common proverb went, O! bleſſed is the mother that hath born ſuch a child as to be made a ſpiritual perſon. Now, true it is (ſaid *Luther*), though thoſe ſons and daughters in Popedom are not burned and offered to Idols corporally, as were the other ſpoken of before, yet notwithſtanding, they are thruſt into the throat of the devil ſpiritually, which is far worſe, who (through his diſciples to the Pope and his ſhaven crew) lamentably doth murder their ſouls with falſe doctrine, in that they rely and depend only upon their own good works, &c.

The devil from the beginning hath been a murderer and a liar, and that trade he drives without ceaſing. He murdereth daily in various ways innumerable many people throughout the whole world; ſuch as he cannot murder corporally, thoſe he killeth ſpiritually, through lies and falſe doctrine, yet all under the colour of the truth and wholeſome doctrine. Know therefore how to carry thyſelf accordingly, that thou beeſt ſober and watcheſt, and by faith ſtrongly reſiſteſt him, *for he goeth about like a roaring lion,* &c.

The Holy Scripture often maketh mention of Moloch, and Lyra alſo; and the Commentaries of the Jews ſay it was an Idol made of copper and braſs, like a man that held his hands before him, wherein they put fiery glimmering coals. Now, when the Image was made very hot, then a father approached, and offered to the Idol, took his own child and thruſt it into the glimmering hands of the Idol, wherein the child was conſumed and burned to death. In the mean time, they made a loud noiſe with timbrels and cymbals, and with blowing of horns, to the end the parents ſhould not hear the pitiful crying of the child. The Prophets alſo wrote, that Ahab offered his ſon in that manner. This Idolatry and ſervice was done upon this conſideration, O! if I needs muſt offer to our Lord God, then will I offer ſome precious thing: what ſhould I do with offering of calves? &c. I will offer unto him my only ſon.

Of Jereboam's *Calves.*

THESE Calves of Jeroboam (ſaid *Luther*) remain always in the world, and will remain to the laſt day: not that any man maketh or cauſeth Calves to be made like Jeroboam's. But upon whatſoever a man doth depend or truſt (God ſet aſide), the ſame maketh to himſelf Calves, as Jeroboam did; that is, he maketh other and ſtrange gods which he honoureth and worſhippeth inſtead of the only, true, living, and eternal God, who only can and will help and comfort in all need. In like manner alſo, all ſuch as rely and depend upon their arts, wiſdom, ſtrength, own ſanctity, riches, honour, power, connection, ordinances, or any thing, under what title or name ſoever (on which the world buildeth and boaſteth), the ſame (I ſay) do make and worſhip theſe Calves, as Jeroboam did. For they truſt in, and depend on vaniſhing creatures, which is merely worſhipping of Idols, and is Idolatry.

It is eaſily done (ſaid *Luther*) that we fall into Idolatry; for we are inclined thereunto by nature: and ſeeing that Idolatry is derived by inheritance upon us, therefore it is pleaſing unto us.

From

From whence Idolatry originally came.

ST. Paul ſheweth it in theſe words, where he ſaith, Gal. iv. *When ye knew not God, ye did ſervice,* &c. that is, when as yet ye knew not God, what God's will was towards you, ye ſerved thoſe which by nature were no gods, ye ſerved the dreams and thoughts of your hearts, wherewith (without, yea, againſt God's Word) ye feigned to yourſelves ſuch a God that ſuffered himſelf to be reconciled with ſuch works and worſhippings as your devotion and good meaning made choice of. For all Idolatry in the world ariſeth even from hence, that people by nature have had this common knowledge, namely, that there is a God, without which knowledge of the Divine Majeſty, it would remain unpractiſed. But ſeeing ſuch knowledge is grafted into mankind, they have therefore, without God's Word, apprehended all manner of ungodly opinions of God, and have held and eſteemed thoſe for certain divine truths. And in ſuch ſort have imagined a God otherwiſe than by nature he is of himſelf.

Without Chriſt, all ſerving of God is Idolatry.

HE that falleth from the profeſſion of the Goſpel to the Law, and thinketh to be ſaved by good works, the ſame (ſaid *Luther*) falleth ſo hard and uneaſy, as he that falls from the true ſervice of God to Idolatry: for, without Chriſt, there is nothing but Idolatry, and altogether feigned imaginations of God, whether they be of the Turkiſh Alcoran, of the Pope's Decrees, or Moſes Laws, if a man thinketh thereby to be juſtified and ſaved before God.

Idolatry (ſaid *Luther*) is plainly this, When things are not done and taken in hand according to God's Word, and as the ſame doth deſcribe and teach us. For when a man will ſerve God, he muſt not look upon that which he doth, nor upon the work, but he muſt look how it ought to be done, whether God hath commanded it or no: Seeing (as Samuel ſaith) that *God hath more pleaſure in obedience, than in burnt-ſacrifice.*

Therefore whoſo hearkeneth not to God's voice, the ſame is an Idolater, although he performed the higheſt and moſt heavy ſervice of God. As the nature and manner of Idolatry is, it maketh not choice of that which is eſteemed eaſy and light, but of that which is great and heavy. This have we ſeen on the Friars and Monks, who, almoſt every day, have deviſed new worſhippings of God; but foraſmuch that God in his Word hath not commanded the ſame, it is therefore altogether Idolatry. Moreover and beſides, all blaſpheming, contemning of God's Word, covetouſneſs, wrong, force, unjuſt judgments and cenſures, and the like, are mere Idolatry; for what ſervice of God ſoever a human creature doth erect and ſet up without God's Word and Command, the ſame is Idolatry, as the Scripture ſaith.

Therefore with all diligence we muſt fly from Idolatry, for which cauſe no ſmall puniſhments do follow, but final and great deſtruction. For, if God with horrible pains puniſheth the wrong which is done to our neighbour, as we ſee in the Prophets and Hiſtories; how much more and harder will he puniſh, when he ſeeth that by ungodly people his honour is ſtained, polluted, and ſuppreſſed, through Idolatry falſe doctrine, and worſhippings? Ah! (ſaid *Luther*) the puniſhment will be greater than the heart of man can conceive, or the tongue expreſs.

Of the End of Idolatry, and of Idolaters.

THE life of an Idolater is not only irkſome (for he never reſteth nor is at quiet, always taking great pains), but alſo upon Idolatry followeth certain misfortune and downfall,

downfall, although at the firſt and for a while it be fortunate, and getteth great wealth and power. On the contrary, the upright, true, and pure religion muſt ſuffer hunger, it is very fiercely aſſaulted and perſecuted. But what uſe the Idolaters do make of ſuch gotten wealth, that we plainly ſee in Popedom, in Monaſteries, and in the Courts of Cardinals and Biſhops; and ſo it goeth with them, as the Prophet Iſaiah ſaith, *When he was grown fat and filled, then he became letcherous*, &c.

Such idolatrous ungodly doings and blaſphemies are favoured and protected by the temporal Magiſtrate. In like manner, Kings and Princes (whom the Scripture nameth *ſhields* and *bucklers*, by reaſon of their offices, which they ought to ſhew by and with their power) are commonly protectors of ungodly works and Idolatry. But (ſaid *Luther*) what will be the end? Even ſuch as Samuel ſpeaketh of, 1 Sam. xii. *If ye deal wickedly, ſo ſhall both ye and your King be deſtroyed.* Which ſins, thoſe that are in the function of preaching undauntedly and freely ought to threaten and reprove, not regarding their high dignities and powers. For the Prophets (as we ſee in Hoſea), did reprove and threaten not only in general the Houſe of Iſrael, but alſo, they name in particular the Prieſts, yea, the King's Houſe alſo, that is, the King himſelf and the whole Court. They cared nothing at all for the great danger that ſhould follow, in that the Magiſtrate ſo openly ſhould be touched and taxed, and that themſelves thereby ſhould fall into diſpleaſure and contempt, and that their preaching ſhould be eſteemed and held rebellious. For they were forced thereunto by a far greater danger; namely, they ſaw, that by ſuch examples of the higher powers, the ſubjects alſo were ſeduced and led on to ſin.

Of the Beginning of Idolatry.

I HOLD (ſaid *Luther*) that Idolatry took its original, and proceeded out of the true Religion. That the holy Fathers charged their children early to pray. Afterwards their poſterity early worſhipped the Sun. As commonly all Idolatry hath had a beginning from the poſterity of the true divine worſhipping. And all Idolaters would trim and deck up themſelves with the colour of the true divine Word, and with the examples of the good and godly. All Idolaters are covetous; and the more holy and divine they ſeem to be, the more covetous they are.

To believe the Planets (ſaid *Luther*) is alſo Idolatry; for it is againſt the firſt Commandment: *Thou ſhalt have none other gods but me.*

That the World is full of Idolatry.

ALL the world (alſo of God's own nation the Jews) hath been full of Idolatry; for one went this way, another that way, and they erected as many divine worſhippings as they had hills and trees in the land that were fair and pleaſant to behold, as we ſee in the Prophets, and as in my time we have done in Popedom. Such was the high Idolatry (when they ſeemed earneſtly to ſeek after God), then they offered, faſted, and tormented their bodies therewith; but none was worſhipped or ſerved thereby, but only the devil and their own vain imaginations.

After this (ſaid *Luther*) there is a greater Idolatry, when we honour and worſhip the great god Mammon, that is, money and wealth; when we ſet our hearts thereon, and truſt therein; of ſuch groſs Idolatry the world is full; for that groſs clod, that confounded Mammon, that poor and miſerable helper in need,

doth ſeduce and leadeth away Emperors, Kings, Princes, Nobility, Gentry, Citizens, Farmers, Clowns, &c. the ſame with them is of greateſt eſteem, inſomuch that God every where, and in all places is diſhonoured and blaſphemed.

Of the Idolatry in Popedom.

IN Popedom (ſaid *Luther*) at the feaſt of St. Katharine (as alſo other martyrs), they read and ſing theſe words and prayers: *O God be merciful and gracious to thoſe that celebrate the remembrance of me.* Then God anſwereth: *Come my bleſſed, thou haſt obtained what thou prayedſt for.* From hence alſo (ſaid he) proceeded Idolatry.

Afterwards, void of all ſhame, they taught, that the ſaints are able to do and accompliſh more than God had commanded them; that they have more deſerts than ſins. Herewith the ſentence of St. Paul muſt ſuffer contradiction, where he ſaith: *Now I rejoice in my ſufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Chriſt in my fleſh.* This ſentence muſt ſerve thoſe idolatrous wretches, and to the deſerving of an *overplus* of their good works which they ſell to others for money; whereas St. Peter ſaith: *If the righteous ſcarcely be ſaved, where then ſhall the ungodly and ſinner appear?* yet notwithſtanding, the abominable accurſed ſhavelings do pretend *Opera ſupererogationis*, an *overplus* of good works whereof they had no need. From hence (ſaid *Luther*) proceeded the great deceits of the devil with the pilgrimages to the Valley of Wrath, after which the people are mad and frantic: ſervants, ſhepherds, women, and all do leave and forſake their vocations and callings, and run thither. It is rightly named the Valley of Wrath, *Vallis furoris*, no man ſpeaketh a word againſt it. The Biſhop of Wurtzburg is ſilent and giveth conſent thereto, and ſeeing we ſpeak againſt it, and ſay, It is Idolatry, therefore they perſecute us moſt fiercely. But if they had faith in Chriſt, they might eaſily know and cenſure the ſame; but ſeeing they are fallen from the doctrines of Chriſt, they are fallen into all manner of darkneſs.

Of Jacob's *putting away ſtrange Gods, and* Cain.

WE read in the Bible, that Jacob put away ſtrange gods. Here we muſt not think that he put away and brake two or three idols, but every where in general did put away and alter all falſe worſhipping of God. There was an alarm indeed.

The ſame alteration and depoſing of Idolatry was altogether a Lutheraniſm. It fell out oftentimes, as we find it written of Enoch, that he began firſt to call on the Name of the Lord, Gen. iv. For the true worſhipping of God fell, and was put away through Cain; he was an ungodly and a wicked wretch, but he would not be thought ſo, for he relied on thoſe words of the Lord, the ſame made him proud and ſtiff-necked, when he ſaid, *Whoſo killeth Cain, vengeance ſhall be taken on him ſevenfold.* That aſſurance made him more headſtrong, inſomuch that he became a fine diſſembling worſhipper of God.

Soldiers in Popedom uſed many Sorts of Miſbelievings.

EMPEROR Maximilian in warlike affairs was much taken with ſuperſtition. In times of danger he would make ſolemn vows to ſlaughter what firſt met him, &c. One of his captains had taken captive a very fair virgin, before Padua, of an ancient deſcent and family in Germany, and of the Proteſtant

religion, which he loved exceedingly; but he was forced by the Emperor to ſlaughter and to kill her with his own hands. We Chriſtians (ſaid *Luther*) have a great advantage in war againſt our enemies; for we have, to aſſiſt us, the prayer of faith: but the ungodly enemies know nothing of this faith and prayer; from whence the Heathen were ſo much addicted to ſuperſtition and ſlaughtering. For Jephtha (upon whom notwithſtanding the Spirit of God came, as the Scripture ſaith, Jud. xi.) made a fooliſh and a ſuperſtitious vow; in that, after he had got the victory, he ſlew the daughter of his own body. It had been good (ſaid *Luther*) if at that time ſome godly and underſtanding man had been there preſent, to have put Jephtha in mind of his folly, and had ſaid unto him, Jephtha! thou oughteſt not to ſlay thy daughter for the ſake of thy raſh and fooliſh vow; for thou muſt underſtand the law of vows according to equity, and not ſo preciſely according to the word, for thou didſt not mean it ſo, &c. In this ſort the good and godly young man Jonathan was releaſed from his vow which he had made to his father King Saul, and was delivered from death.

Of Jephtha's Daughter's bewailing her Virginity.

THE cauſe why Jephtha's daughter bewailed her virginity two months, was, that ſhe ſhould die without children, which was the greateſt pity; as we ſee by the loving Hannah, Samuel's mother, what moan ſhe made to obtain a child; for it is an irkſome and envious thing to underſtanding honeſt married people to be barren; and, in truth, children are the moſt loving pawns and bonds of matrimony; in a word, they are the beſt wool of the ſheep.

Of the apiſh Works of the Heathen, in imitating the moſt holy Place in the Temple, and others.

THE Heathen (ſaid *Luther*) took of the Jews, and imitated them concerning the holieſt place in the Temple at Jeruſalem: they had their places and corners alſo, where they aſked counſel of their idols, and where anſwer was made; thoſe places where dark, &c. But (ſaid he) that the holieſt of all in the Temple was a dark place, thereby was ſignified the kingdom of faith, which we cannot comprehend with human ſenſe and reaſon, but only by faith. In like manner have the Heathen imitated and followed the Jews in offering and ſlaughtering of their children, &c.

Of the Idolatry which falſe Teachers ſet up.

I Have read a book (ſaid *Luther*) which a Frenchman (named Wilhelmus Poſtellus) did write, *Of the Union of the World*, in which he earneſtly laboured to prove the Articles of Faith out of humain ſenſe, reaſon, and underſtanding, to the end, he might convert Turks, Jews, and all nations (had they never ſo many ſorts of worſhippings and idolatry), and to lead them to the true faith. But I told him, he had taken too much at one bite; howbeit, there were before his time other Frenchmen alſo that wrote books of natural divinity, with which they would ſhew and prove the Chriſtian faith out of natural wit and wiſdom. There will always ſeducers ariſe and undertake to bring in all manner of idolatry, under the colour and ſplendor of the true faith, and therewith to trim themſelves.

I have heard a merchant affirm, that in the Indies he had ſeen people worſhipping a great ſnake with higheſt honour and devotion.

Of Invocating of Saints, which alſo is Idolatry

THE Papiſts (ſaid *Luther*) took the invocating of ſaints from the Heathen, who divided God into numberleſs images and idols, and did ordain to every one his particular office and work. They feigned and alledged Pallas was ſuch a goddeſs, through which peace and tranquillity among the people was kept and preſerved. In like manner did they alſo with other idols.

Theſe the Papiſts (void of all ſhame and Chriſtianity) did imitate, and therewith denied God's almighty power; and every one out of God's Word did ſpin to himſelf a particular, certain, and ſure opinion according to his own head and fancy; like as one of their Prieſts celebrating Maſs did, who, as he was to conſecrate many oblations at the altar at once, did think it would not be congruouſly ſpoken, nor according to the grammar rules to ſay, *This is my Body*; but he ſaid, *Theſe are my Bodies.* He himſelf afterwards highly extolling his pregnant wit and art; ſaying, If I had not been ſo good a grammarian, I had brought in a hereſy, and ſhould have conſecrated but one oblation.

Such, and the like fellows (ſaid *Luther*), the world produceth; inſomuch that the grammarians, logicians, rhetoricians, and philoſophers will falſify the Holy Writ, and ſophiſticate the ſame with their arts, who ought and ſhould let it remain in every point in its own place whereto God hath ordered and appointed it, and not to mingle one in another. Divinity ſhould be the Empreſs; Philoſophy and other arts ought to be her ſervants, not to govern and maſter her, as Servetus, Campanus, and other ſeducers do. God preſerve his Church (which by him is carried as a child in the mother's womb), and defend her from ſuch philoſophical divinity.

The invocating of ſaints (ſaid *Luther*) is a moſt abominable blindeneſs and hereſy; yet, nevertheleſs, the Papiſts will not know, much leſs acknowledge and amend it. The Pope's greateſt profit hath had his increaſe from the dead: for the calling on the dead ſaints hath brought unto him infinite ſums of money and riches; the dead brought unto him much more then the living. But thus it goeth in the world; ſuperſtition, unbelief, falſe doctrine, and worſhipping, obtaineth and getteth more than the upright, true and pure religion. She, in this world, is the maid; but the other is *Domina* and Empreſs. Eight hundred prophets of Baal could be fed and maintained from Jezebel's table; but the whole kingdom of Iſrael could not maintain the one prophet Elias, but was fed by the widow of Sarepta among the Heathen.

Dr. Carleſtad aſked me at Frankfort (ſaid *Luther*), how it were to be proved, that to have ſtrange gods, were to ſet up, or to bring in a worſhipping againſt God's word? I anſwered him, and ſaid, *Deus, & Cultus, ſunt Relativa*, God, and God's worſhipping, are relatives; the one cannot be without the other; for God muſt always be the God of ſome people or nation, and is always in *Predicamento relationis.* God will have ſome to call upon him, and to honour him; for, to have a God, and to honour him, they belong together, *ſunt Relativa*, like to man and wife in matrimony, the one cannot be without the other. Therefore, whoſo ſetteth or bringeth in a divine worſhipping of himſelf, out of his own ſelected devotion, without God's command, the ſame is an adulterer, and an idolater, like unto a married woman, who proſtrateth herſelf to another man; even ſo he ſeeketh another God, and not the upright and true God, and it availeth him nothing that he thinketh he doth God good ſervice therein.

Idolatry (ſaid *Luther*) is directly this: To pretend a divine worſhip and ſervice, out of ſelf-choſen devotion, without God's command; for God will not be maſtered of us, how, and after what manner, we ſhould ſerve him; in that he will direct and teach

teach us; his word is there, which muſt light and lead us. Without God's word all is idolatry, all are lies, let them have ever ſo fair and glorious a luſtre or devotion.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE HOLY TRINITY.

Of the Holy Trinity.

THE Father (ſaid *Luther*) in divine matters is the *Grammar*, for he gives the word, and is the fountain out of which flow the good, fair, and pure words which we ought to ſpeak.

The ſon it the *Dialectica*, for he giveth the diſpoſition, how we ought to ſet a thing in order, that it may appear certain and concluſive.

But the Holy Ghoſt is *Rhetorica*, the ſpeaker, that finely delivereth it, infuſeth and operateth, maketh living and ſtrong, ſo that it captivates and wins the heart.

Trinitas omnibus creaturis indita.

IN Sole, *ſubſtantia, ſplendor & calor. In* Fluminibus, *ſubſtantia, fluxus & potentia; ſic in artibus quoque. In* Aſtronomia, *motus, lumen & fluentia. In* Muſica, *tres notæ, Re, mi, fa. In* Geometria, *tres diviſiones, linea, ſuperficies et corpus. In* Grammatica, *tres partes orationis. In* Dictione, *apud Hebræos, tres literæ ſubſtantiales. In* Arithmetica, *tres numeri. In* Rhetorica, *diſpoſitio, elocutio, et actio, ſeu geſtus: nam inventio et memoria non artis, ſed naturæ. In* Dialectica, *definitio, diviſio et argumentatio. Sic quælibet res habit pondus, numerum et figuram. Sic herbæ et flores habent.* 1. *Formam, quâ ſignificatur Deus Pater, ejúſque potentia.* 2. *Odorem, ſeu ſaporem, quæ nota eſt Filii, ejúſque ſapientiæ,* &c. 3. *Vim et vires ſeu effectus, qui ſunt veſtigia Spiritûs ſancti, ejúſque bonitatis. Ita licet in omnibus creaturis invenire et cernere. Trinitatem divinam impreſſam eſſe. Hæc optima ſigna neglexerunt Scholaſtici, et excogitârunt alia quædam inepta.*

In all creatures (ſaid *Luther*) are a declaration and a ſignification of the Holy Trinity. Firſt, the ſubſtance ſignifieth the almighty power of God the Father. Secondly, the form and ſhape declareth the wiſdom of God the Son; and, thirdly, the power and ſtrength is a ſign of the Holy Ghoſt. Inſomuch, that God is preſent in all creatures.

Witneſſes of the Holy Trinity.

IN the Goſpel of St. John, Chap. iii. is plainly and directly ſhewed the difference of the perſons in the higheſt and greateſt work that God accompliſheth with us poor human creatures, in that he juſtifieth and ſaveth us; for there it is plainly written of the Father, that he loved the world, and hath given to the world his only begotten Son. Theſe are two ſeveral perſons; Father, and Son. The Father loveth the world, and giveth unto it his Son. The Son ſuffereth himſelf to be given to the world; and, as Chriſt clearly ſaith, He ſuffereth himſelf to be lifted up on the Croſs, as the ſerpent was lifted up in the Wilderneſs, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life. To this work cometh afterwards the third perſon, the Holy Ghoſt

Ghoſt, which kindleth that faith in the heart through the Word, and ſo regenerateth us, and maketh us the children of God.

This article (ſaid *Luther*) although it be taught moſt clearly in the New Teſtament, yet, notwithſtanding, it hath been always aſſaulted and oppoſed in the higheſt meaſure; inſomuch, as the hiſtories do ſhew, that the holy Evangeliſt St. John (for the confirmation of this article) was conſtrained to write his Goſpel. Then came preſently that heretic Cerinthus, who taught out of Moſes, that there was but one God; concluding thereupon, that Chriſt could not be God, neither that God could be man. In ſuch manner he prated out of human wiſdom and underſtanding, and thought it muſt needs be juſt ſo as he held it.

But (ſaid *Luther*) we ought to keep cloſe to God's Word; what in theſe caſes the holy Scripture ſaith, namely, that Chriſt is true God with God the Father, and that the Holy Ghoſt is true God; and yet there are not three Gods, nor three ſubſtances (as three men, three angels, three ſons, three windows, &c.) No: God is not ſeparated nor divided in ſuch manner in his ſubſtance, but there is only and alone one divine eſſence, and no more.

Therefore, although there be three perſons, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt, yet, notwithſtanding, we muſt not divide nor ſeparate the ſubſtance: for there is but only one God in one only undivided ſubſtance, as St. Paul clearly ſpeaketh of Chriſt, *Coloſ.* i. *That he is the expreſs image of the inviſible God, the firſt-born of all creatures: for through him all things are created that are in heaven and on earth, viſible*, &c. And all is through and in him created, and he is before all, and all things conſiſt in him.

Now what the third perſon is, the holy Evangeliſt St. John teacheth, Chap. xv. where he ſaith, *But when the Comforter is come, which I will ſend unto you from the Father, the Spirit of truth which proceedeth from the Father, he ſhall teſtify of me.* Here Chriſt ſpeaketh not only of the office and work of the Holy Ghoſt, but alſo of his ſubſtance and faith: he goeth out or proceedeth from the Father, that is, his going out, or his proceeding, is without all beginning and everlaſting. Therefore the holy Prophet gives him the name and calls him, *the Spirit of the Lord*, Joel ii.

Now (ſaid *Luther*), although this article ſeemeth ſtrange or fooliſh, what matter is it, here is no diſputing whether it be ſo or no? But whether the ſame be grounded on God's word or no? If it be God's Word (as moſt ſure it is), then let us make no doubt thereof, he will not lie: therefore let us keep cloſe to God's Word, and not diſpute how Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt can be one God; for we, as poor wretches, cannot know how it cometh that we laugh; or how, with our eyes, we can ſee a high mountain ten miles off; or how it cometh when we ſleep, that in body we are dead, and yet we live. This ſmall knowledge we cannot attain unto; no, not although we took to our help the advice and art of all the wiſe in the world, we are not able to know theſe leaſt things which concern ourſelves; and yet we will climb up with our human wit and wiſdom, and will preſume to comprehend what God is in his incomprehenſible Majeſty.

How the learned Heathen have deſcribed God.

THE philoſophers and learned Heathen (ſaid *Luther*) have deſcribed God, that he is as a circle, the point whereof in the midſt is every where; but the circumference, which on the outſide goeth round about, is no where: herewith they would ſhew that God is all, and yet is nothing. And, indeed, our Lord God is every were, and yet he no where can be faſtened nor comprehended in his high

Majeſty. I (ſaid *Luther*) find him not only at Jeruſalem in the Temple, and in that manner as he hath figured himſelf unto me, but alſo I find him every where; namely, in baptiſm, in the manger at Bethlehem, in the ſacrament, &c. But in his Majeſty he is no where, nor in my ſpeculations, as I, in my thoughts, do imagine him to be.

Ah, good God! (ſaid he) how wonderful art thou, that putteſt to ſhame the wiſe of the world. It were pains and labour enough for us that we attained unto the underſtanding of A B C concerning theſe high divine myſteries. When the ungodly (out of their own pride and inſolence, according to their natural ſenſe and reaſon) will conclude any thing without and againſt God; then preſently God turneth their wiſdom into fooliſhneſs, ſo that they give up all as vain and fruitleſs; for if God did not ſo, then he would loſe his honour, his glory and majeſty.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE LORD CHRIST.

That Chriſt is true God.

THAT Chriſt, the Son of the Virgin Mary, is true God, of the ſame the Scripture is full of witneſſes (ſaid *Luther*), eſpecially in the Goſpel of the holy Evangeliſt St. John, Chap. viii. where the Jews, being offended at his doctrine, aſked him, and ſaid, *Who art thou then?* And Jeſus ſaid unto them, firſt, I am he that ſpeaketh with you; as if he would ſay, I am your Prophet and Preacher, according as Moſes told your fore-fathers. *I will raiſe them up a Prophet from among their brethren like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he ſhall ſpeak unto them all that I ſhall command him. And it ſhall come to paſs, that whoſo will not hearken unto my words, which he ſhall ſpeak in my name, I will require it of him:* That is, firſt and before all things, Hear ye me; as then ſhall ye ſee who I am; I am even he of whom Moſes propheſied. This ſaying of our Lord Chriſt, ſounded ſomewhat more mild and modeſt, than if he had ſaid, I am the Meſſiah. St. Auſtin did very much perplex himſelf about this ſpeech which our Saviour Chriſt made to the Jews. It is therefore very needful and expedient (ſaid *Luther*) for every good Criſtian to read the ancient Fathers with caution and Chriſtian-like underſtanding; for they were but men as we are, and oftentimes they failed and erred.

All ſentences in the holy Scriptures (ſaid *Luther*), which do ſpeak of the faith in Chriſt, do clearly ſhew that he is true natural God; otherwiſe it were idolatry, and againſt the Firſt Commandment *(thou ſhalt have none other gods)*, to believe in Chriſt, if he were not God; for God gives his honour to none other. Iſa. xlii.

But this article *(that Chriſt is true God)* is grounded in the holy Scriptures through ſure and ſtrong witneſſes, eſpecially in the New Teſtament, where oftentimes Chriſt is named God with clear and expreſs words; as John i. *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God*, &c. And, John xx. the Apoſtle Thomas alſo calleth Chriſt, God; where he ſaith, *My Lord, and my God.* In like manner St. Paul, Rom. ix. ſpeaketh of Chriſt, that he is God; where he ſaith, *Who is God over all, bleſſed for ever, Amen.* And Coloſ. ii. *In Chriſt dwelleth all the fulneſs of the Godhead bodily*; that is, ſubſtantially.

Chriſt

Chriſt (ſaid *Luther*) muſt needs be true God, ſeeing he, through himſelf, fulfilled and overcame the Law; for moſt certain it is that no one elſe could have vanquiſhed the Law, whether angel or human creature, but Chriſt only overcame and fulfilled it, inſomuch that it can neither hurt nor condemn thoſe that believe in him: therefore moſt certainly he is the Son of God, and natural God. Now if we take hold on and comprehend Chriſt in this manner, as the Holy Scripture doth diſplay and paint him before us, then certain it is, that we can neither err nor be put to confuſion; and as then we may eaſily conclude and judge what is right to be held of all manner of divine qualities, religions, and worſhippings which are uſed and practiſed in the circle of the univerſal world. But (ſaid *Luther*) if in caſe this picturing of Chriſt be removed out of our ſight, or be darkened in us, then undeniably muſt needs follow a diſſolute and diſordered confuſion. For human and natural reaſon, wiſdom, and underſtanding cannot judge aright, nor cenſure truly of the laws of God; therein hath been and ſtill is exhauſted and conſumed the arts of all philoſophers, of all the learned and worldly-wiſe among the children of men. For the Law doth rule and govern over mankind, therefore the Law judgeth and cenſureth mankind, and not mankind the Law.

If (ſaid *Luther*) Chriſt be not God, then neither the Father, nor the Holy Ghoſt is God; for our article of faith ſpeaketh thus, and in this manner, that *Chriſt is God, with the Father, and the Holy Ghoſt.* Many there are that talk much of the Godhead of Chriſt (as the Pope, and others); but they diſcourſe thereof as a blind man ſpeaketh of colours. Therefore, when I hear Chriſt ſpeak, and ſay, *Come to me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, I will refreſh you,* then do I believe ſtedfaſtly that the whole Godhead ſpeaketh in an undivided and inſeparated ſubſtance. Wherefore, he that pictureth and preacheth ſuch a God to me (ſaid *Luther*) which died not for me the death on the Croſs, that God will I neither have nor receive.

Now he that hath this article, the ſame hath the moſt chief and principal article of faith, although to the world it ſeemeth very ſilly and ridiculous. Chriſt ſaith, The Comforter which I will ſend, ſhall not depart from you, but will remain with you, and will make you able to endure all manner of tribulations and evil. When Chriſt ſaith, I will pray the Father, then he ſpeaketh as a human creature, or as very man; but when he ſaith, I will do this or that, as before he ſaid, I will ſend the Comforter, then he ſpeaketh as very God. In this manner do I learn my article, *That Chriſt is both God and man.*

I (ſaid *Luther*), out of my own experience, am able to witneſs, That Jeſus Chriſt is true God; I will be no Epicure, I know full well and have found what the name *Jeſus* hath done for me. It is indeed well ſpoken and the plain truth, where we ſing in the Pſalm, God layeth a burden upon us, but he helpeth us alſo; we have a God that helpeth, and a Lord of Lords that delivereth from death; therefore (by God's grace) no troubles, no tribulations, or other creature whatſoever, ſhall ſeparate me from Chriſt. I (ſaid he) have oftentimes been ſo near death, that I thought verily now muſt I die, becauſe I teach his Word to the wicked world, and acknowledge him; but always he mercifully put life into me, refreſhed and comforted me. Therefore let us uſe diligence only to keep him, and then all is ſafe, although the devil were ever ſo wicked and crafty, and the world ever ſo evil and falſe. Let whatſoever will or can befal me (ſaid *Luther*), I will ſurely cleave by my ſweet Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, for in him am I baptized; I neither can do nor know any thing but only what he hath taught me. But truly, it is a very great and difficult art, whereunto appertains much and manifold trials and experiences, when one from his heart can name Chriſt a Lord and a God that delivereth from death.

Whereby

Whereby the Godhead of Chriſt is known.

IT followeth hence moſt certainly and powerfully (ſaid *Luther*) that Chriſt is true God. The Holy Scripture (eſpecially St. Paul) every where aſcribeth even that unto Chriſt, which he giveth to the Father, namely, the divine almighty power; ſo that he can give grace, and peace of conſcience, forgiveneſs of ſins, life, victory over ſin, death, and the devil. Now, unleſs St. Paul would rob God of his honour, and would give it to another that is not God, he dared not to aſcribe ſuch properties and attributes unto Chriſt, if he were not true God; and God himſelf ſaith, Iſa. xlii. *I will not give my glory to another.* And, indeed, no man can give that to another which he hath not himſelf; but, ſeeing Chriſt giveth grace and peace, the Holy Ghoſt alſo, and redeemeth from the power of the devil, of ſin and death; ſo is it moſt ſure, that he hath an endleſs, an immeaſurable almighty power equal with the Father.

Chriſt bringeth alſo peace, but not as the Apoſtles brought, namely, through preaching; but he giveth it as a Creator, as his own proper creature. The Father createth and giveth life, grace, and peace; and even ſo giveth the Son the ſame gifts. Now, to give grace, peace, everlaſting life, forgiveneſs of ſins, to juſtify, to ſave, to deliver from death and hell, ſurely theſe are not the works of any creature, but of the ſole Majeſty of God, and ſuch things the Angels themſelves can neither create nor give.

Therefore ſuch works pertain to the high Majeſty, Honour, and Glory of God, who is the only and true Creator of all things.

We muſt think of no other God than of Chriſt; that God which ſpeaketh not out of Chriſt's mouth, is not God. God in the Old Teſtament bound and confined himſelf to the Throne of Grace, there was the place where he would hear, ſo long as the policy and government of Moſes ſtood and flouriſhed. In like manner, he will yet hear no man nor human creature but only through Chriſt. But as the moſt part of the Jews ran to and again, burned incenſe, and offered here and there, therewith to worſhip and ſerve God, ſought God in holy places, and did not much regard the Tabernacle: even ſo goeth it now, we ſeek God every where; but ſeeing we ſeek him not in Chriſt, therefore we find him no where.

To believe in Chriſt is the True Religion.

ALTHOUGH no religion ſeemeth more fooliſh to the world than the Chriſtian religion, yet, notwithſtanding, I believe in that God which is the Son of the heavenly Father, namely, in Chriſt Jeſus. In no other God will I believe, as the Infidels and Idolaters do; for they are rejected and given over to a reprobate mind. I, *Martin Luther*, neither do nor will take notice of any other God, but only of him that hung on the Croſs, Chriſt Jeſus the Son of God, who was born of the Virgin Mary.

Of the Humanity of Chriſt.

THE Humanity of Chriſt (ſaid *Luther*) is a great myſtery, which by human wit and reaſon is not to be uttered nor ſearched out; where God the higheſt Majeſty hath united our fleſh unto himſelf: therefore when we have this Chriſt, then we have all.

No Man can comprehend the Two Natures in Chriſt.

THAT Chriſt is God and Man, the ſame is above human ſenſe, reaſon, and underſtanding. For when we are to bring the two Natures in Chriſt (the Divine and Human) into one perſon, then human wit, wiſdom, ſenſe, reaſon, and underſtanding do ſtartle, and ſay, How can this be? I underſtand it not. O (ſaid *Luther*) no thanks unto thee for this confeſſion; for it is not written to that end and purpoſe, that thou ſhouldeſt underſtand and comprehend it with thy natural ſenſe, wit, and wiſdom, but thou muſt yield thyſelf captive and believe the Word of the Goſpel through the operation of the Holy Ghoſt, and give God the honour, that he is true. Chriſt ſaith, John xvi. Matth. xxi. and Mark xi. *Whatſoever ye ſhall aſk the Father in my name, that will he give unto you.* Here Chriſt ſpeaketh, as, that he hath all in his hand and power, to give every thing which a man prayeth unto him for in faith.

Of the Feaſt of the Annunciation of Mary.

THE Feaſt which we call *Annunciatio Mariæ*, when the angel came to Mary, and brought her the meſſage from God, that ſhe ſhould conceive his Son, the ſame may be fitly called, the *Feaſt of Chriſt's Humanity*; for then began our deliverance (as the Engliſh and French do account the beginning of the year from this Feaſt); for the myſtery of the Humanity of Chriſt, that he hath ſunk himſelf into our fleſh, is beyond all human underſtanding.

Chriſt (ſaid *Luther*) lived three and thirty years, and went up thrice every year to Jeruſalem, which maketh ninety-nine times that he went thither. If the Pope could ſhew, that Chriſt had been but once at Rome, what a bragging and boaſting would he then make? yet, notwithſtanding, Jeruſalem was deſtroyed to the ground.

Why Chriſt was Born.

ST. Paul teacheth, that Chriſt was born, to the end he might reſtore and bring every thing to that ſtate in which it was created at the beginning of the world; that is, to bring us to the knowledge of ourſelves, and our Creator, that we might learn to know who and what we have been, and who and what we now are; namely, that we were created after God's likeneſs, and afterwards according to the likeneſs of man, and that we are now the devil's vizard through ſin, are utterly loſt and deſtroyed, and ſhould know, how we might be delivered from ſin again, might become pure, juſtified, and ſaved. And for this end, all creatures are placed before our eyes, that we in them ſhould know and ſee the Creator. If (ſaid *Luther*) we can faſten but a little of this firſt article of faith, then ſhould we eaſily and the better carry and behave ourſelves in all the reſt; for this article doth lead us thereunto.

Luther's *comfortable Thoughts touching Chriſt's Humanity according to the Scripture.*

ON this Day of the Conception of our Saviour Chriſt, we that are Preachers (ſaid *Luther*) ought diligently to lay before the people, and ſhould thoroughly imprint in their hearts the Hiſtories of this Feaſt, which by St. Luke is orderly deſcribed in a particular way with plain and ſimple words. And we ſhould altogether have joy and delight of theſe comfortable and bleſſed proceedings; that, as on this day, Chriſt our Lord and Saviour was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt in the pure and chaſte body of the Virgin Mary, took upon him the nature of man, be-

came our brother, hath placed us poor vile wretches and damned people in the higheſt honour, inſomuch that now we are God's children and co-heirs with Chriſt; for which we ought (as is meet) more to rejoice and to be glad, than of all the treaſure on earth.

Here we ought not to diſpute, How it came to paſs, that he, which filleth heaven and earth, and whom neither heaven nor earth is able to comprehend, was incloſed in the pure body of his mother? Such and the like diſputations do hinder theſe joys, and giveth us an occaſion to doubt thereof. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) I am an utter enemy to *Eraſmus Rotterdam*, who putteth this caſe in doubt, which ought to be our chiefeſt joy.

Bernard ſpends a whole ſermon touching this Feaſt, to the laud and praiſe of the Virgin Mary: he forgetteth the author of comfort, that (as the Church ſings) *Hodie Deus factus eſt homo*: This Day God is made Man. The deliverance of the generation of mankind began on this day. Bernard and Anſelm went too far in this buſineſs, in that they too highly extolled, exalted, and praiſed the Virgin Mary.

We Chriſtians ought to be glad and joyful of the great and high honour, which on this day was done to us, that the Son of God took upon him, not the nature of angels, but the ſeed of Abraham, that in all things (ſin only excepted), he is like unto us his brethren, to the end he might be merciful, and a true high prieſt before God, to make an atonement for our ſins. In like manner, that he through his death would take away the power of the devil, and deliver us out of the captivity of him, to whom we muſt have been bond-ſervants all the days of our lives. This unſpeakable grace of God ſhewn to us in Chriſt, we ought highly and greatly to eſteem and praiſe. True it is (ſaid *Luther*), we cannot but extol and praiſe Mary, who was ſo highly favoured of the Lord. But when the Creator himſelf cometh who delivereth us from the devil's power, &c. him, neither we nor angels can ſufficiently honour, praiſe, worſhip, and adore, of whom alſo in the world to come we ſhall have everlaſting joy.

The Turk (ſaid *Luther*) keeps his ſubjects in rule and obedience through the faith and religion of his Mahomet (as in former times the Pope did through his bull and doctrines of men); he believeth there is only one God, who hath created all things; he permitteth Chriſt to remain a Prophet. But that he is the only begotten, true, and and natural Son of God, the ſame he holdeth for the greateſt blaſphemy; therefore for a long time he hath perſecuted his Word and people, and endeavoureth utterly to root them out.

But I (God be praiſed) have learned out of the Holy Scripture, and out of ſound experience in my trials, temptations, and fierce combats againſt the devil, that this article of Chriſt's Humanity is moſt ſure and certain: for nothing hath more nor better holpen me in high ſpiritual temptations, than that I have comforted myſelf in this, that Chriſt the true everlaſting Son of God, is our fleſh and bone, as St. Paul ſaith to the Epheſians, chap. v. *We are members of his body, of his fleſh and bone, he ſitteth at the right hand of God, and maketh interceſſion for us.* When I take hold on this ſhield of faith, then have I ſoon driven away that wicked one with all his fiery darts.

God from the beginning (ſaid *Luther*) hath held ſtrong and faſt over this article, and hath powerfully defended the ſame againſt all heretics, the Pope, the Turk; and afterwards confirmed the ſame with many miraculous ſigns, inſomuch that all which have oppoſed the ſame, at laſt have been brought to confuſion.

God alſo doth approve, that in our worſhip we name him the Son of Mary, the Son of God, and Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

In theſe troubleſome times nothing elſe hath maintained and preſerved us for above twenty

twenty years (wherein the devil with all his retinue, through Antichriſt the Pope, did ſet themſelves againſt us with force and power), than the praying and ſighing to God our Father in the Name of Chriſt our High Prieſt.

He that ſaith that I, *Martin Luther*, or any other by what name ſoever, have maintained and defended the true doctrine againſt the Pope, the Tyrants, Antinomians, Seducers, and other ſects of hereſy, the ſame doth flatly belie us. God alone defendeth it for Chriſt's ſake: he ſhall rule in the midſt of his enemies, and ſhall ſit at the right hand of God, until they all be laid down at his footſtool, in deſpite of the devil and all his ſhaven crew.

Of the Childhood and Youth of Jeſus, and alſo of the Knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt our Saviour.

ALL the wiſdom of the world (ſaid *Luther*) is merely childiſh, yea, fooliſhneſs in compariſon of the acknowledgment of Chriſt. For what is more wonderful than to know and acknowledge the great unſpeakable myſtery, that the Son of God, the Image of the eternal Father, hath taken upon him the nature of man. Doubtleſs, he helped his ſuppoſed father Joſeph to build houſes; for Joſeph was a carpenter. What will they of Nazareth think at the Day of Judgment, when they ſhall ſee Chriſt ſitting in his Divine Majeſty; ſurely they will be aſtoniſhed, and ſay, Lord, how cameſt thou to this high honour?

Many fables have been imagined of the childhood and infancy of our Saviour Chriſt.

But this is a moſt neceſſary point, that with higheſt diligence we ought to learn to know Chriſt; that the Son of the everlaſting God hath abaſed himſelf ſo meanly, was born ſo poor and miſerable, and hath done the ſame for the ſake of our ſins, and for our good he did ſo long conceal and hide his infinite Majeſty.

Soon after he was born, Joſeph was conſtrained with mother and child to fly into Egypt, becauſe of Herod, who ſought the child to deſtroy it; when after Herod's death they returned again to Nazareth. He was obedient to his parents, Luke ii. &c. Now he that taketh not offence at this weak, ſimple, and contemptible quality, and mean courſe of life, which was ſeen in Chriſt, the ſame perſon is endued with a high divine art and wiſdom; yea, he hath a ſpecial gift of God, and it is the only work of the Holy Ghoſt.

But in that our bleſſed Saviour did humble and abaſe himſelf in ſuch ſort, and was obedient to the moſt contemptible death of the Croſs, the ſame he did for the comfort of us poor, miſerable, and damned creatures. If the Emperor ſhould waſh a poor beggar's feet, O (ſaid *Luther*) how glorious would ſuch humility be eſteemed of, extolled, and praiſed? as the French king uſed to do on Maundy Thurſdays, and the Emperor Charles did yearly.

But although the Son of God, a Lord of all emperors, kings, and princes, in the deepeſt meaſure hath humbled himſelf even to the death of the Croſs; yet, no man wondereth thereat, except only the ſmall heap of the faithful which do acknowledge and worſhip him as their only Lord and Saviour. He abaſed himſelf indeed enough, when he was held to be the man moſt deſpiſed, plagued, and ſmitten of God, Iſa. liii. and for our ſakes hath undergone and ſuffered ſhame, as St. Paul ſaith, 1 Cor. i. *I know nothing ſave only Jeſus Chriſt crucified.*

We cannot vex the devil more (ſaid *Luther*) than when we teach, preach, ſing and talk of Jeſus and of his Humanity, &c.

Therefore, I like it very well, when with good voices deliberately we ſing in the Church, *Et homo factus eſt:* et, *Verbum caro factum eſt.* The devil cannot endure to hear theſe words, he flieth away; for he well feeleth what is contained therein. O

(ſaid *Luther*) how happy a thing would it be, if we could find as much joy in theſe words (the Word is made fleſh or man), as the devil is affrighted and quaketh at them. But the world contemneth God's Words and Works, becauſe they are delivered unto them in plain and ſimple manner. Well, be it ſo, yet notwithſtanding the good and godly are not offended therewith, how meanly and ſimple ſoever the words do ſound, but they have regard to the everlaſting celeſtial treaſure and wealth which therein lieth hid and contained, and as their own is offered unto them, which is ſo precious and glorious, that the angels are delighted in beholding the ſame. Some there are (ſaid *Luther*) that take offence hereat, that now and then in the pulpits we ſay, Chriſt was a carpenter's ſon, and that as a blaſphemer and a rebel he was ſtruck on the croſs, and was hanged between two malefactors. Now ſuch as were hanged were alſo accurſed, as is written, Deut. xxi. *He that is hanged is accurſed of God.* And Gal. iii. *Curſed is every one that hangeth on a tree.*

But ſeeing we preach continually of this article, and diligently do treat of it, and in our childrens creed every true Chriſtian doth freely confeſs, That our Saviour Chriſt did ſuffer under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, &c. for our ſins, why then ſhould we not ſay, Chriſt was a carpenter's ſon? eſpecially, ſeeing that with clear words he is ſo named in the Goſpel, when the people wondered at his doctrine and wiſdom, and ſaid: How cometh this to paſs? *Is not this the carpenter, the ſon of Mary*, &c. Mark vi.

No human creature, be he Apoſtle or Prophet (much leſs I, *Martin Luther*, or ſuch as I am), can find out or comprehend Chriſt in this life, rightly to know and underſtand, who, and what he is. For he is true everlaſting God, and yet hath taken upon him our mortal nature; hath performed and ſhewn the higheſt obedience and humility, even to the death of the Croſs: from whence he ſpeaketh of himſelf, I am lowly and meek in heart. Now I cannot ſufficiently expreſs how I am in mind, when I am right merry or ſad. How ſhould I then be able to expreſs the high affections and motions in Chriſt?

The Name Jeſus *helpeth alone.*

LET us (ſaid *Luther*) fix and repoſe all our truſt and confidence in Chriſt Jeſus. Let it pleaſe the Lord to take me out of this life this hour, or on the morrow, or whenſoever, ſo will I leave this behind me, That I do and will acknowledge Chriſt Jeſus for my Lord and my God: I have not this out of the Scripture only, but alſo by great and manifold experience; for the name *Jeſus* oftentimes hath helped me when no creature beſides could help or comfort me.

In this manner I have before me, the Word, and the deed; Scripture and experience; the loving Lord hath given them both richly unto me, and thereupon I have endured many heavy trials and temptations; but they were all neceſſary and good for me.

The ſpiritual trials do teach wherein Chriſt is profitable; and thoſe experiences do certainly make me to hold, That the Holy Scripture is the infallible Word of God, and hath made that ſentence in Scripture moſt ſure unto me; where our Saviour Chriſt ſaith: *Of thoſe which thou haſt given unto me I have not loſt one.* Alſo, *Whoſo cometh to me, I will not put away.* But it is written alſo therein, that we muſt not go away and depart from him.

That our Saviour Chriſt is our High-prieſt, out of the Eighth Chapter of St. Paul *to the Romans.*

CHRIST our High-prieſt is aſcended up into heaven, ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father, and without ceaſing maketh interceſſion for us, Rom. viii. Therein St. Paul, with very excellent glorious words, doth picture Chriſt before us; as in his death, he is a ſacrifice offered up for ſins; in his reſurrection, he is a Conqueror; in his aſcenſion, a King; in making mediation and interceſſion, he is an High-prieſt. For in the law of Moſes, the High-prieſt only went into the moſt holy place, *in Sanctum Sanctorum*, and prayed for the people. In this manner our Lord Chriſt is finely pictured unto us under that figure.

Chriſt (ſaid *Luther*) will remain a Prieſt and a King, though he never was conſecrated by any Papiſtical Biſhop, neither was greaſed by any of thoſe ſhavelings; for he was ordained and conſecrated by God himſelf, and by him he was anointed, where he ſaith, *Thou art a Prieſt for ever*, &c. Here the word, *Thou*, is bigger than the ſtone in the Revelation of John, which was longer than three hundred leagues. And the ſecond Pſalm ſaith, *I have ſet my King upon my holy hill of Sion.* Therefore he will ſure remain ſitting, and all that believe in him.

God ſaith, *Thou art a Prieſt for ever, after the order of Melchizedeck.* Therefore let us depend on this Prieſt, for he is faithful and true, given unto us of God, and loveth us more than his own life, which he ſhewed by his bitter paſſion and death: Ah! how happy and bleſſed were the man that could believe this from his heart.

The Lord ſware and will not repent, Thou art a Prieſt, &c. This (ſaid *Luther*) is the moſt glorious in the whole Pſalter, where God declareth unto us, that this Chriſt ſhall be our Biſhop and High-prieſt, who, without ceaſing, ſhall make interceſſion for thoſe that are his, and none other beſides him. It ſhall be neither Caiphas nor Annas, neither Peter, Paul, nor the Pope; but I ſwear (ſaith God with an oath) that Chriſt, only Chriſt ſhall be the Prieſt, and he alone; therefore let us take our refuge to this Prior. The Epiſtle to the Hebrews (ſaid *Luther*) maketh good uſe of that verſe.

It is indeed a great and a glorious comfort (which every good and godly Chriſtian would not miſs, nor be without, for all the honour and wealth in the world) namely, that we know and believe, that Chriſt our High-prieſt ſitteth on the right hand of God, prayeth and mediateth for us without ceaſing. And likewiſe, he is the true Paſtor and Biſhop of our ſouls, which the devil cannot tear out of his hands.

But hence we may well mark, what a crafty and mighty ſpirit the devil is, that can affright, and with his fiery darts can draw the hearts of good and godly people, that they loſe this excelling comfort, and preſently do entertain contrary cogitations of Chriſt; that he is not their High-prieſt, but complaineth of them to God; that he is not the Biſhop of their ſouls, but a ſtern and an angry judge, &c. Therefore the loving Apoſtles, Peter and Paul, not in vain, warned truly, that we ſhould be ſober and watch, and ſhould be armed with God's harneſs, therewith to reſiſt the devil ſtrongly in faith. 1 Pet. v.—Epheſ. vi.

That Chriſt is an everlaſting Prieſt.

CHRIST will remain everlaſtingly, &c. In the letters of theſe words, *Thou art a Prieſt*, every ſyllable is far greater than the tower of Babylon. *Rule in the*

midſt of thine enemies, &c. . Theſe words (ſaid *Luther*) do import, that Chriſt muſt and will preſerve and maintain his doctrine which we preach and acknowledge before the wicked world; yea, and he will defend it againſt the gates of hell. We Proteſtants (as they call us) and Papiſts do dwell under one roof; each party will be God's people, and the true Church; the one will not yield to the other: yet notwithſtanding in the end one party muſt yield, namely, the ungodly to the righteous. The Jews and the Apoſtles, together with their hearers, were alſo under one roof. Now as the Jews a long time had well and thoroughly plagued, perſecuted, ſtoned, and ſlain the Chriſtians, and at laſt had baniſhed them all away, inſomuch, that they thought they were now quit and rid of thoſe wicked wretches; then came the Romans, and made an utter ruin of the Jews.

Even ſo (ſaid *Luther*) will it go with us and the Papiſts; when they have made an end of their raging perſecutions, of their blaſpheming and condemning Chriſt and his doctrine, of ſhedding the blood of the true Chriſtians, &c. Then (no thanks unto them) muſt they yield, nevertheleſs, to this our party. For they that to the world's end do hold and acknowledge Chriſt for their everlaſting King and High-prieſt, do confeſs and preach his doctrine, and do comfort themſelves in his prayers, who hath offered up himſelf for their ſins; Chriſt neither can nor will leave them without help and comfort.

He that hath Chriſt for his King and God, let him be aſſured that he hath the devil for his enemy, who will work him much ſorrow, and will plague him all the days of his life.

But (ſaid *Luther*) let this be our comfort and great glory, that we poor people have the Lord of Life, of Death, and of all Creatures, cloathed with our fleſh and blood, ſitting at the right hand of God his Father, who ever liveth and maketh interceſſion for us, defendeth and protecteth us.

שב לימיני *Sheb Limini.*

SHEB *limini*; that is, *Sit thou on my right hand.* This *Sheb limini* hath many and great enemies, which we poor ſmall heap muſt both find and feel; but it is no matter, this I know for certain, that many of us muſt ſuffer and be ſlain by their fury and rage: yet let us not be diſmayed, but, with a divine reſolution and courage, let us wage and venture ourſelves, our bodies and ſouls, upon this his Word and promiſe: *I live, and ye ſhall alſo live; and where I am, there ſhall ye be alſo.*

Chriſt carrieth himſelf in ſuch a manner, as if he took not the parts of us his poor troubled and perſecuted members; therefore (ſaid *Luther*) he is not to be comprehended in this life. For the world rewardeth God's beſt and trueſt ſervants very ill; they perſecute, they condemn and kill them as the moſt wicked miſchievous heretics and maleſactors; and Chriſt holdeth his peace thereat, and ſuffereth the ſame to be done, inſomuch, that ſometimes I have theſe thoughts: I know not whereon I am, whether I preach right or no? Even this (ſaid *Luther*) was alſo the temptation and trial of St. Paul, touching which he ſpake not much, neither could, as I think; for who can tell what thoſe words do import, where he ſaith, *I die daily.* 1 Cor. xv.

The Scripture, in many places, nameth Chriſt our Prieſt, Bridegroom, Love's Delight, &c. and it nameth us that believe in him, his Bride, Virgin, Daughter, &c. this is a ſurpaſſing fair, and a ſweet loving picture, which we always ſhould have before our eyes. For, firſt, he hath manifeſted his Office of Prieſthood in this: that he hath preached, made known and revealed his Father's Will unto us; namely, that whoſoever believeth in his Son, hath everlaſting life. Secondly, Chriſt hath alſo prayed, and will pray for us true Chriſtians ſo long as the world endureth; where he ſaith,

ſaith, *I pray not only for thoſe to whom I have given thy Word, and whom I have commanded to preach, but alſo for thoſe which through their words ſhall believe in me.* Thirdly, he hath offered up his body for our ſins upon the tree of the Croſs.

He is our Bridegroom, and we are his Bride. What he, the loving Saviour Chriſt, hath, yea himſelf, is ours; for we are members of his body, of his fleſh an dbone, as St. Paul ſaith. And again, what we have, the ſame is alſo his: but (ſaid *Luther*) the change is exceeding unequal; for he hath everlaſting innocency, righteouſneſs, life, and ſalvation; this he giveth us to be our own. On the contrary, what we have is ſin, death, damnation, and hell; theſe we give unto him: for he hath taken our ſins upon him; he hath delivered us from the power of the devil; hath cruſhed his head; hath taken him priſoner, and caſt him down to hell; inſomuch, that now we may, with St. Paul, undauntedly ſay, *Death, where is thy ſting?*

Of this ſpiritual wedding, the Prophet Hoſea ſpeaketh in the perſon of Chriſt, Chap. ii. *I will betroth thee unto me for ever; yea, I will betroth thee unto me in righteouſneſs, in judgment, in loving kindneſs, and in mercy; I will even betroth thee unto me in faithfulneſs, and thou ſhalt acknowledge the Lord.* And *Iſaiah* ſaith, *The Lord delighteth in thee, and thy land ſhall be married.* And, *as the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, ſo ſhall thy God rejoice over thee, &c.*

Now although our ſweet loving Saviour hath inſtituted and ſolemnized a ſpiritual wedding with us, and hath betrothed himſelf unto us to be our everlaſting Bridegroom, hath endued and graced us with his eternal celeſtial treaſure, and alſo thereto ſweareth, that he will be our everlaſting Prieſt. Yet, notwithſtanding, all this helpeth little or nothing: for the greateſt heap, in the devil's name, runneth away, whoreth againſt him, and worſhippeth ſtrange idols, as the Jews did Baalim, and ſerved Aſhtaroth, &c. and as we in Popedom did, and they yet do, by invocating of the ſaints; yea, and which is more to be lamented and bewailed, we, who (God be praiſed) out of God's Word do know that he is our High-prieſt and Bridegroom; yet, when troubles, perplexities, and need preſent themſelves unto us, and when we ought to take our chiefeſt refuge in him, even then we fly from him, and do fear that he is angry, and will forſake us.

That Chriſt is our everlaſting Mediator.

THERE is but one God, ſaith St. Paul, *and one Mediator between God and man; namely, the man Jeſus Chriſt, who gave himſelf a ranſom for all.* Therefore, let no man think to draw near unto God, or to obtain grace of him, without this Mediator, High-prieſt, and Advocate. Heb. v. and 1 John ii.

Now if he be an Interceſſor for us to God, then doth it follow for certain that we are ſinners, and are loſt; and we cannot through our good works, civil kind of life, virtues, deſerts, ſanctity, neither through the works of the Law, appeaſe God's wrath, nor obtain forgiveneſs of ſins. Likewiſe, through this one little word, *Mediator before God*, all deſerts of ſaints, our own good works and righteouſneſs, are quite rejected and condemned, ſo that through the ſame no human creature can be juſtified before God. Moreover, we ſee thereby how fierce and intolerable God's anger is againſt ſins, ſeeing that by none other ſacrifice and offering they could be appeaſed and ſtilled, but only through the precious blood of the Son of God.

Schwenckfield's *Opinion of the Creaturality of Chriſt, and of* Luther's *earneſt Oppoſition.*

ANNO 1543, the 8th of November, Caſpar Schwenckfield ſent one of his books to *Luther*, intituled, *Of the Glory:* whereupon *Luther* brake out with fervent zeal, and

and ſaid, Schwenckfield is a ſilly creature, *qui non habet ingenium nec ſpiritum, ſed eſt attonitus*, as all ſeducers are; he knoweth not what he babbleth; but this is his meaning and his principle, *Creatura non eſt adoranda, quia ſcriptum eſt, Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et ei ſoli ſervies*, The creature is not to be worſhipped, becauſe it is written, Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God, and him only ſhalt thou ſerve: ſo that he thinketh, *Chriſtus eſt Creatura*, Chriſt is a Creature; therefore Chriſt ought not to be worſhipped as a human creature. He feigneth two Chriſts, and ſaith, *Creaturam poſt reſurrectionem et glorificationem in Deïtatem transformatam, et ideo eſſe adorandam*; that, after the reſurrection and glorification, the creature is transformed into the Deity, and is therefore to be worſhipped: he deceiveth in ſuch ſort the people with the glorious name of Chriſt, as he writeth, To the praiſe of Chriſt.

A little child goeth plainly to work, and ſaith, *I believe in Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin Mary*, &c. but this idiot will make two Chriſts (ſaid *Luther*), one that hanged on the Croſs, and another that aſcended up into Heaven, and ſitteth at the right hand of God his heavenly Father. We ought not, ſaid he, to worſhip that Chriſt which hung on the Croſs and went on earth.

But (ſaid *Luther*) Chriſt ſuffered himſelf to be worſhipped when the man fell down before him; and Chriſt himſelf ſaith, *Whoſo believeth in me, believeth alſo in him that ſent me*. This fantaſtical gentleman hath filched certain words out of my book, *De ultimis verbis Davidis*, Of the Laſt Words of David; therewith the fellow will trim himſelf, as *communicationem idiomatum*, communication of properties, *et identitatem perſonæ*, and the identity of perſon, he mingleth it therewith, and reporteth it was alſo my meaning. He will teach me what Chriſt is, and how I ſhall worſhip him. I have, God be praiſed! better learned it than he; I know my Chriſt well; therefore let him trouble me no more. Then ſpake Dr. Rorer to *Luther*, and ſaid, O, Sir! that is ſomewhat too harſh: *Luther* anſwered him, Such fellows teach me to be harſh, we muſt talk ſo with the devil. Let Schwenckfield, *publico ſcripto*, by public writing, revoke that hereſy about the Sacrament, and bring me teſtimony from Dr. John Heſſen and from Dr. Moibane of Preſlaw, otherwiſe (ſaid *Luther*) I will not believe him, though he ſware unto me that he had laid his fingers in the wounds.

And *Luther* gave to the meſſenger that brought him the book an open letter, with this ſuperſcription: *Luther*'s Anſwer to Schwenckfield's Meſſenger, and ſpake theſe words unto him:

My Loving Meſſenger!

THOU ſhalt return this anſwer from me to thy Maſter, Caſpar Schwenckfield, and ſay, That I have received from thee the book; I would that he abſtained from theſe proceedings; for he hath heretofore kindled a fire in Sileſia, which as yet is not quenched, and I fear will burn him eternally; beſides this, he goeth on with his Eutichianiſm and Creaturality, and maketh the Church to err, he having from God no command, neither hath God ſent him. Give thou unto him this note alſo, wherein was written theſe Latin lines:

Increpet Dominus te, Satan. Et ſit ſpiritus tuus, qui vocavit te, et curſus tuus quò curris, et omnes qui participant tibi, Sacramentarii et Eutychiani tecum, et veſtris blaſphemiis in perditionem, ſicut ſcriptum eſt: Currebant, et non mittebam eos, loquebantur et nihil mandavi eis.

Anno 1543. MARTINUS LUTHERUS *manu propriâ.*

All

All Hereſies and Errors go againſt Chriſt.

ALL heretics (ſaid *Luther*) have oppoſed and ſet themſelves againſt this article of Chriſt. Manicheus oppoſed Chriſt's humanity; for he alledged, Chriſt was a Spirit, even (ſaid he) as the ſun ſhineth through a painted glaſs, and the ſun-beams do touch and go through on the other ſide, and yet the ſun taketh nothing away from the ſubſtance of the glaſs, even ſo Chriſt took nothing from the ſubſtance and nature of Mary. Arius aſſaulted the Godhead of Chriſt. Neſtorius held there were two Perſons. Eutychus taught there were but one Perſon; for, ſaid he, the Perſon of the Deity was ſwallowed up. Helvidius alledged the mother of Chriſt was not a Virgin; ſo that (according to his wicked allegation) Chriſt was born in original ſin. All the ſtir (ſaid *Luther*) was about that article which the children uſe to ſay, *I believe in Jeſus Chriſt*, &c. which article throweth down the devil and hell, and at the ſame all devils do quake and tremble. Macedonius oppoſed only the article of the Holy Ghoſt, but he ſoon fell and was confounded. For if this article of Chriſt remaineth, then all blaſphemous ſpirits muſt vaniſh and be overthrown. The Turks and Jews do acknowledge God the Father; but it is the Son that they ſhoot at. About this article much blood hath been ſhed. I verily believe (ſaid *Luther*) that at Rome more than twenty hundred thouſands of martyrs have been put to death. It hath continued from the beginning of the world; as with Cain and Abel, Iſhmael and Iſaac, Eſau and Jacob, and I am perſuaded that the devil for and about the ſame was caſt from heaven down to hell; becauſe he was a fair creature of God, therefore, doubtleſs, he ſtrove to be the Son.

Next after the Holy Scripture (ſaid *Luther*) we have no ſtronger argument for the confirmation of that article, than the ſweet and loving Croſs. For all kingdoms, and what was powerful, have ſtrove againſt Chriſt and this article, but they could not prevail. Therefore the Holy Scripture is the firſt argument to prove the Deity and Humanity of Chriſt: the ſecond is the Croſs; and although we would willingly be quit and rid of that gueſt the Croſs, yet we receive him and have patience.

At Rome (ſaid *Luther*) was a church called Pantheon, wherein were painted all the gods which they were able to bring together out of the whole world. All thoſe could well accord one with another (for the devil therewith jeered the world, and laughed in his fiſt), but when Chriſt cometh, him they cannot endure; then all the devils, all idols and heretics are ſtark mad and full of rage; for he is the right and true God and Man, and hath thrown them altogether on a heap. The Pope alſo ſetteth himſelf powerfully againſt Chriſt, but he muſt likewiſe be put to confuſion and deſtroyed.

Of the Errors of Heretics concerning this Article of Chriſt.

I (ſaid *Luther*) know no one truth concerning Chriſt, which the devil hath not aſſaulted and repugned; therefore I muſt begin again at the firſt, and ſearch out the old errors and hereſies.

Sabellius was the firſt; he ſaid, Chriſt was indeed God, but there was only one perſon in the Godhead. This was the neareſt and neateſt hereſy, that there is but one Perſon, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. After him followed the Patripaſſians; theſe were not much unlike to him. After theſe came the Arians, they indeed divided the Perſons; they ſaid, The ſon was not God from everlaſting, but was called God, as Princes and great Rulers are named Gods. Then came the Manichees; they oppoſed Chriſt's Humanity, and ſaid, It was a ſprite, and not a true real body. Then approached the Phocians; they gave out, that Chriſt was a true and real man, but he

had no ſoul. The Pelagians, and the Pope with his retinue, have a great illuſtrious ſhew; they do yield that Chriſt is God and Man, but they deny his uſe, his profit and Office, namely, they deny that he is our righteouſneſs without our works; they will not hear of that by no means; but they ſay, We ourſelves muſt do alſo ſomething thereunto, Chriſt's merits alone cannot help us. In ſuch manner and wiſe God muſt ſuffer himſelf to be led to ſchool and reformed, as Chriſt ſaith, *Wiſdom muſt be juſtified of her children.*

Of Chriſt's Reſurrection, which by human Reaſon and Underſtanding cannot be comprehended.

THE hiſtory of the reſurrection of Chriſt teacheth that which human wit and wiſdom of itſelf cannot believe, namely, that *Chriſt is riſen from the dead*; which was only by the word of the angel from heaven brought and declared; but he brought it to the weaker veſſels and creatures, to the ſilly women, and to ſuch as were perplexed and troubled.

Indeed (ſaid *Luther*) they were ſilly fools before God and before the world. Firſt, before God, in that they *ſought the living among the dead.* Secondly, before the world, for they forgot the *great ſtone which lay at the mouth of the ſepulchre*, and prepared ſpices to anoint Chriſt, which was all in vain. But ſpiritually is thereby ſignified this: If the *great ſtone*, namely, the Law, and human traditions, whereby the conſciences are bound and ſnared, be not rolled away from the heart, then we cannot find Chriſt, nor believe that he is riſen from the dead. For through him we are delivered from the power and right of ſin and death, Rom. viii. ſo that the hand-writing of the conſcience can hurt us no more.

Of the Reſurrection of Chriſt, and what it profiteth.

IN that Chriſt is riſen from the dead, he will draw all up with him, ſo that every human creature muſt riſe again from the dead, alſo the ungodly. But in that we yet do live, and make uſe of the world, the ſame is even as when a father goeth a journey, and ſaith to his child or ſervant, Here thou haſt two pieces of gold, make uſe thereof for the neceſſary ſuſtenance of thy body until I return again. In like manner, all creatures are figures and pictures of the reſurrection; for towards the ſummer they are revived again from the dead, they grow and are green, which in winter appeared as dead.

Of the Suffering of Chriſt and his Church, and how Chriſt deſtroyeth the Power of the Devil.

IS it not a wonder, beyond all wonders (ſaid *Luther*), that the Son of God (whom all angels and the heavenly hoſts do worſhip, and at whoſe preſence the whole earth quaketh and trembleth) ſhould ſtand among thoſe wicked wretches, and ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be ſo lamentably tormented, ſcorned, derided, and contemned? They ſpit in his face, they ſtrike him in the mouth with a reed, and ſay, O! he is a King, he muſt have a crown and a ſceptre. The ſweet bleſſed Saviour (ſaid *Luther*) complaineth not in vain in the Pſalm, *Diminuërunt omnia oſſa mea:* now, if he ſuffered ſo much from the rage of men, what muſt he have felt when God's wrath was poured out upon him without meaſure? as St. Mark ſaith, *He began to be ſore amazed and very heavy, and ſaith unto his diſciples, My ſoul is exceeding ſorrowful unto death:* and St. Luke ſaith, *And being in an agony, he prayed*

more earneſtly, and his ſweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground. Ah! our ſuffering is not worthy the name of ſuffering; when I conſider my croſſes, tribulations, and temptations, I ſhame myſelf almoſt to death, thinking what are they in compariſon of the ſufferings of my bleſſed Saviour Chriſt Jeſus. And yet we muſt be conformable to the expreſs image of the Son of God. And what if we were conformable to the ſame, yet were it nothing. He is *Filius Dei*, we are poor creatures; though we ſhould ſuffer everlaſting death, yet were the ſame of no value.

The wrath is fierce and devouring which the devil hath faſtened againſt the Son of God, and the generation of mankind. I beheld once (ſaid *Luther*) a wolf tearing a ſheep in pieces, it grieved me much to ſee it. When the wolf cometh into a ſheepfold, he neither devoureth nor eateth any until he hath killed them all, and then he begins to eat, thinking to devour them all. Even ſo it is alſo with the devil; I have now (thinketh he) taken hold on Chriſt, and in time I will alſo ſnap his diſciples. But the devil's fooliſhneſs is this, he ſeeth not that he hath to do with the Son of God; he knoweth not that in the end it will be his bane. It will come to that paſs, that the devil muſt be afraid of a child in the cradle; for when he but only heareth the Name, *Jeſus*, uttered out of a true faith, then he cannot ſtay, for he thinketh, I have murdered him. The devil would rather run through the fire, than ſtay where Chriſt is; therefore it is juſtly ſaid, *Semen mulieris conteret caput ſerpentis*, The ſeed of the woman ſhall break the ſerpent's head. I believe indeed (ſaid *Luther*) he hath ſo cruſhed his head, that he neither can abide to hear, nor to ſee Chriſt Jeſus. I oftentimes delight myſelf (ſaid *Luther*) with that ſimilitude in Job, of an angle-hook which fiſhermen uſe to caſt into the water, and put on the hook a little worm; then cometh the fiſh and ſnatcheth at the worm, and getteth therewith the hook in his jaws, and the fiſher pulleth him out of the water. Even ſo hath our Lord God dealt with the devil, God hath caſt into the world his only Son (as the angle), and upon the hook hath put Chriſt's Humanity (as the worm), then comes the devil and ſnappeth at the (man) Chriſt, and devoureth him, and therewith he biteth the iron hook, that is, the Godhead of Chriſt, which choaketh him, and all his power thereby is thrown to the ground. This is called *Sapientia divina*, Divine Wiſdom.

Collation of Chriſt's Sufferings with the Sufferings of his Church.

THE labour of young Divines (ſaid *Luther*) ſhould be, that they conferred *Paſſionem Chriſti*, the Paſſion of Chriſt with the ſufferings of the Church. Chriſt ſpake theſe words upon the Croſs not in vain, *Conſummatum eſt*, It is finiſhed: for indeed the ſufferings of Chriſt are fulfilled in his Church. For firſt, they platted the crown upon his head, and ſcorned him, when the Pope proclaimed himſelf, *Rex Regum, & Dominus Dominantium*, Kings of Kings, and Lord of Lords. Afterwards they crucified him, *Votis et cultibus monaſticis*, with vows and monkiſh worſhip. Then the earth quaked, and the ſun loſt the ſhining. The Pope's government hath loſt its glorious luſtre and ſhew, both his eyes are daſhed out. Likewiſe the rocks clave in ſunder; that is, more ſtiff-necked heads do now come to the Goſpel, which never heretofore could be brought thereunto. Now remaineth only, *In manus tuas commendo ſpiritum meum*, Into thy hands I commend my ſpirit. The words which this man, Jeſus, ſpeaketh are of great weight, at which all angels muſt wonder, yea, the circuit of the whole earth thereat muſt quake and tremble.

At what Time and Hour Chriſt did eat the Paſſover.

CHRIST, according to the Law of Moſes, began to eat the Paſſover with his diſciples on the Maundy Thurſday, at evening (the day began at ſeven o'clock); at which time he inſtituted the New Paſſover; and when he had waſhed his diſciples feet, he went out into the garden, and there he was taken priſoner about the eighth hour of the night; for (ſaid *Luther*) ſuch a great and heavy combat could not long endure. Firſt he was led to Annas, afterwards to Caiphas, where Peter denied him thrice before the cock crew; namely, from nine to twelve: the reſt of the time until morning, the Jews ſpent in tormenting, ſcorning, and contemning of that immaculate Lamb, our moſt ſweet and bleſſed Saviour, Chriſt Jeſus. Early in the morning, the High-prieſt held a council, and heard Chriſt; afterwards when it was day, that is, about the ſixth hour, they led Jeſus to Pilate, there they accuſed and condemned him to be crucified, and ſpent almoſt three hours therewith, ſo that it was about nine of the clock before Chriſt was nailed upon the Croſs. And this is it which St. Mark ſaith, They crucified Jeſus about the third hour; that is, it was not yet ſix. And St. John (becauſe it was nearer ſix than three) writeth, Chriſt was crucified about ſix; that is, about nine, according to our dials. The Jews began to preſs Pilate to crucify Chriſt at nine, but it was twelve before they obtained it. And about twelve (when he had hung awhile on the Croſs) was that darkneſs. At laſt, about nine, that is, toward evening about three, he yielded up the ghoſt with a loud cry.

And becauſe it was the Preparation (ſaith he) the Jews made haſte to take the dead body down from the Croſs; ſo that Chriſt lay in the grave the fourth part of the Jews Sabbath, and that was one day. The ſecond day began on the Friday, after the ſun was ſet, and laſted the whole night, until the ſun went down again on the Saturday. All this time Chriſt lay in the grave.

But on the Saturday, after the ſun went down, began the third day, which the Jews (according to their cuſtom) called one of their Sabbaths, that is, the day next before Eaſter Day. On that Sunday early, as it was clear day of the ſame third day, when the ſun was up, aroſe again from the dead, Chriſt our Saviour. And that is it, which we acknowledge in our Creed, believe and ſay, *Aroſe again the third day*; we ſay not, after three days, but on the third day.

Of the ſweet and amiable Diſcourſe of Chriſt at his Laſt Supper.

THE converſation or diſcourſe which Chriſt held with his diſciples, when he took his leave of them at his Laſt Supper, was (doubtleſs) moſt ſweet, loving, and friendly; when he talked with them ſo lovingly, like a father with his children, when he intendeth or muſt depart from them; he took their weakneſs in good part, and did bear with them, although now and then their diſcourſe was very groſs and full of ſimplicity; as when Philip ſaid, *Shew us the Father*, &c. And Thomas, *We know not the way*, &c. And Peter, *I will go with thee into death.* Theſe were all collations and table diſcourſes, where each one of them freely and undauntedly ſhewed and diſcovered the thoughts of his heart. Never ſince the world ſtood (ſaid *Luther*) was a more precious, coſtly, ſweet, and amiable banquet, feaſt, converſation, and diſcourſe than this.

Of Chriſt's ſweating of Blood, and other his ſpiritual Sufferings in the Garden.

TOUCHING the ſweating of blood (ſaid *Luther*), and other high ſpiritual ſufferings which Chriſt endured in the Garden, the ſame no human creature can know

know nor imagine: if one of us ſhould but begin to feel one of the leaſt of thoſe ſufferings, then ſurely he muſt die inſtantly. Ye know there are many people that do die *Ægritudine animi*, for grief of mind: for ſorrow of heart is death itſelf. If a man ſhould feel ſuch anguiſh and pain as Chriſt had, and that notwithſtanding the ſoul ſhould remain in the body and endure the ſame, it were impoſſible, but that body and ſoul muſt part in ſunder. In Chriſt only it was poſſible, and therefore upon the ſame there iſſued from him bloody ſweat.

Of Chriſt's own proper Work.

CHRIST (ſaid *Luther*) had neither money nor riches, neither had he an earthly kingdom, for he gave the ſame to kings and princes. But he reſerved one thing peculiarly to himſelf which no human creature nor angel could undertake to do, namely, that he is a conqueror over ſin and death, the devil and hell, and in the midſt of death can deliver and ſave thoſe that through his Word believe in him.

How Chriſt is truly Ours.

THAT Chriſt is the moſt pure and ſanctified perſon, the ſame acknowledgment is true, but we muſt not remain only by this acknowledgment; for thereby we have not as yet obtained him. It is not enough for thee to know that Chriſt is true God and Man, and that he only is juſt and holy: No (ſaid *Luther*) that is not ſufficient; but thou doſt acknowledge him right, and obtaineſt him to be thine own, when thou believeſt that this moſt pure, ſanctified, and innocent perſon is given and preſented unto thee by the Father, to the end he ſhould be thy High-prieſt and Saviour, yea, thy ſervant, who hath diſrobed himſelf of his innocency and holineſs, and hath put on thy wretched and ſinful perſon, and hath loaded himſelf with thy ſins, death, and curſe. Moreover, for thee is made a ſacrifice and a curſe, to the end he may deliver thee from the curſe of the Law, as St. Paul ſaith, Gal. iv.

And hence it followeth, that neither the Law nor good works do deliver from the curſe, but only and alone our Saviour Chriſt, to whom God hath given that honour. Therefore, I do truly admoniſh all men (even for God's ſake) that in any wiſe they would learn well and thoroughly to know Chriſt, and to make a right difference between him and the Law; and that with all diligence they would take good heed to that which St. Paul ſaith, Gal. iii. *They which are of the works of the law, are under the curſe*, &c. Afterwards in another place he ſpeaketh thus: *Chriſt hath delivered us from the curſe of the law, when he became a curſe for us.* Now, if Chriſt hath delivered us from the curſe, then ſurely we are not delivered therefrom through the Law; nay, the Law draweth and caſteth us more powerfully under the curſe.

But (ſaid *Luther*) even as Chriſt is far another thing than the Law and the works thereof; even ſo it is likewiſe altogether another thing to be delivered from the curſe (which is done only by Chriſt), than thoſe of our deſerts, love, or works, to be delivered from the ſame, as the Sophiſts do teach. Why then ſhould we boaſt of our deſerts or love, whereas Chriſt muſt become a curſe for our ſins, if we intend to be ſaved?

Therefore nothing is more ſure than this; he that doth not faſten and take hold on Chriſt by faith, and doth not comfort himſelf therein that Chriſt is made a curſe for him, the ſame is and ſtill remains under the curſe; and the more we labour by works to obtain grace, the leſs we know how to take hold on Chriſt; for where he is not

known and comprehended by faith, there is not to be expected either advice, help, or comfort, though we torment ourſelves to death.

That Chriſt through Imputation is the greateſt Sinner on Earth.

TRULY (ſaid *Luther*) all the Prophets did well foreſee in the Spirit, that Chriſt through imputation would become the greateſt ſinner upon the face of the whole earth. Foraſmuch as he is a ſacrifice for the ſins of the whole world, therefore he is now no more conſidered an innocent perſon and without ſin; he is not now the Son of God in glory, but he is as a notorious ſinner and for a while forſaken (Pſal. viii.), and hath lying upon his neck the ſins of all mankind; he hath now loaded upon him the ſins of St. Paul, who was a blaſphemer of God, and a perſecutor of his Church; he hath alſo upon him St. Peter's ſins, that denied Chriſt; in like manner, David's ſins, who was an adulterer and a murderer, through whom the Name of the Lord among the Heathen was blaſphemed.

To conclude, he is now the perſon that hath loaden himſelf with all the ſins that have been, are, and ſhall be committed by the whole generation of mankind: not ſo as that he himſelf had committed thoſe ſins, but that he hath taken upon his body the ſins from us, which we have done and committed, to the end he might make ſatisfaction for the ſame with his own moſt precious blood.

Therefore the Law (which Moſes gave to be executed upon all malefactors and murderers in general) taketh hold on Chriſt; for the Law findeth him with and among the ſinners and murderers, although in his own perſon he is innocent: even as the magiſtrate holdeth that perſon not innocent that is taken and found in the company of murderers, but puniſheth him, although he never committed any capital offence which might be held worthy of death.

But now Chriſt is not only found with and among ſinners, but he (as it was pleaſing to his heavenly Father) was willing to be bail, yea, to be a pawn and ſurety for malefactors and ſinners. Therefore, and for that end, he alſo took upon him the fleſh and blood of thoſe which are ſinners, murderers, &c. Now ſeeing that the Law hath found and taken hold upon him with and among the murderers and malefactors; therefore hath it alſo found him guilty as a malefactor and a ſinner, and hath condemned and executed him.

This friendly and loving manner of picturing Chriſt before us, the Sophiſts, as robbers of God, do altogether darken and falſify; for they will not that Chriſt is made a curſe for us, to the end he might deliver us from the curſe of the Law, neither will they have that Chriſt ſhould have any thing to do with ſin, and poor ſinners (whereas only for their ſakes he was made man and died for them), but they ſet before us only Chriſt's examples, which (they ſay) we ought to imitate and follow; and therewith they do not only rob and ſteal from Chriſt his proper name and title (that he can and will deliver ſinners from their ſins, and from death, for this end he was from eternity called, foreſeen, and ordained), but alſo they make of Chriſt a ſevere and an angry judge, a fearful and an horrible tyrant, which neither can nor will do nothing elſe but continually be full of wrath towards poor ſinners, and condemn them.

But (ſaid *Luther*) we that are true Chriſtians muſt behold and look otherwiſe upon Chriſt, namely, that as he hath taken upon him our fleſh and blood, ſo hath he alſo taken upon him our ſins, our curſe, our death, and all our misfortunes and plagues; and that through himſelf, and for our ſakes, he hath ſlain all his and our enemies (damnation, death, and hell), triumphed over them, and that they muſt caſt themſelves under his feet.

Of

Of Chriſt's riding into Jeruſalem

THE riding of our bleſſed Saviour into Jeruſalem (ſaid *Luther*) was altogether a poor and beggarly kind of riding, where Chriſt (a King of heaven and earth) ſitteth upon a ſtrange and ſilly aſs, as John ſaith. His ſaddle was the ſimple cloaths of his Diſciples, which they laid upon the aſs. This was a very ſtrange kind of riding for ſo powerful a potentate, as the prophecy of the Prophet Zechariah ſhewed, to the end the Scripture might be fulfilled. For he came from Bethany to Bethphage, to the mount of Olives, which was not above one quarter of a league from Jeruſalem, when he had raiſed Lazarus from the dead.

But I hold (ſaid *Luther*) that Chriſt himſelf did not mention that Prophecy, but rather, that the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts did uſe it for a witneſs. Chriſt in the mean time did preach and weep, but the people honoured him with olive branches and palms, which are ſigns of peace and victory. Such ceremonies have the Heathen received of the Jews, and not the Jews of the Heathen (as ſome allude); for the nation of the Jews and Jeruſalem was much older than the Grecians and the Latins. The Grecians had their beginning about the time of the Babyloniſh Captivity, but Jeruſalem was long before the time of the Perſians and Aſſyrians, and therefore much longer before the Greeks and Romans, ſo that the Heathen received many ceremonies from the Jews as the elder Nation. But (ſaid *Luther*) the riding of our Saviour Chriſt, notwithſtanding, was exceeding ſtately and glorious, as being extolled through the Prophecies and works of wonder, though outwardly to the world it ſeemed poor and beggarly.

Of Chriſt's Sufferings, and who did him moſt hurt, and yet do.

CHRIST ſuffered moſt innocently (ſaid *Luther*) and might well ſay, John xiv. *The prince of this world hath nothing in me*, and yet nevertheleſs he ſuffered great torments, was pitifully torn and ſmitten for the ſakes of our ſins. The Jews crucified him with words, but the Gentiles have crucified him with works and deeds. Chriſt's ſufferings were prophetical of the wickedneſs of us Gentiles, but are now Chriſtians): for Chriſt ſuffereth ſtill to this day in our Church much more than in the Synagogue of the Jews; far greater blaſpheming of God, contempt and tyranny is now uſed among us than was heretofore among the Jews. In Italy, when mention is made of the Article of Faith and of the Laſt Day of Judgment, then ſaith the Pope with his greaſed crew, O! doſt thou believe that? Pluck thou up a good heart, and be merry, let ſuch cogitations fall, &c. Theſe and the like blaſphemies doth not only the Pope commit himſelf, but alſo all Italy; and it is ſo common among them, that without all fear of puniſhment for the ſame, they ſpeak and uſe ſuch and the like words openly in every public place and convention.

Of Chriſt's Coming.

THE Prophets (ſaid *Luther)* did ſet, ſpeak, and preach of the ſecond coming of Chriſt as we do now; we know that the laſt day will come, yet, we know not what and how it will be after this life, but only in general, that we which are true Chriſtians ſhall have everlaſting joy, peace, and ſalvation. The prophets held likewiſe, that ſoon after the coming of Chriſt the Laſt Day would appear. Firſt, in that they named the day of the Meſſias, the laſt day. Secondly, they ſet the ſigns of the firſt and ſecond coming both together, as if they would happen at one time.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, in the Epiſtle to the Corinthians, they demanded of St. Paul, if the laſt day would appear while they lived. Fourthly, Chriſt himſelf related that theſe ſigns ſhould come together. O! (ſaid *Luther*) how willingly would I have been once with our Saviour Chriſt here on earth, at ſuch a time when he rejoiced.

Of Chriſt's deſcending into Hell.

MY opinion is (ſaid *Luther*), that Chriſt for us deſcended into hell, to the end he might lay the devil in chains, in order to bring them to the judgment of the great day, as in the 16th Pſalm, and Acts ii. Though curious and contentious ſpirits do take occaſion to diſpute and alledge, that the word *Infernus*, Hell, is taken and underſtood to be the grave, as in the firſt book of Moſes certain times is written about the creation. But here is written not only the Hebrew word *Nabot*, that is, Pit, but *Scola*, that is, *Gehenna*, Hell: for the ancients made four differences of hell.

Of Chriſt's Reſurrection.

THE reſurrection of our Saviour Chriſt, in the preaching of the Goſpel, raiſeth earthquakes ſtill in the world, as when Chriſt ſprang up and aroſe out of the ſepulchre with a great and terrible earthquake. Even ſo (ſaid *Luther*) to this day the world is moved, and great tumults are raiſed when we preach and confeſs the righteouſneſs and holineſs of Chriſt, that through the ſame only we are juſtified and ſaved. But ſuch earthquakes and tumults are wholſome for us; yea, they are comfortable, pleaſant, and delightful to ſuch as live in God's fear, and are true Chriſtians; and more to be deſired and wiſhed for than peace, reſt, and quietneſs, with an evil conſcience, through ſinning againſt God.

The Jews (ſaid *Luther*) flattered themſelves and thought the kingdom of Chriſt would have been a temporal kingdom, and alſo the Apoſtles themſelves were of that opinion, as is noted John xiv. *Lord, how is it that thou wilt manifeſt thyſelf to us, and to the world?* As if they would ſay, We thought that the whole world ſhould behold thy glorious ſtate; that thou ſhouldſt be Emperor, and we twelve Kings, among whom the kingdoms ſhould be divided; ſo that each of us ſhould have had for our diſciples ſix Princes, Dukes, &c. which would make the number of them ſeventy-two. In this manner (ſaid *Luther*) had the loving Apoſtles ſhared and divided the kingdoms among themſelves, according to the Platonical meaning; that is, according to the wit and wiſdom of human underſtanding. But Chriſt deſcribeth his kingdom far otherwiſe, namely, *He that loveth Me, will keep My Word, and My Father will love him, and We will come unto him, and make our abode with him*, &c.

Epitaphium Salvatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, quod fixum eſt Hieroſolymis ad Sepulcrum Chriſti.

SUM Deus, ex quo carnem deſumpſi ſine nævo,
Plebs mea me ligno fixit pendente maligno,
Aſpice plaſma meum, qui tranſis ante ſepulcrum,
Qui triduo jacui, cum pro te paſſus obivi,
Quid pro Me pateris, aut quæ Mihi grata rependis?
Sum Deus & pulvis, ſed regnes ſi modò ſerves.
Pro te paſſus, ita tu pro Me proſpera vita,
Pro te plagatus, pro Me tu nega reatus.

Another

Another Epitaph which is yet found by the Sepulchre of our Saviour Chriſt.

HIC ſub clauſura jacet Chriſti caro pura,
Sub cujus curâ ſemper ſtat noſtra figura;
Eſt Deus hic tantus, natus de virgine quantus,
Militiæ caput hìc jacet, jacet hìc mundi medicina.

Whether thoſe that did ſpread Abroad and make Report of Chriſt's wonderful Works, did right therein or no, ſeeing Chriſt forbade them to do the ſame.

WHEN Chriſt (ſaid *Luther*) ſpeaking, as without his office, then he ſpeaketh as a God, as when he ſaith, *All that is the Father's, the ſame alſo is mine: Believe ye in God, ſo believe ye alſo in me*, &c. But when he ſpeaketh according to his office (as being ſent from the Father), then he ſpeaketh as a man or ſervant, and not of his Godhead; as when he ſaith, *I am come that I may ſerve or miniſter*, &c. ſo here in this place, where he forbiddeth to ſpread abroad, or to make known his works of wonder. He ſpeaketh as being ſent from the Father, and doth right in forbidding them, to the end that he might leave to us an example, not to ſeek our own praiſe and honour, when we dò good; but we ought to ſeek only and alone the honour of God. From hence St. John in his Goſpel witneſſeth, that Chriſt hath honoured the Father, and not himſelf, of which he hath put us Preachers in mind. In like manner he ſpeaketh alſo of his office, where he ſaith, *The ſon knoweth nothing of that hour*, &c.

Of Chriſt's Humility and Familiarity.

THE communion or fellowſhip of our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt, was doubtleſs moſt loving and familiar; for, him who thought it no robbery to be equal with God, to be made man like unto us, yet without ſin, &c. He ſerved and waited upon his diſciples as they ſat at table, as my ſervant (ſaid *Luther*) uſeth to wait on me: the good diſciples, as plain, ſimple people, were at length ſo accuſtomed to it, that they were even content to let him wait. In ſuch wiſe hath Chriſt ſufficiently fulfilled his office; as is written, *He is come to miniſter, and not to be miniſtered unto.* Ah it is a high example, in that he ſo deeply humbled himſelf and ſuffered, who, nevertheleſs, created the whole world, heaven and earth, and all that is therein, and who with one finger could have turned it upſide down and deſtroyed it.

That Chriſt in wonderful wiſe leadeth his Kingdom and Government.

HOW wonderful doth Chriſt rule and govern his kingdom, and in ſuch a manner concealeth himſelf, that his preſence is not ſeen; and yet, notwithſtanding, he putteth to ſhame Emperors, Kings, Popes, and all ſuch that think themſelves to be wiſe, juſt, and powerful. But thereunto belongeth a *Plerophoria*; that is, that we be ſure and certain of the ſame.

Let this religion, which we confeſs, ſeem to the world never ſo fooliſh, yet, notwithſtanding, I (ſaid *Luther*) do and will believe in that one only Jew which is called Jeſus Chriſt; who is the only beginning and end of all my divine cogitations, which I have or may have continually day and night. Yet, nevertheleſs, I find and freely confeſs that I have attained but only to a ſmall and weak begin-

ing of the heighth, depth, and breadth of this unmeaſurable, incomprehenſible, and endleſs wiſdom, and ſcarcely have gotten and brought to light but a few fragments out of this moſt deep and precious profundity.

That Chriſt is Law and Freedom, Sin and Righteouſneſs, Death and Life.

THE Holy Scripture (ſaid *Luther*) giveth to our Saviour Chriſt many fair and ſweet lovely names: he is called therein our Law, our Sin, Death, &c. although in himſelf he is altogether Freedom, Righteouſneſs, everlaſting Life and Salvation. But he is become a Law againſt the Law, ſin againſt ſin, and death againſt death; for this cauſe, that he may deliver us from the curſe of the Law, and may juſtify us and make us alive from ſin and death; and thus Chriſt is Law and Freedom together, Sin and Righteouſneſs, Death and Life. For in that he ſuffered the Law to accuſe him, ſin to condemn him, and death to devour him; even therewith he hath taken away the Law, hath condemned ſin, and hath juſtified and ſaved us, for he did all for our ſakes.

Why Chriſt is come.

CHRIST is true God and man, God from everlaſting, but in due time was made man, born of the pure Virgin Mary; he came not to give, or to erect the Law, but *to be affrighted by the Law*, and afterwards to overcome ſuch fear, and to fulfil the Law, and in this ſenſe take the ſame away from us. Chriſt is not a Teacher of the Law as Moſes was, but he is a Diſciple that would be ſubject to the Law, to the end he might deliver (through his obedience and ſubjection) thoſe that were under the Law. In all the Papiſtical books (ſaid *Luther*) there is not to be found ſo much as one letter of theſe ineſtimable benefits; but directly the contrary, namely, that Chriſt is a Teacher of the Law, that he is a fearful and a ſtern Judge, and far more fierce and cruel than Moſes was.

Of Chriſt's own particular Work and Office.

CHRIST's own proper work and office is (ſaid *Luther*), that he ſhould combat with the Law, ſin, and death, for the whole world; and ſhould ſo fight with them, that he muſt take them all upon himſelf, and muſt bear them. But after he hath loaded himſelf therewith, and carried them, then only he ſhould get the victory, and utterly overcome and deſtroy them, and ſo releaſe the deſolate from the Law and all evil. Therefore in that Chriſt doth expound the Law and worketh miracles, the ſame are but ſmall benefits in compariſon of the true good, for which he chiefly came. For the Prophets, and eſpecially the Apoſtles, wrought and did as great miracles as Chriſt himſelf.

To what People the Coming of Chriſt is profitable.

THAT our Saviour Chriſt is come, the ſame (ſaid *Luther*) availeth Hypocrites nothing, that live ſecurely, and without all fear of God, neither contemners nor reprobates, that think there is no grace nor comfort to be expected, and who by the Law are affrighted. But he cometh to the good, profit, and comfort of thoſe who for a time the Law hath plagued and affrighted; theſe deſpair not in their trials and affrightments, but with comfortable confidence do ſtep to Chriſt, the Throne of Grace, who hath delivered them from the curſe of the Law, when

when he himſelf became a curſe for them. They that do ſo, certainly find and obtain mercy and grace.

He that knoweth Chriſt aright, the ſame is well ſkilled in the Holy Scriptures.

CABALA (or the Jews Talmud), was in repute until Chriſt came, but foraſmuch as Chriſt is come, and that the grave ſtandeth open, ſo it hath an end. Yet our Sectaries do alledge that many things yet lie hid and concealed in the Holy Scriptures which are not revealed. This is falſe (ſaid *Luther*), for the grave ſtandeth open, and Chriſt is come out in public ſight: therefore he that knoweth Chriſt aright, the ſame is, and remains well ſkilled in the Scriptures.

That we ought not to be afraid of Chriſt.

IS it not a ſhame (ſaid *Luther*) that we always are afraid of Chriſt, whereas there never was in heaven nor on earth a more loving, familiar, and milder man both in words, works, and carriage, eſpecially towards poor, ſorrowful, and tormented conſciences? From hence the prophet Jeremiah prayeth and ſaith, *O Lord, grant that we be not afraid of thee.*

That Chriſt's Death will not be forgotten.

THE death of many people are forgotten (a Jew ſaid once), and cannot the death of Chriſt be forgotten? This was a deviliſh ſpeech (ſaid *Luther*). O no, Sir Devil, it is written, *Sheb limini*, that is, *Sit thou on my right hand*, &c. Therefore we muſt and will preach and teach of Chriſt, of his paſſion and death ſo long as the world endureth.

That Chriſt warreth with great Potentates.

ON the 18th of Auguſt, 1535, *Luther* (receiving letters from Franckfort, relating to the great preparations of the Emperor againſt the Proteſtants) ſaid, Our Saviour Chriſt will not wage wars with beggars, but with great and powerful Kings and Princes, as it is written, *Kings of the earth ſtand up, and the rulers take counſel together againſt the Lord, and againſt his anointed.* Well, on (ſaid *Luther*), they will find their counſels altogether vain and frivolous; for Chriſt ſhall win the field. We ſee alſo how the Prophets contended and ſtrove with Kings, as the Kings of Babel and Aſſyria, &c. In like manner Daniel, one of the chiefeſt Prophets, wreſtled and ſtrove with Kings, and they again reſiſted the Prophets. All thoſe Kings are gone, and lie in the aſhes, but Chriſt remaineth ſtill, and will remain a King for ever.

That Chriſt, after his Reſurrection, did oftentimes diſcover and ſhew himſelf to his Diſciples.

AFTER Chriſt's Reſurrection he was preſent with his Diſciples, did eat with them; ſurely (ſaid *Luther*) they could not but know, that they had preſent with them the Lord of high divine Majeſty, and alſo, they muſt needs have called to mind how (like wicked wretches) they had ſhamefully dealt with him, had left and forſaken him in his greateſt need. Doubtleſs the good and loving Diſciples were much amazed and aſtoniſhed, as it is written of St. Peter, that he wept bitterly. Therefore it was highly neceſſary for Chriſt to come to them again, and to viſit them according to his promiſe, where he ſaith, *I will ſee you again, and your hearts ſhall be joyful.* For if Chriſt had not done ſo, he had never won the Apoſtles unto him.

That Chriſt muſt maintain and defend his Word himſelf, we are too weak to do the ſame.

THE devil oftentimes (ſaid *Luther*) hath caſt theſe injections into my breaſt; namely, How if thy doctrine be falſe and erronous, wherewith the Pope, the Maſs, Friars and Nuns are thus dejected and ſtartled? And indeed the devil oftentimes in ſuch manner hath aſſaulted me, that the ſour ſweat hath drizzled from me. But at laſt, when I ſaw he would not leave, I gave him this anſwer: Avoid Satan, addreſs thyſelf to my God and talk with him about it, for the doctrine is not mine, but his, he hath commanded me to hearken unto this Chriſt; yea, this Chriſt muſt only do the deed: therefore we that are Chriſtians ought in ſuch temptations of the devil to leave and commit our cauſe to Chriſt; he will anſwer for the ſame.

Thoſe that love and acknowledge Chriſt, are fiercely aſſaulted by the Devil.

I VERILY believe (ſaid *Luther*) that the devil thoroughly ſifted and tormented St. Paul, becauſe he did ſo truly, diligently, and earneſtly explain and acknowledge our Saviour Chriſt and depended upon him, through whom, ſuch as believe in him, are ſaved merely by grace, without any of our deſerts or good works, whether done before or after faith; and alſo, that with great zeal he reproved and threatened the falſe teachers by name, which taught againſt his doctrine, as his epiſtles witneſs.

Of the Chriſtian's Golden Art, to know Chriſt aright.

IT is written in Pſalm 51, *Behold thou requireſt truth in the inward parts, and ſhalt make me to underſtand wiſdom ſecretly.* This is that myſtery (ſaid *Luther*) which is hid from the world. and will remain hidden. It is the truth that lieth in the inward parts, and the ſecret wiſdom. It is not the wiſdom of the lawyers, of the phyſicians, philoſophers, and of the crafty ones of the world, no not ſo; but it is thy wiſdom, O Lord! which thou haſt made me to underſtand. This is that golden art, which Sadoletus had not, though he wrote much of this Pſalm.

Of this Art (which the wiſe of the world account mere fooliſhneſs) St. Paul ſpeaks 1 Cor. i. where he ſaith, For *the preaching of the croſs is to them that periſh fooliſhneſs; but unto us that are ſaved, it is the power of God. For it is written, I will deſtroy the wiſdom of the wiſe, and will bring to nothing the underſtanding of the prudent. Where is the wiſe? where is the ſcribe? where is the diſputer of this world? hath not God made fooliſh the wiſdom of this world?* &c.

Eraſmus Roterodamus, Sadoletus, the Papiſts, &c. do ſee, that I (ſaid *Luther*) take away the errors of the common people, which they cannot endure; for they hold that, for the ſake of the public peace, we ſhould believe as the common people do, although the faith and religion which they have and hold be no faith; for it is certain, that they hold nothing of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. But he that begun this game loveth the truth, and is an enemy to lies; for this cauſe, the wicked wretches muſt be overthrown. And although we (for Chriſt's ſake) muſt venture ſomething upon it, yet let it go, for the judgment of God, beginneth firſt at the houſe of God, and we muſt be the firſt, but they muſt follow, and there will be no end of their ſufferings.

To acknowledge Chriſt ſurpaſſeth all Things elſe in the World.

WE ſhould not take the whole world in exchange for this knowledge (ſaid *Luther*) that we know that Chriſt is Chriſt, that he is our only Saviour, our High-prieſt, our Lord and King. This I did not know (ſaid he) ſo long as I lived a friar in the monaſteries. Now although the caſe ſhould ſo fall out, that we ſhould loſe our lives for the ſake of the truth, yet Chriſt liveth, and if he liveth, then ſhall we live alſo; for his promiſe ſtandeth faſt, and will for ever ſo remain firm againſt the gates of hell. Now Chriſt whom we preach is God; therefore the whole world in compariſon of this Chriſt, is nothing at all.

All the wiſe of the world do ſcoff and ſcorn us Chriſtians, that we with ſuch fervency do take Chriſt's cauſe in hand, but at laſt their ſcoffing and ſcorning will fall into their own boſoms.

The chief ſtudy in divinity (ſaid *Luther*) is, that we learn to know Chriſt aright: therefore ſaith Saint Peter, *Grow up in the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt*; namely, that he is the moſt merciful, the moſt juſt and wiſe: and, ſaid he, if I might leave behind me but only this leſſon, which with great diligence I have driven and taught; namely, that people would beware and take good heed of ſpeculations, and inſtead thereof would comprehend and take hold on Chriſt only, in the moſt plain and ſimple manner; then I ſhould think myſelf happy, and that I had accompliſhed much.

Of the Doctrine of Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles.

THE preaching of the Apoſtles came forth, and powerfully did ſound and pierce through the whole world after Chriſt's reſurrection when he had ſent the Holy Ghoſt, &c. In like manner before his aſcenſion he commanded them to go into the whole world, &c. Alſo where he ſaith, it is expedient for you that I go, for the Comforter, the Holy Ghoſt will teach you all things, and will put you in mind of all that I have ſaid unto you, John xiv. He will guide you in all truth, John xvi. This maſter, the Holy Ghoſt did work and ſpeak through the Apoſtles, and did ſhew the Doctrine of Chriſt more clearly, inſomuch that their preaching preſſed through and produced more fruit then when Chriſt preached; as he himſelf before had declared, ſaying: *He that believeth in me, ſhall do alſo the works that I do, and ſhall do greater than theſe*; He ſaith alſo, *Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father*, &c. This is as much as to ſay, my people, the Jews, to whom I am propoſed, will neither endure to hear my preaching, nor ſuffer me to live among them, ſave only in a little corner in Judea; yet notwithſtanding, all nations in the world ſhall hear your preaching (yours, and none but yours): for to me is given all power in heaven and on earth, and alſo I will be with you to the end of the world.

But (ſaid *Luther*) I hold that Chriſt by force would not break through with his preaching (as he might have done, although he preached ſo powerfully that the people were aſtoniſhed at his doctrine) but proceeded ſoftly and mildly in regard of the fathers to whom he was promiſed, and of thoſe that much eſteemed them, to the end he might take away and aboliſh the ceremonial law, together with their divine ſervices and worſhipping.

That Chriſt preached for nothing.

INDEED (ſaid *Luther*) Chriſt preached for nothing, and without wages; yet nevertheleſs, the good and godly women, whom he had cleanſed and made hole, and had delivered from wicked ſpirits and diſeaſes, did miniſter and give nto him of that which they had, Luke viii. They gave him ſupply, and he ſo took and received that which others freely and willingly gave him, John, xix.

When he ſent the Apoſtles forth to preach, he ſaid, freely ye have received, herefore freely give, &c. wherein he doth not forbid them to take ſomething for ıeir pains and work, but that they ſhould not take care and ſorrow for food and ıiment, &c. for whitherſoever they came, they ſhould find ſome people that ′ould not ſee them want; as he ſaid further, *When ye come into a houſe ſalute it, nd if the houſe be worthy, tarry there, eating and drinking ſuch things as they ſet before ıu, for the labourer is worthy of his hire*, Matth. x. Luke x. and 1 Cor. ix. Saint 'aul ſaith, *The ox that treadeth out the corn thou ſhalt not muzzle, and he that ſerveth t the altar, ſhall alſo live by the altar.*

That the Prophecies of Chriſt are written with dark Words.

THE Prophecies that the Son of God ſhould take human nature upon him, are deſcribed ſo darkly, that I think (ſaid *Luther*) the Devil knew not that Chriſt ſhould be conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, and born of the Virgin Mary.

Hence, when he tempted Chriſt in the wilderneſs, he ſaid unto him, *If thou art the Son of God?* He calleth him the Son of God, not that he held him ſo to be by deſcent and nature, but according to the manner of the Scripture, which nameth human creatures the children of God, Pſalm lxxxii. *Ye are all the children of the moſt higheſt*, &c. It was ſo deſcribed, that thoſe prophecies of Chriſt's Paſſion, Reſurrection, and kingdom ſhould not be revealed before the time of his coming, ſave only his Prophets and other high enlightened people; for it was reſerved for the coming of Chriſt, he was the right and only doctor that ſhould open the underſtanding. From hence Moſes, Deut. xviii. commandeth the people and ſaith, *To Him ſhall ye hearken.* And God the Father ſaith, *This is my well beloved Son*, &c. *Him ſhall ye hear.*

But (ſaid *Luther*) in that Peter, and the other Apoſtles, did not expreſſly call Chriſt the Son of God, it was for this cauſe, they would not give offence to the godly Jews, (who as yet were weak in faith) to ſhun and perſecute their preaching, as if they intended to declare a New God, and to reject the true God of their fathers, and altogether to under-value him.

Yet notwithſtanding they mention with expreſs words the office of Chriſt, and his works; that he is a prince of life, that he raiſeth from the dead, juſtifieth and forgiveth ſins, that he heareth prayers, enlighteneth and comforteth the hearts, &c. wherewith they clearly and ſufficiently ſhew and acknowledge, that he is the true God; for no creature can perform ſuch works but God only.

That the Kingdom of Chriſt is built and preſerved wonderfully.

OUR Lord and Saviour Chriſt (ſaid *Luther*) ſupporteth his Kingdom in a wonderful way; not through human wiſdom and power, as temporal kings and potentates do; nay, he hideth his divine wiſdom and power in ſuch ſort, that the ſame is not to be diſcerned; he carrieth himſelf in every thing very ſimply, according to human

human wit and wiſdom, in maintaining and protecting his kingdom. He armeth his officers and ſervants whom he ſendeth out into all the world, not with corporal weapons, but commandeth them only to preach his word, enlighteneth and ſtrengtheneth them with the Holy Ghoſt; they do nothing elſe but preach the word, therewith he doth deſtroy the kingdom of the devil, and buildeth for himſelf a church, againſt which the gates of hell ſhall not prevail, as we ſing in the 8th Pſalm, *Out of the mouths of babes and ſucklings haſt though ordained ſtrength.*

In ſuch a manner Chriſt confoundeth the mighty Potentates of the world, and the Pope alſo is now no more able to proceed with his falſe religion, wiſdom and power as formerly he hath done; who preſumed to undertake to overthrow the word of Chriſt and his people. Therefore at laſt the Pope and his retinue muſt go to the ground, as we ſing further in the aforeſaid Pſalm: *Thou haſt ordained ſtrength becauſe of thine enemies, that thou mighteſt ſtill the enemy and the avenger.*

But here belongeth a ſtrong faith, to hold faſt by the word, and not to err, nor to be offended, although great potentates, and the high learned on earth do ſet themſelves againſt this doctrine, and rail upon it as hereſy, and do perſecute us as moſt pernicious and wicked people, for ſpreading ſuch doctrine abroad. But theſe adverſaries do little know, that they ſtand up and take counſel againſt the Lord and his anointed, nay, they flatter themſelves that therein they do God good ſervice.

Is it not a fearful caſe that the worldly-wiſe do ſcorn and are offended at theſe words of Chriſt, where he ſaith, *I praiſe the Father and Lord of heaven and earth, that thou haſt hid the ſame from the wiſe and prudent, and haſt revealed it unto babes, &c.*

But this ſentence is very comfortable to us Chriſtians whom the Lord hath bound together with a ſtrong bond, *That we are one body, we have one ſpirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, one baptiſm, one God and Father, &c.*

Thus (ſaid *Luther*) Chriſt's kingdom is erected to this end, that he may deſtroy the works of the devil, the ſins of thoſe that feel their miſery, and that from their heart do deſire grace and help, theſe he juſtifieth and ſaveth; for which cauſe they praiſe and glorify him in this life, they preach and acknowledge his word before the wicked world, they declare that his kingdom is ſpiritual and everlaſting, and not temporal and vaniſhing. Hence it is, that though with our bodies we dwell here on earth, yet with our hearts we are in heaven, and wait for the deliverance of our bodies, and do yearn after the ſaving hope and glorious appearing of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

That Chriſt defendeth his Kingdom, and the devil alſo his, but with unequal arms and weapons.

THE devil aſſaulteth the Chriſtian world with higheſt power and ſubtilty, he vexeth true Chriſtians through tyrants, heretics and falſe-brethren, and inſtigateth the whole world againſt them.

On the contrary, Chriſt reſiſteth the devil and his kingdom, with a few ſimple and contemned people, as it ſeemed in the world, in the greateſt weakneſs and fooliſhneſs, and yet he getteth the victory. *Behold, I ſend you as ſheep among wolves,* &c. as if he would ſay, *Ye, my meſſengers and diſciples, will find bad entertainment in the wicked world,* not only with unthankfulneſs for your ſervice, but alſo, they will perſecute you for the ſame; to be ſhort, they will deal with you as the wolves deal with ſheep.

Now (ſaid *Luther*) it were a very unequal match and war, when one ſilly ſheep muſt encounter above one hundred wolves, as it befel the Apoſtles when Chriſt ſent them out into the world, when one after another was made away with and ſlain. Againſt wolves we ſhould rather ſend out lions, or more fierce and horrible beaſts. But

Chriſt

Chriſt hath pleaſure therein, to ſhew his higheſt wiſdom and power in our greateſt weakneſs and fooliſhneſs (as the world conceiveth), and ſo to proceed with the buſineſs that all ſhall eat their own bane, and go to the devil, which ſet themſelves againſt his ſervants and diſciples.

For he alone, the Lord of Hoſts, doth wonders; he preſerveth his ſheep in the midſt of wolves, and teareth them in pieces in ſuch a way, that we plainly ſee that our faith conſiſteth not in the power of human wiſdom, but in the power of God, and although Chriſt permitteth one of his ſheep to be devoured, ye he ſendeth ten, or more others in his place.

Of Common Queſtions in the World concerning Chriſt.

THE moſt frequent and chief queſtion of thoſe that will be called Chriſtians, is whether Chriſt be Chriſt, that is, whether the people only through him are delivered from death, are juſtified and ſaved before God, only by faith? We (ſaid *Luther*) that have and do acknowledge God's Word, anſwer, yea, that only and alone through Chriſt we receive of God, grace, and are ſaved; we know, believe and acknowledge, that the ſame is the infallible truth, and therefore we preach of it, and alſo ſuffer for it, as we read in the 16th Pſalm.

There are always three ſorts of ſects which are at diſcord about this article: the firſt ſort are they that make doubt thereof; the ſecond, which do oppoſe, deny. and perſecute the ſame; but the third ſort are they that do hold the ſame to be moſt certain and true, and alſo, they do acknowledge and confeſs the ſame before the world: of the two firſt ſorts there are a great multitude, but of the laſt, a very ſmall number.

That it doth not follow becauſe Chriſt did this and that, therefore we muſt alſo do the ſame.

AT this time (ſaid *Luther*) there are thoſe that alledge Chriſt by force drove the buyers and ſellers out of the temple; therefore we alſo may uſe the like power againſt the Popiſh biſhops and enemies of God's Word, as Muntzer and other ſeducers, in the time of the common rebellion, *Anno* 1525. Chriſt did many things which we neither may nor can do after him. He went upon the water, he faſted forty days and forty nights, he raiſed Lazarus from death, after he had lain four days in the grave, &c. ſuch and the like muſt we leave undone. Much leſs will Chriſt have, that we by force ſhould ſet againſt the enemies of the truth, but he commandeth the contrary, *Love your enemies, pray for them that vex and perſecute you, &c.* But we ought to follow him in ſuch works where he hath annexed an open command; as, *Be merciful, as your Father is merciful.* Likewiſe, *Take my yoke upon you and learn of me, for I am meek and humble in heart*, &c. alſo, *He that will follow me, let him deny himſelf, take up his croſs and follow me.*

Of the Name of Chriſt.

IT is one of the greateſt wonders (ſaid *Luther*) that the name of Chriſt hath remained in Popedom, where (for the ſpace of certain hundred years) nothing was delivered to the people, but only the Pope's laws and decrees; that is doctrines and commandments of men, inſomuch, that it had been no wonder if the name of Chriſt, and his word had been unknown and forgotten. Herein was Chriſt's word

word fulfilled, where he ſaith, *When the Son of Man cometh, thinkeſt thou that he ſhall find faith upon earth.* Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) I hold, that the day of judgment will approach by this clear light of the Goſpel, as God be praiſed it now ſhineth. A horrible darkneſs will follow after this bright ſhining (yet under the colour and name of the light), which may ſoon happen. Well are thoſe that in the mean time do ſleep in the Lord.

But God hath wonderfully preſerved his Goſpel in the Church, which from the pulpits is taught to the people word by word. In like manner, it is a ſpecial great work of God, that the children's Creed, the Lord's Prayer, Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper, hath remained and cleaved to the hearts of thoſe which were ordained to receive them in the midſt of popedom.

God hath alſo oftentimes awakened pious learned men, that revealed his Word unto them, and gave them courage openly to reprove the falſe doctrines and abuſes that were crept into the Church; as John Huſs, and others.

Of the Difference between Chriſt's Kingdom, the Pope's, and Mahomet's.

THE kingdom of Chriſt is a kingdom of grace, mercy, and of all comfort; Pſalm cxvii. *His grace and truth is ever more and more towards us.* The kingdom of Antichriſt (the Pope) is a kingdom of lies and deſtruction; Pſalm x. *His mouth is full of curſing, fraud, and deceit; under his tongue is ungodlineſs and vanity.* The kingdom of Mahomet is a kingdom of revenge, of wrath, and deſolation; Ezek. xxxviii.

That the weak in Faith do alſo belong to the Kingdom of Chriſt.

THE weak in faith (ſaid *Luther*) do alſo belong to the kingdom of Chriſt, otherwiſe the Lord would not have ſaid to Peter, *Strengthen thy brethren*, Luke xxii.; and Rom. xiv. *Receive the weak in faith*; alſo 1 Theſſ. 5. *Comfort the feeble-minded, ſupport the weak.* If the weak in faith ſhould not belong to Chriſt, where then would the Apoſtles have been; whom the Lord oftentimes (alſo after his reſurrection, Mark xvi.) reproved becauſe of their unbelief?

That Chriſt is the only Phyſician againſt Death, whom notwithſtanding very few do deſire.

A CUP of water (ſaid *Luther*), if a man can have no better, is good to quench the thirſt. A morſel of bread ſtilleth the hunger, and he that hath need ſeeketh earneſtly thereafter. So Chriſt is the beſt, ſureſt, and only phyſick againſt the moſt fearful enemy of mankind, the devil; but they believe it not with their hearts. If they knew a phyſician who lived above one hundred miles off, that could prevent or drive away temporal death; oh, how diligently would he be ſent for; no money nor coſt would be ſpared! Hence it appears how abominable human nature is ſpoiled and blinded; yet notwithſtanding, the ſmall and little heap do ſtick faſt to the true phyſician, and by this art do learn that which the holy old Simeon well knew, from whence he joyfully ſang, *Lord now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace, for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation*, &c. therefore death became his ſleep; but from whence came his great joy? Becauſe that with ſpiritual and corporal eyes he ſaw the Saviour of the world, he ſaw the true Phyſician againſt ſin and death. Therefore it is a great trouble to behold how deſirous a thirſty body is of drink, or one that is hungry of food (whereas, a cup of water, a morſel of bread, can ſtill hunger and thirſt no longer than two or three hours), but

no man, or very few, are deſirous, or do long after the moſt precious Phyſician, although he lovingly calleth and allureth all to come unto him, and ſaith, *He that is a-thirſt, let him come to me and drink*, John vii.; ſo, *he that believeth in me, from his body ſhall flow ſtreams of living water.*

That Chriſt hath overcome the World.

WE know (God be praiſed) that Chriſt hath overcome the world, together with the prince thereof, the devil; inſomuch that now ſin ruleth not over us, neither can death devour us, of which we ſhould be more joyful and glad, than the children of the world are of all temporal welfare, happineſs, riches, honour and power, &c; for the Scripture teſtifieth the ſame, wherein alſo we have ſure and certain ſigns and ſeals thereof; namely, the holy Baptiſm, the Lord's Supper, and divinely fair and glorious promiſes, &c. Inſomuch that we have no cauſe to make doubt thereof.

Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) we ought earneſtly to pray, *Lord, ſtrengthen our faith*, for we are prone to waver and ſtumble; and theſe things do enter into us very coldly, namely, that he is our King, our High-prieſt, our Bridegroom, &c. He that could faſten and learn this well, the ſame ſhould have good ſkill and knowledge in the golden art, and were a deep learned doctor and an happy man.

Of the Temple of all the Gods (except Chriſt) at Rome, called Pantheon.

IN the year 606, Emperor Phocas (the murderer of that good and godly Emperor Mauritius, and the firſt erector of the Pope's primacy) gave this temple Pantheon to Pope Boniface the Third, to make thereof what he pleaſed; he gave it another name, and inſtead of All-Idols, he named it the Church of All-Saints; he did not number Chriſt among them, from whom all ſaints have their ſanctity, but erected a new idolatry, the Invocating of Saints.

In my chronicle (ſaid *Luther*) I expound the name of Bonifacius thus: Bonifacius is a Popiſh name, that is, a good form, faſhion, or ſhew, for under the colour of a good form and ſhew, he acted all manner of miſchief againſt God and man.

As I was at Rome (ſaid *Luther*) I ſaw this church; it had no windows, but only a round hole on the top, which gave ſome light; it was vaulted high, and had pillars of marble ſtone ſo thick, that two of us could ſcarcely fathom one about. Above, on the vault, were pourtrayed all the gods of the heathen, Jupiter, Neptune, Mars, Venus, and how elſe they are called. Theſe gods were at an union, to the end they might fool and deceive the whole world; but Chriſt they cannot endure, for he hath whipped them out. Now are the Popes come, and have driven Chriſt away again; but who knoweth how long it will continue?

That the World knoweth not Chriſt, nor thoſe that are his.

EVEN as Chriſt is now inviſible and unknown to the world, ſo are we Chriſtians alſo inviſible and unknown therein. *Your life*, ſaith St. Paul, Coloſ. iii. *is hid with Chriſt in God.* Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) the world knoweth us not, much leſs do they ſee Chriſt in us. And John iii. the Apoſtle ſaith, *Behold! what love the Father hath ſhewed unto us, that we ſhall be called God's children.* Therefore we and the world are eaſily parted; they care nothing for us, ſo we care leſs for them; yea, through Chriſt the world is crucified unto us, and we to the world. Let them go with their wealth, and leave us to our minds and manners.

When

When we have our ſweet and loving Saviour Chriſt, then we are rich and happy more than enough, we care nothing for their ſtate, honour and wealth. But we often loſe our Saviour Chriſt, and little think that he is in us, and we in him, that he is ours, and we are his. And although he hideth himſelf from us (as we think) in the time of need for a moment, yet are we comforted in his promiſe, where he ſaith, *I am daily with you to the world's end*, the ſame is our beſt and richeſt treaſure.

Of the Acknowledgment of Chriſt.

THE righteouſneſs of works will not ſubſiſt nor ſtand proof, much leſs will they prevail in trials and in agonies; nay, they produce anguiſh of heart to thoſe that depend thereon. There is nothing on earth that maketh people ſure of the forgiveneſs of their ſins, and that they are not imputed to them, but only an application of Chriſt, through which we receive comfort, and ſtrength of faith, in all anguiſh and ſorrows of death. Without this knowledge of Chriſt (ſaid *Luther*) I am not able to endure my conſcience, neither am I quieted by my own works, or by the righteouſneſs of God's laws, much leſs have I any comfort by my ſanctity, which out of my own devotion and good opinion I make choice of; yea, the devil, through one ſin, hunteth me in ſuch ſort, that I oftentimes think the world is too narrow for me, only the knowledge of Chriſt lifteth me up, and ſetteth my conſcience in peace.

What it is that Chriſt will have of us.

CHRIST deſireth nothing more of us, than that we ſpeak of him. But thou wilt ſay, If I ſpeak or preach of him, then the word freezeth upon my lips. O! (ſaid *Luther*) do not regard that, but hear what Chriſt ſaith, *Aſk, and it ſhall be given unto you*, &c. And, *I am with him in trouble, I will deliver him and bring him to honour*, &c. Alſo, *Call upon me in the time of trouble, ſo will I hear thee, and thou ſhalt praiſe me*, &c. Pſalm l.

How could we perform a more eaſy ſervice of God, without all labour or charges? There is no work on earth which is eaſier than the true ſervice of God; he loadeth us with no heavy burthens, but will only have that we believe in him, and preach of him. But thou mayeſt be ſure that thou ſhalt be perſecuted for the ſame; and therefore, our ſweet and bleſſed Saviour giveth unto us a comfortable promiſe, where he ſaith, I will be with you in the time of trouble, and will help you out, &c. Luke xii. 7.

I (ſaid *Luther*) make no ſuch promiſe to my ſervant when I ſet him to work, either to plough, or to cart; but Chriſt will help me in my need. To conclude, we only fail in believing: if I had faith, according as the Scripture requireth of me, I alone would beat the Turk out of Conſtantinople, and the Pope out of Rome; but it comes far ſhort, I muſt reſt ſatisfied with that which Chriſt ſpake to St. Paul, *My grace is ſufficient for thee, for my power is ſtrong in weakneſs.*

Of God's Grace ſhewed unto us in Chriſt.

NO man can diſpute of God's grace ſhewed unto us in Chriſt, except he be thoroughly exerciſed by many ſpiritual trials, and well experienced in matters of faith. When the devil begins to diſpute with me (ſaid *Luther*) about the law, then have I loſt; but if I mean to reſiſt and to defend myſelf againſt him, then muſt I ſtand faſt to Chriſt, and take hold on this, or the like ſentence; *Chriſt hath delivered us from the curſe of the law, when he became a curſe for us.* In this manner do I ſet myſelf againſt the devil's arguments.

That

That the Devil hindereth our Joy in Chriſt.

WE ought to rejoice in Chriſt without ceaſing, as St. Paul ſaith; we ſhould leap and ſpring for joy and gladneſs; yea, and in ſuch ſort as if we never could be ſad and troubled again. But the envious devil doth hinder ſuch our joy where and how he can; he perplexeth and plagueth us either without means, through his fiery darts, or through wicked poiſoned mouths, as oftentimes happeneth unto me.

Of Chriſt's Sentence, John xiii. [*Shall I not waſh thee,* &c.]

THESE words, John xiii. (ſaid *Luther*) which Chriſt ſpake to Peter, *If I waſh thee not, thou haſt no part in me,* are not to be underſtood, That Chriſt at the ſame time baptized his diſciples; for in John iv. it is clearly expreſſed, that he himſelf baptiſed none, but his diſciples, at his command, baptiſed each other. Neither did the Lord ſpeak theſe words only of water-waſhing, but of ſpiritual waſhing, through which he, and none other, waſheth and cleanſeth Peter, the other diſciples, and all true believers, from their ſins, and juſtifieth and ſaveth them; as if he would ſay, I am the true bather, therefore, if I waſh thee not, Peter, thou remaineſt unclean and dead in thy ſins.

But in that Chriſt waſhed not his own, but his diſciples feet, whereas the high-prieſt in the law, waſhed not others, but his own feet: the cauſe was this; the high-prieſt in the law was unclean, and a ſinner like other men, therefore he waſhed his own feet, and offered not only for the ſins of the people, but alſo for his own ſins. But our everlaſting High-prieſt is holy, innocent, unſtained, and ſeparated from ſin; therefore it was needleſs for him to waſh his feet, but he hath waſhed and cleanſed us through his blood from all our ſins.

Moreover, by this his waſhing of feet he would ſhew, that his new kingdom which he would eſtabliſh ſhould be no temporal and outward kingdom, where reſpect of perſons were to be held, as in Moſes's kingdom, one higher and greater than the other, &c. O no! (ſaid *Luther*) but where one ſhould ſerve another in humility, as he ſaith, *The kings on earth do rule, &c. But ye ſhall not be ſo, he that is greateſt among you let him be your ſervant*; which he himſelf did ſhew by this example, as he ſaith, John xiii. *If I your Lord and Maſter have waſhed your feet, then ought ye to waſh one another's feet.*

Of the Miracles of Chriſt and of his Apoſtles.

FORASMUCH (ſaid *Luther*) as Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Saturn, Juno, Diana, Pallas, and Venus ruled among the heathen; that is, were held and worſhipped for Gods (alſo the Jews had many idols which they ſerved), therefore it was neceſſary, that firſt Chriſt, and after him the Apoſtles ſhould do many miracles, both among the Jews and Gentiles, to confirm this doctrine of faith in Chriſt, and to take away and to root out all worſhipping of Idols, and that ſuch wonders ſhould flouriſh until the doctrine of the Goſpel ſhould be planted and received, and Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper ſhould be eſtabliſhed.

But the ſpiritual miracles, which our Saviour Chriſt holdeth for the true works of wonder are daily wrought, and remain to the world's end; as a proof that Captain, Matt. viii. who was a Gentile, could have ſo ſtrong a faith, that he was able to help his ſick ſervant. In like manner, Chriſt wondered at the faith of the Canaanitiſh woman, and ſaid, *O woman! great is thy faith.*

Moreover,

Moreover, ſtill to this day there are many, which receive the Goſpel, do believe in Chriſt crucified, and would rather leave and loſe all they have, yea, even life itſelf than deny Chriſt, which truly is a work of wonder: hence St. Paul calleth it God's unmeaſurably great divine ſtrength, which he worketh in us that believe.

Of Chriſt's deepeſt Humility.

HE that diligently readeth the ſufferings of Chriſt, and well regardeth it, the ſame ſeeth his great humility, inſomuch, that it could not have been greater. But (ſaid *Luther*) in that he ſo deeply humbled himſelf, the ſame concerneth not only us (that we ſhould follow his example, as St. Paul excellently teacheth, Philip. ii. *Let this mind be in you which was in Chriſt Jeſus, &c.*) but alſo it falls heavy upon the devil, that our Saviour Chriſt, as it were, cheateth that proud and crafty ſpirit, inſomuch, that through ſuch deep humility, he was confounded amazed, and aſtoniſhed; he did not think that Chriſt ſhould be the woman's ſeed which ſhould cruſh his head, as the promiſe ſoundeth, Gen. iii. *I will put enmity between thy ſeed and the woman's ſeed*; as if he would ſay, I will have a blow at thee thou poiſoning ſerpent.

Of the greateſt Wonder-work which hath been done on Earth.

THE greateſt work of wonder which ever was done on earth (ſaid *Luther* is that the Son of God, died the moſt ſhameful death upon the Croſs. It is aſtoniſhing, that the Father ſhould ſay to his only Son (who by nature is God) Go thy way, let them hang thee on the gallows, yet, notwithſtanding, the love of the everlaſting Father was unmeaſurably greater towards his only begotten Son, than the love of Abraham was towards Iſaac; for the Father witneſſeth from heaven, Math. iii. *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am pleaſed*; yet, nevertheleſs, he was caſt away ſo lamentably like a worm, and no man; yea, a ſcorn of men and an out-caſt of the people, Pſal. xxii.

At this the blind underſtanding of man ſtumbleth, it thinketh, is this the only begotten Son of the everlaſting Father; how then dealeth he ſo unmercifully with him? he ſheweth himſelf more kind and friendly towards Caiphas, Herod, and Pilate, than towards his only beloved Son. The Jews (ſaith St. Paul) at this are offended, ſo are alſo the ſeeming holy-workers, and the wiſe of the world, theſe hold it altogether fooliſh. But to us true Chriſtians (ſaid *Luther*) it is the greateſt comfort; for we thereby acknowledge, that the merciful Lord God and Father in ſuch a manner loved the poor condemned world, that he ſpared not his only begotten Son, but gave him for us all, that whoſoever believeth in him ſhould not periſh, but have everlaſting life, John, iii. and Rom. viii. therefore we hold this ſermon for our higheſt comfort and wiſdom, for the true golden art, and for a divine power through which we ſhall be ſaved, 1 Cor. i.

Thoſe that are tormented with high ſpiritual temptations, which every one is not able to endure, ſhould have this example before their eyes (when they are in ſorrow and heavineſs of ſpirit, fearing God's wrath, the day of judgment, and everlaſting death, and ſuch like fiery darts of the devil); yet they ſhould comfort themſelves, that although they oftentimes feel ſuch intolerable ſufferings, yet are they never the more rejected of God, but are of him better beloved, ſeeing he maketh them like unto his only begotten Son,

and believe that as they ſuffer with him, ſo will he alſo deliver them out of the ſame. For ſuch as will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution; yet one more than another, according to every one's ſtrength and weakneſs in faith; *For God is true, who will not ſuffer us to be tempted above that we are able to bear*, 1 Cor. x.

Of our Saviour Chriſt's aſcending into Heaven.

IT was a wonderful thing (ſaid *Luther*), that our Saviour Chriſt aſcended up into heaven, in full view of his diſciples. Some (no doubt) thought in themſelves, we did eat and drink with him, and now he is taken from us, and carried up into heaven; are all things right? Such reaſonings (doubtleſs) ſome of them had, for they were not all alike ſtrong in faith, as St. Matthew writeth, When the eleven ſaw the Lord, they worſhipped, but ſome doubted. And during thoſe forty days, from the reſurrection until the aſcenſion, the Lord did teach them by manifold arguments, Acts i. and inſtructed them in all neceſſary things, he ſtrengthened their faith, and put them in mind of what he had told them before, to the end they ſhould in nowiſe doubt of his perſon.

Yet, nevertheleſs, it entered but hardly into them, for when the Lord appeared in the midſt of them on Eaſter day at evening, and ſaid, *Peace be with you*; then they were perplexed and affrighted, they ſuppoſed to have ſeen a ſpirit, *Luke* xxiv.; neither would Thomas believe that the other diſciples had ſeen the Lord, until he ſaw the print of the nails in his hands, &c. John xx. and Acts i. And though for the ſpace of forty days he had communed with them concerning the kingdom of God, and was even ready to aſcend; yet, notwithſtanding, they aſked him, Lord! wilt thou at this time reſtore again the kingdom to Iſrael.

But after this, on Whitſunday, when they had received the Holy Ghoſt, then they were of another mind, they then ſtood no more in fear of the Jews, but roſe up boldly, and with great joyfulneſs preached Chriſt to the people. And Peter ſaid to the lame man, Silver and gold have I none, but what I have, that give I thee; in the name of Jeſus Chriſt of Nazareth, riſe up and walk, Acts iii. Yet notwithſtanding all this, the Lord was fain to ſhew unto him through a viſion, that the Gentiles ſhould be partakers of the promiſe of life, although, before his aſcenſion, he had heard this command from the Lord himſelf, Mark xvi. *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Goſpel to every creature, &c.* And Mat. xxviii. *Teach all nations, &c.* And St. Paul alſo reproved him, when complaint of him was made, Gal. ii.

I mention this to ſhew, that the Apoſtles themſelves did not know every thing preſently after they had received the Holy Ghoſt; yea, and ſometimes they were weak in faith. When all Aſia turned from St. Paul, and ſome of his own diſciples departed from him, and many falſe ſpirits that were in high eſteem, ſet themſelves againſt him; then with ſorrow of heart he ſaid, 1 Cor. ii. *I was with you in weakneſs, fear, and in much trembling.* And 2 Cor. vii. *We were troubled on every ſide; without were fightings, and within were fears, &c.* Hereby it is evident that he was not always ſtrong in faith: and moreover the Lord was fain to comfort him, ſaying, My grace is ſufficient for thee, for my power is ſtrong in weakneſs.

This is to me (ſaid *Luther*), and to all true Chriſtians, a comfortable doctrine; for I perſuade myſelf alſo that I have faith, but it is but ſo and ſo, and might well be better, and yet I teach the faith to others; and this I know, that my teaching and preaching is right, but I confeſs I come very ſhort of what I ſhould be.

be. Sometimes I commune thus with myſelf, Thou preacheſt indeed God's word, this office is committed to thee, and thou art called thereunto without thy ſeeking, which is not fruitleſs, for many thereby are reformed; but when I conſider and behold my own weakneſs (I eat, I drink, ſometimes I am merry, yea alſo, now and then I am overtaken, being off my guard), then I begin to doubt and ſay, Ah! that we could but only believe.

Therefore ſecure profeſſors are troubleſome and dangerous people; who, when they have but only looked on the outſide of the Bible, or have heard a few Sermons, do preſently think they have the Holy Ghoſt, that they underſtand and know all. But good and godly hearts are of another mind, and do pray daily, *Lord! ſtrengthen our faith.*

That we ought to hearken unto Chriſt only and alone.

WHEN Chriſt ſpeaketh, then we ſhould be all attention and mark well every word; for God the Father himſelf ſaith, *Him ſhall ye hear*; as if he ſhould ſay, What he teacheth you, take good heed thereunto, for I will maintain what he ſaith, or I will be no God. But the devil ſtirreth up other thoughts in the heart; he ſtoppeth the ears, ſo that the greateſt number forget Chriſt and his word, and trouble themſelves with vain and unprofitable things, to the end they may not believe and be ſaved.

Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) he muſt cauſe Moſes to talk with us; he that will aſk, What have ye done? Againſt him, indeed, we might well ſtop our ears. Our doctor and ſchoolmaſter ſhall be only our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt Jeſus.

Of the Complaint of the Godly by reaſon of their Unbelief.

IT is a pity (ſaid *Luther*) that we make our ſins ſo great and heavy, and at the ſame time forget our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, who gave himſelf an offering for our ſins. St. Paul knoweth how to comfort and cheer up ſuch, he beateth out the barrel's head at once, and ſaith flatly, We muſt not regard the threatenings of the law, nor rely upon the works of the law, but only upon Chriſt, who is our wiſdom, righteouſneſs, ſanctification and redemption, and richly giveth ſupply to them that need.

It is a preverſe thing in hypocrites, and all falſe Chriſtians, who think they know enough, and that they cannot be deceived; but I fail herein, and ſuch as I am who daily take in hand the Scripture, ſo that it maketh me full of ſorrow: for it is a bewitching of the devil, that we put more confidence and truſt in human creatures than in God.

I do expect more goodneſs from Kate my wife, from Philip Melancton, and from other friends, than from my ſweet and bleſſed Saviour Chriſt Jeſus; and yet I know for certain, that neither ſhe, nor any other perſon on earth, will or can ſuffer that for me which he hath ſuffered; why then ſhould I be afraid of him?

This my fooliſh weakneſs (ſaid *Luther*) grieveth me very much. We plainly ſee in the Goſpel, how mild and gentle he ſheweth himſelf towards his diſciples; how familiar and friendly he paſſeth over their weakneſs, their preſumption, yea, their fooliſhneſs, &c. He checketh their unbelief, and in all gentleneſs admoniſheth them. Moreover, the Scripture (which is moſt ſure) ſaith, *Well are all they that put their truſt in him.* Fie on our unbelieving hearts, that we ſhould be afraid of this man, who is more loving, friendly, gentle, and compaſſionate

compaſſionate towards us than are our kindred, our brethren, and ſiſters; yea, than parents themſelves are towards their own children.

He therefore that hath theſe temptations, let him be aſſured, and conclude thus with himſelf, It is not Chriſt, but it is the envious devil that affrighteth, woundeth, and would deſtroy him; for Chriſt comforteth, healeth, and reviveth.

Oh! (ſaid *Luther*) his grace and goodneſs towards us is ſo unmeaſurably great, that without great aſſaults and trials it cannot be underſtood. If the tyrants and falſe brethren had not ſet themſelves ſo fiercely againſt me, my writings and proceedings, then ſhould I have vaunted myſelf too much of my poor gifts and qualities; nor ſhould I with ſuch fervency of heart directed my prayers to God for his divine aſſiſtance; I ſhould not have aſcribed all to God's grace, but to mine own dexterity and power, and ſo I ſhould have flown to the devil with all my art and doings, &c.

But (ſaid he) to the end the ſame might be prevented and hindered, my gracious Lord and Saviour Chriſt cauſed me to be chaſtiſed; he ordained that the devil ſhould plague and torment me with his fiery darts, inwardly and outwardly, through tyrants, as the Pope and other Hereticks, and all this he ſuffered to be done for my greateſt good, as in Pſal. cxix. is written, *It is good for me that I have been in trouble, that I may learn thy Statutes.*

Of the Name Jeſus Chriſt.

I KNOW nothing of Jeſus Chriſt (ſaid *Luther*) but only his name, I neither have heard nor ſeen him corporally; yet, notwithſtanding, I have (God be praiſed) learned ſo much out of the Scriptures, that I am well and thoroughly ſatisfied; therefore, I deſire neither to ſee nor to hear him corporally. And beſides this, when I was left and forſaken of all men, in my higheſt weakneſs, in trembling and in fear of death, when I was perſecuted of the wicked world, then I oftentimes felt moſt evidently the divine power which this name (Chriſt Jeſus) communicated unto me: this name (Chriſt Jeſus) oftentimes delivered me when I was in the midſt of death, and made me alive again. It comforted me in the greateſt depair, and particularly at the Imperial Aſſembly at Auſpurg, *anno* 1530, when I was forſaken of every man; inſomuch that, by God's grace, I will live and die for that name.

And rather than I will yield, or through ſilence endure that Eraſmus Roterodamus, or any other whoſoever he be, ſhould too nearly touch my Lord and Saviour Chriſt Jeſus with his ungodly falſe doctrine (how fairly coloured ſoever it be trimmed or garniſhed), I ſay, I will rather die; yea, it ſhould be more tolerable for me, with wife and children, to undergo all plagues and torments, and at laſt to die the moſt ſhameful death, than that I ſhould give way thereunto.

After what manner a faithful Soul talketh with Chriſt.

A BELIEVING ſoul (ſaid *Luther*) ought to talk with our Saviour Chriſt in this manner; Lord! I am thy ſins, thou art my righteouſneſs, therefore am I joyful and boldly do triumph; for my ſins do not overbalance thy righteouſneſs, neither will thy righteouſneſs ſuffer me to be or to remain a ſinner. Bleſſed and praiſed be thy holy name, ſweet Jeſus! for evermore.

Of

That the blaſpheming of Chriſt, and of his Word, will make a full End.

WHEN people live ſecurely, without the fear of God, do blaſpheme Chriſt, perſecute and condemn his word (as now the Papiſts and their conſorts do), with great rage do baniſh and murder many godly people as the greateſt hereticks, then, ſurely, the end is not very far off.

As it went with the Jews, when they aſcribed the Doctrine and Works of Chriſt to the devil, and blaſphemed him upon the Croſs, at which the whole creation trembled, ſhe could not bear ſuch wickedneſs; the Sun loſt his light, the vail in the Temple did rend in pieces, the Earth quaked, the Rocks were cleft, the Graves opened. And when the Lord had purged his floor, and gathered the wheat into his garner, then he ſet the Chaff on fire, &c. even ſo will he do at the end of the world, when the number of his elect is filled, &c.

If God be for us, who can be againſt us? Rom. viii.

CHRIST, our bleſſed Lord God and Saviour, hath ſwallowed up death everlaſtingly to our comfort. Now (ſaid *Luther*) if death through Chriſt be ſwallowed up, then the ſting of death (which is ſin) is made very blunt, ſo that hence forward, it hath neither edge nor point to wound or ſting us; that is, to terrify and affright us, or to accuſe and condemn us; neither can the law make ſin powerful; that is, it cannot prove againſt us, that we are ſinners, which are in Chriſt, who walk not after the fleſh, but after the ſpirit.

Moreover (ſaid *Luther*) the devil is now taken captive, he is bereaved of his power, ſo that he never more can have dominion over us. Likewiſe all the wrath, raging and ſwelling of the blind and falſe world (the devil's bride) is now made a ſcorn and deriſion; for what can ſhe do more than kill the body, and thereby the ſooner haſten us out of this temporal into everlaſting life and happineſs? Alſo all manner of Adverſities (whether ſickneſſes, poverty, or all kinds of tribulation) are far too light (although they endured an hundred years or more) in compariſon of the glory, which at the day of our deliverance ſhall be revealed unto us, Rom. viii. therefore faith is here very neceſſary, which neither ſeeth nor feeleth, but holdeth itſelf on the word. In the mean time hope waiteth and expecteth with patience that which faith takes hold of through the word. Afterwards, there will follow an open and everlaſting ſight out of faith, and out of inviſible will appear viſible, whereby we ſhall enjoy eternal life. Well is he that underſtandeth and believeth this.

That Chriſt is the only Comfort of the Faithful in their Sufferings and Croſſes in this World.

THE Scripture witneſſeth (ſaid *Luther*) that all the Godly muſt ſuffer perſecution, and through much tribulation muſt enter into the kingdom of Heaven. From hence St. Peter admoniſheth, that in faith, they ſhould reſiſt the devil, who goeth about like a roaring lion, &c. and ſaith further, that they are not alone, but that their brethren throughout the whole world have the like ſufferings.

Many Godly hearts do find and feel this, which earneſtly intend to remain unto death, by the Word of Chriſt, and in the acknowledgement of his grace. To ſay nothing of the torments of poor perplexed conſciences (which are innmuerable) which do ſuffer manifold miſeries; in theſe abominable times, when the devil poureth

out his wrath through the tyrants in Popedom, in Turkey, &c. Thoſe godly hearts in their extremeſt torments and miſery, comfort themſelves no other way, but only, that they have Chriſt the Son of God for their Advocate and Saviour by the Father, they hold faſt his word, and have a yearning for his glorious appearing, when he will deliver them, and richly refreſh them for all their ſufferings for ever and ever.

Then one will behold another, and ſay, See! how come we here together. Who would have expected this wonderful and happy change? Were we not eſteemed on earth the moſt unworthy heretics and rebels; and were we not the curſe of the world? Were we not made away and ſlain of the tyrants, &c.? Then we ſhall ſay one to another, Where are now thoſe angry gentlemen, the great and mighty kings and princes that needs would root out and utterly throw to the ground Chriſt, his word, and his poor and ſmall flock? Where are all the holy ſpiritual fathers that excommunicated us as the wickedeſt blaſphemers of God, and deceivers of the world; that curſed and gave us over to the devil? Where are they? They are in the bottomleſs pit of hell; where their worm dieth not, and where their fire is not quenched.

On the contrary, we that have hearkened unto Chriſt, according to his Father's command, have believed in him, have continued ſtedfaſt in his word, and but a ſhort time have endured the Croſs (yea, ſcarce the twinkling of an eye, in compariſon of the great glory which is revealed in us), do now live with Chriſt in unſpeakable joy and happineſs, and do praiſe him, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit, with all angels and ſaints, for evermore. Amen.

That the Enmity between Chriſt and the Devil began in Paradiſe.

IT is no wonder (ſaid *Luther*) that Satan is an enemy to Chriſt, and ſetteth himſelf againſt him and his word, with all his power and cunning, and alſo to his people and kingdom. It is an old hate and grudge between them which began in Paradiſe; for they are, by nature and kind, of contrary minds and diſpoſitions. The devil ſmelleth Chriſt (ſaid *Luther*) many hundred miles off; he heareth at Conſtantinople, and at Rome, that we at Wittemberg do teach and preach againſt his kingdom; he feeleth alſo what hurt and damage he ſuſtaineth thereby; therefore doth he rage and ſwell ſo horribly.

But what is more to be wondered at, that us, who are of one kind and nature, and through the bond of love knit ſo faſt together, that one ought to love as himſelf, ſhould have at times ſuch envy, hate, wrath, diſcord and revenge ſo vehement, that one is ready to kill the other. For who is nearer allied to a man, than his wife; to the ſon, than his father; to the daughter, than her mother; to the brother, than the ſiſter, &c.? Yet, nevertheleſs, it is moſt commonly found, that diſcord and ſtrife are among them. This the Heathen have well diſcerned and complained of, but they knew not that it is merely of the devil's driving.

That Chriſt and the Law cannot dwell together.

IT is impoſſible (ſaid *Luther*) that the Goſpel and Law ſhould dwell together in one heart, for of neceſſity, either Chriſt muſt yield and give place to the Law, or the Law to Chriſt. St. Paul, Gal. v. ſaith, *They which will be juſtified through the Law, are fallen from Grace.* Therefore, when thou art of this mind, that Chriſt and the confidence of the Law may dwell together in thy heart, then thou mayeſt know for certain that it is not Chriſt, but the devil that dwelleth

in

in thee, who under the maſk and form of Chriſt accuſeth and terrifieth thee: He will have, that thou make thyſelf righteous through the Law, and through thy own good works; for the true Chriſt uſeth not to call thee to an account for thy ſins, neither doth he command thee to truſt in thy good works, but faith; *Come unto me all ye that be weary and heavy laden, I will refreſh you, &c.* This is that great myſtery which is hid from the carnal world; namely, that God's anger hath ceaſed towards us, and hath given to us his Son, who is our fleſh and blood, yet without ſin; when we hear and receive him, then we ſhall have all things in him, who for our ſakes was crucified of the moſt ſeeming holy people, which had the greateſt names and honours. For Hannas, ſignifieth Johannes; Caïphas, ſignifieth Peter; Judas, ſignifieth a King of the Jews, &c. All theſe (ſaid *Luther*) muſt lay hands on Chriſt, and for their valiant acts and ſervices againſt him, they muſt all be honoured as courageous Knights. To conclude, thoſe that in the world have had the greateſt names, honours and titles, have commonly been the moſt wicked wretches.

That without Chriſt's Humanity, we neither can nor may ſeek after Grace, or for the Forgiveneſs of Sins.

WHEN thou art in hand with the article of juſtification, and conſidereſt with thyſelf, where that God is to be found which juſtifieth ſinners and receiveth them to favour, then look well to it, that thou notice no other God, but only the man, Chriſt Jeſus: take ſure hold on him, and with thy heart continue depending on him, baniſh and expel from thee all ſpeculations of God's incomprehenſible Majeſty; for as Solomon ſaith, *He that ſearcheth after high things, to him they ſhall be too high.* This which I now ſpeak (ſaid *Luther*) I have by good experience, and I know that the ſame is true. But the erroneous, that will deal with God without this man Chriſt, they believe me not, although Chriſt himſelf ſaith, *I am the way, the truth, and the life. No man cometh to the Father, but through me.* Therefore whoſoever thou art, ſhall find no other way to the Father but this Chriſt; all other ways are by-ways: thou ſhalt find no truth without Chriſt, but altogether hypocriſy and lies: thou ſhall find no life without Chriſt, but everlaſting death: therefore if thou intendeſt to be juſtified before God, when thou dealeſt with the devil, with the law, with ſin, and death, then I ſay once again, look well that thou knoweſt no other God, but only that God which is alſo Man.

In what Caſe a Man, without Danger, may diſpute of God's high Majeſty.

IF it ſo falleth out (ſaid *Luther*) that thou art conſtrained to diſpute with Jews, Turks, with Sectaries and Hereticks, of God's Wiſdom, of his Almighty Power, &c. then make uſe of thy beſt art; be as ſharp-pointed and ſubtle as poſſibly thou canſt, there is no danger, for then thou haſt to do with general things.

But concerning our juſtification; that is, when we muſt maintain our relation to God, a good conſcience againſt the Law, complete righteouſneſs againſt ſin, and life againſt death and the devil. In this caſe, let us turn away our thoughts in every particular, from the high incomprehenſible Majeſty of God, and let us only behold and look upon that Man, which preſenteth himſelf to us to be our Mediator.

When we do this, then we ſhall ſee that God's wiſdom, power, and glory will be impreſſed and pictured unto us ſo lovingly, that through the illuminations of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhall underſtand things in that ſweet and amiable light, as St. Paul ſaith,

ſaith, *That in Chriſt are hid all the treaſures of the Godhead, wiſdom, and knowledge.* Alſo, *That in him dwelleth the whole fulneſs of the Godhead bodily.*

This hold faſt, and ſuffer not thyſelf to be drawn away from this picture of Chriſt, in whom the angels take delight, and think not that Chriſt's picture is like unto Moſes, a tormentor. He gave himſelf, not by reaſon of our deſerts and holineſs, but for our ſins, and although Chriſt now and then expoundeth the Law, yet the ſame is not the main office for which his Father ſent him.

It is an eaſy thing for us (ſaid *Luther*) to ſay, that our Saviour Chriſt is given for our ſins; but when it cometh to the upſhot, and when the devil through trials and temptations teareth the word of grace out of our hearts, then we find how ſmall our faith is, and we know but in part. But whoſo then can behold Chriſt, not as a ſtern and angry Judge, but as the moſt ſweet and loving Saviour, and as our High-prieſt, the ſame hath already overcome all manner of trials and adverſities, and is well on his way to the heavenly kingdom. But there is nothing on earth more hard and difficult, than in times of trials and temptations to do the ſame.

What I ſay, I have by good experience, for I know well the devil's craft and ſubtilty, in that he not only uſeth to blow the Law into us, to terrify and affright us, and out of mole-hills to make mountains; that is, to make a very hell of that which is but a ſmall and little ſin, which as a wondrous juggler he can perform artificially; yea alſo, he can ſometimes make ſuch to be great and heavy ſins which are no ſins; for he brings one threatening ſentence or other, out of the Holy Scriptures, and before we be aware, he giveth ſo hard a blow to our hearts, and that in a moment, that inſtantly we loſe all light and ſight, and do take him to be the true Chriſt, whereas it is only the envious devil.

Chriſt hath a great Authority, and he will have that we ſhall receive his Word.

WHEN Chriſt ſpeaketh a word (ſaid *Luther*) univerſal nature and creature doth or ſhall obey. Therefore, concerning the ſtate of matrimony, which the Pope hath forbidden, how can he in the ſight of God be excuſed? whereas God ſaid, *Multiply and increaſe.* When the Emperor ſpeaketh a word, it is held of ſome value; but when Chriſt ſpeaketh, it pierceth through heaven and earth. Therefore we muſt regard this man's words otherwiſe than the words of Emperors, Popes, &c. for he is true and very God.

That Chriſt expounded the Law.

WHEN Chriſt preached, Matt. v. he then confuted, reproved, and contradicted the falſe expounders of the Law, and reſtored Moſes again whom they had falſified, and ſaid, Thus and thus we ought to underſtand Moſes.

That Chriſt and the Pope are ſet on, the one againſt the other.

I (Said *Luther*) have ſet Chriſt and the Pope together by the ears, therefore I trouble myſelf no further; and although I come between the door and the hinges and be ſqueezed, it is no matter, though I go to the ground; yet, notwithſtanding, Chriſt will go through with it.

Of the Pre-eminence of God's Word.

CHRIST once appeared viſible here on earth, and ſhewed his glory, and according to the divine counſel and purpoſe of God he finiſhed the work of redemption and the deliverance of mankind. I do not deſire that he ſhould come once more, neither would I that he ſhould ſend an angel unto me; and although an angel ſhould come and appear before mine eyes from heaven, yet would I not believe him; for I have of my Saviour Chriſt Jeſus bond and ſeal; that is, I have his Word and Spirit; thereon I do depend, and deſire no new revelations. And (ſaid *Luther*) the more ſtedfaſtly to confirm me in the ſame reſolution, and to remain by God's Word, and not to give credit to any viſions or revelations, ſhall relate the following circumſtance: I, being on Good Friday laſt in my inner-chamber in fervent prayer, contemplating with myſelf, how Chriſt my Saviour hung on the Croſs, how he ſuffered and died for our ſins, there ſuddenly appeared upon the wall a bright ſhining viſion, and a glorious form of our Saviour Chriſt, with the five wounds, ſtedfaſtly looking upon me, as if it had been Chriſt himſelf corporally. Now, at the firſt ſight, I thought it had been ſome good Revelation; yet I recollected that ſurely it muſt needs be the juggling of the devil, for Chriſt appeareth unto us in his word, and in a meaner and more humble form; therefore I ſpake to the viſion in this manner, Avoid thou confounded devil: I I know no other Chriſt than he who was crucified, and who in his Word is pictured unto me. Whereupon the image vaniſhed.

That Chriſt is the Health and Wiſdom of the Faithful.

ALAS! (ſaid *Luther*), what is our wit and wiſdom? for before we underſtand any thing as we ought, we lie down and die; therefore the devil hath good ſtriving with us. When one is thirty years old, ſo hath he as yet *Stultitias carnales*; yea alſo, *Stultitias ſpirituales*; yet it is much to be admired that, in ſuch our imbecility and weakneſs, we atchieve and accompliſh ſo much and ſuch great matters, but it is God that giveth it. God gave to Alexander the Great, *Sapientiam & fortunam*, Wiſdom and good ſucceſs; yet, notwithſtanding, he calleth him, in the Prophet Jeremiah, *Juvenem*, a Youth, where he ſaith, *Quis excitabit juvenem*, A young raw milk-ſop boy ſhall perform it; he ſhall come and turn the city Tyrus upſide down. But yet Alexander could not leave off his fooliſhneſs, for oftentimes he ſwilled himſelf drunk, and in his drunkenneſs he ſtabbed his beſt and worthieſt friends; yea, afterwards he drank himſelf to death at Babel. Neither was Solomon above twenty years old when he was made King, but he was well inſtructed by Nathan, and deſired wiſdom, which was pleaſing to God as the text ſaith. But now cheſts full of money are deſired. O! ſay we now, if I had but money, then I would do ſo and ſo.

That Chriſt was ſoon weary of this Life, and ſo are true Chriſtians.

CHRIST would not ſtay long on earth (ſaid *Luther*) with his preaching, but gave his kingdom, rule, and government over to his Father, and ordained Apoſtles; from whence Paul, and others, crieth, *Cupio diſſolvi*, I deſire to be diſſolved, &c. They had ſoon enough of this world. Even ſo do we now cry, We have enough of this life, and are weary of it.

Chriſt will ſave both Jews and Gentiles.

CHRIST ſaid to the Heatheniſh woman, I am not ſent but to the loſt ſheep of the houſe of Iſrael; yet afterwards he helped both her and her daughter: therefore (ſaid *Luther*) a man may ſay, Chriſt, at that time, ſpake againſt his own conſcience.

True it is, Chriſt was not ſent to the Gentiles, but when the Gentiles came unto him, he would not reject nor put them from him. In perſon he was ſent only to the Jews, and therefore he preached in the Land of the Jews. But through the Apoſtles his doctrine went into the whole world. And St. Paul nameth the Lord Chriſt, *Miniſtrum Circumciſionis*, by reaſon of the promiſe which God gave to the fathers, wherein God truly performed his promiſe. The Jews themſelves boaſt of God's juſtneſs in performing what he promiſed, but we Gentiles do boaſt ourſelves of God's mercy, neither hath God forgotten us Gentiles. Indeed (ſaid *Luther*), God ſpake not with us, neither had we King nor Prophet with whom God ſpake; but St. Paul in another place ſaith, It was neceſſary that the Word ſhould firſt be preached to you, but ſeeing you will not receive it, lo! we turn to the Gentiles. At this the Jews are much offended to this day; they flatter themſelves, Meſſiah is only and alone for them and theirs. Indeed (ſaid *Luther*) it is a glorious name and title which Moſes giveth them, *Tu es gens ſancta*, Thou art an holy nation; but David in his Pſalm afterwards promiſeth Chriſt to the Gentiles, *Laudate Dominum omnes gentes*, Praiſe the Lord all ye Nations, &c. The good and loving Apoſtles hardly underſtood this ſentence; they thought that they ſhould be made great perſons; they had already ſhared the people to themſelves, as the two Diſciples which went to Emaus ſaid, We hoped he ſhould have delivered Iſrael: but this their conceit and opinion muſt be mortified, the good fellows were poſſeſſed with ſuch carnal cogitations; yet our Saviour Chriſt dealeth mildly, and hath patience with them and their weakneſs. Doubtleſs he was an exceeding amiable, mild, and friendly man, and ſo is he ſtill with us to this day, but we know it not. Afterwards, on Whitſunday, the Diſciples were inſtructed otherwiſe.

What our Thoughts ought to be of Chriſt.

WE ſhould remember the hiſtories of Chriſt three manner of ways; firſt, As a hiſtory of acts or legends. Secondly, As a gift or a preſent. Thirdly, As an example, which we ſhould believe and follow. Hiſtories (ſaid *Luther*) are mighty and powerful examples of the faith, and of unbelief.

David's Praiſing and Boaſting of his Goodneſs and Godlineſs.

THE cauſe why David ſo highly boaſted of his uprightneſs, whereas he was both a murderer and an adulterer, was this (ſaid *Luther*); We ought well and thoroughly to regard this little word (*meam*, my), for when David ſaith, My righteouſneſs, then we muſt give him a ſound *Correlative*; as, My righteouſneſs, underſtand, towards mine enemies; in regard of my dealing with mine enemies, I am juſt; for thou God knoweſt that I have a juſt cauſe.

That Chriſt was ſilent and did not preach, until he was Thirty Years of Age.

CHRIST, our bleſſed Saviour (ſaid *Luther*), did forbear to preach and teach until the thirtieth year of his age, neither would he openly be heard; no, notwithſtanding he beheld and heard ſo many impieties, abominable idolatries, hereſies, blaſphemings of God, &c. It was a wonderful thing that he could abſtain, and with patience endure the ſame, until the time came that he was to appear in his office of preaching.

Of the Manner of Preaching in Popedom.

IN Popedom (ſaid *Luther*) they held it for a frivolous thing, once to name Chriſt in the pulpits: neither were the names of the Prophets and Apoſtles at any time remembered, nor their writings quoted. But the rule and manner of their preaching was this; Firſt, To produce a theme, a ſentence, or a queſtion. Secondly, To part and divide the ſame. Thirdly, They proceeded to diſtinguiſh, &c. ſuch preachers as were held for the beſt; they remained not by the Goſpel, neither did they trouble themſelves with any ſentence out of Scripture; nay, the holy Scripture with them was altogether covered, unknown, and buried.

Of God's Honour.

IT is an honour and praiſe to God, that he ſent his Son to be made man, to take upon him our fleſh and blood; which myſtery is ſo deep, that no human creature can be able ſufficiently to meditate thereof, and yet we are ſo cold and unthankful. Fie upon this wicked Adam's fall! that we ſhould not love this our Lord and Saviour, who ſo dearly hath delivered and redeemed us from death.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE HOLY GHOST.

Of the Holy Ghoſt.

THE Holy Ghoſt (ſaid *Luther*) hath two offices: Firſt, He is a Spirit of Grace, that maketh God gracious unto us, and to receive us as his acceptable children for Chriſt's ſake. Secondly, He is a Spirit of Prayer, that prayeth for us, and for the whole world; to the end that all evil may be turned from us, and that all good may happen towards us. The Spirit of Grace teacheth people; but the Spirit of Prayer prayeth, That God's name may be hallowed.

It is a wonder that one thing only is accompliſhed various ways. It is one thing to have the Holy Spirit as a ſpirit of prophecy, and it is another thing to have the revealing of the ſame; for many have had the Holy Spirit before the birth of Chriſt, and yet notwithſtanding he was not revealed unto them.

We do not ſeparate the Holy Ghoſt from faith; neither do we teach that he is againſt faith; for he is the certainty itſelf in the Word, that maketh us ſure and certain of the Word; ſo that, without all wavering or doubting, we certainly believe that it is even ſo and no otherwiſe than as God's Word ſaith and is delivered

livered unto us. But the Holy Ghoſt is given to none without the Word (ſaith *Luther*), but through the Word.

At the time of this diſcourſe, Doctor Hennage ſaid to *Luther*, Sir, you ſay that the Holy Spirit is the certainty in the Word towards God, that is, that a man is certain of his own mind and opinion; then it muſt needs follow, that all ſects have the Holy Ghoſt, for they will needs be moſt certain of their doctrine and religion.

To which *Luther* anſwered him and ſaid, Mahomet, the Pope, and Papiſts, the Antinomians, and other ſectaries, have no certainty at all, neither can they be ſure of theſe things; for they depend not on God's Word, but on their own righteouſneſs; they have nothing upright, they conſtrue and make gloſſes, they underſtand God's Word according to their human and natural ſenſe and reaſon. And when they have done many and great works, yet they always ſtand in doubt, and think thus, Who knoweth, whether this which we have done be pleaſing to God or no; or, whether we have done works enough or not? They muſt continually think with themſelves, We are ſtill unworthy, &c.

But (ſaid *Luther*) a true and godly Chriſtian (between theſe two doubts) is ſure and certain, and ſaith, I regard nothing theſe doubtings; I neither look upon my holineſs, nor upon my unworthineſs, but I believe in Jeſus Chriſt, who is both holy and worthy; and whether I be holy or unholy, yet I am ſure and certain, that Chriſt giveth himſelf (with all his holineſs, worthineſs, and what he is and hath) to be mine own. For my part, I am a poor ſinner, and that I am ſure of out of God's Word.

Therefore, the Holy Ghoſt only and alone is able to ſay, Jeſus Chriſt is the Lord; the Holy Ghoſt teacheth, preacheth, and declareth Chriſt, all others do blaſpheme him.

The Holy Ghoſt (ſaid *Luther*) goeth firſt and before in what pertaineth to teaching; but in what concerneth hearing, the Word goeth firſt and before, and then the Holy Ghoſt followeth after. For we muſt firſt hear the Word, and then afterwards the Holy Ghoſt worketh in our hearts; he worketh in the hearts of whom he will, and when he pleaſeth. To conclude, the Holy Ghoſt worketh not without the Word.

At what Time the Holy Ghoſt began to finiſh his Office.

THE Holy Ghoſt (ſaid *Luther*) began his office and work openly on Whitſunday; for he gave to the Apoſtles and Diſciples of Chriſt a true and a certain comfort in their hearts, and a ſecure and joyful courage, inſomuch that they regarded not whether the world and the devil were merry or ſad, whether they were friends or enemies, were angry or laughed. They went in all ſecurity up and down the ſtreets of the city, and doubtleſs they had theſe, or the like thoughts: We regard neither Hannas nor Caïphas, neither Pilate nor Herod; they are nothing worth, but we are all in all; they altogether are our ſubjects and ſervants, and we their lords and rulers, &c.

So went the loving Apoſtles on, and proceeded with all courage, without aſking any leave or licence.

They aſked not firſt, whether they ſhould preach or no; or whether the prieſts and people would allow thereof? O no! They went on boldly, they opened their mouths freely, and reproved all the people (both rulers and ſubjects) as murderers, as wicked wretches and traitors, who had ſlain the Prince of Life.

And

And indeed ſuch a ſpirit was very needful and neceſſary at that time for the Apoſtles and Diſciples (even to this day it is needful for us); for our adverſaries do now accuſe us, as they did the Apoſtles, as rebels, as diſturbers of the peace of the Church: or whatſoever evil happeneth, that, ſay they, have we done, or are the cauſe of the ſame.

Our adverſaries cry out, and ſay, In Popedom it was not ſo evil as it is ſince this doctrine came in; now we have all manner of miſchiefs, dearth, wars, and the Turks.

They lay all the fault in our preaching, and, if they could, would charge us of being the cauſe of the devil's falling from heaven; yea, that we had crucified and ſlain Chriſt alſo.

Therefore the Whitſuntide ſermons of the Holy Ghoſt, are very needful for us, that thereby we may be comforted, and with boldneſs may contemn and ſlight ſuch blaſpheming, and that the Holy Ghoſt may put boldneſs and courage into our hearts, that we may ſtoutly thruſt ourſelves forward, let who will be offended, and let who will reproach us: and although ſects and hereſies ariſe, yet we may not regard the ſame. Such a courage (ſaid *Luther*) there muſt be that careth for nothing, but boldly and freely to acknowledge and to preach Chriſt, who of wicked hands was crucified and ſlain.

For the manner and nature of a preached Goſpel, is offenſive in all places of the world, and is rejected and condemned.

If (ſaid *Luther*) the Goſpel might not offend and anger neither citizen nor countryman, neither Prince nor Biſhop, then it would be a fine and an acceptable preaching, and well might be tolerated, and people would willingly hear and receive it with pleaſue and delight. But ſeeing it is ſuch a kind of preaching which maketh people angry (eſpecially the great, and powerful, and deep-learned ones of the world), ſo that great courage is neceſſary, and the Holy Ghoſt to thoſe that intend to preach the ſame.

It was indeed (ſaid *Luther*) an undaunted courage in the poor fiſhers (the Apoſtles) to ſtand up and preach in ſuch ſort, that the whole council at Jeruſalem were offended thereat, and thereby to bring upon them the wrath and diſpleaſure of the whole government of the ſpiritual and temporal ſtate, yea, of the Roman Emperor himſelf; and, which is more, to open their mouths ſo wide, as to ſay, Ye are all traitors and murtherers, &c. Truly, the ſame could not have been done without the Holy Ghoſt.

Therefore, the ſermons appointed for Whitſuntide, of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould be alſo our comfort and joy, and ſhould put courage into our hearts at this time to preach undauntedly, and not to regard the anger of the world, but that we ſhould venture our all, and be ready to ſuffer for Chriſt's ſake.

It was a great wonder (ſaid *Luther*) that the High Prieſt, together with Pontius Pilate, did not cauſe thoſe Preachers that hour to be put to death. For it founded much of rebellion againſt the ſpiritual and temporal government; yet, notwithſtanding, both High Prieſts and Pilate muſt be ſtruck with fear, even where no fear was, to the end that God might ſhew his power in the Apoſtles weakneſs.

This is the manner of the Church of Chriſt; it goeth on in apparent weakneſs; and yet in weakneſs there is ſuch mighty ſtrength and power, that all the worldly wiſe and powerful muſt ſtand amazed thereat and fear.

What the Holy Ghoſt is.

IT is witneſſed by holy Scripture (ſaid *Luther*), and the *Symbolum* of Nice out of Holy Scripture teacheth, that the Holy Ghoſt is he that maketh alive, and together with the Father and the Son is worſhipped, and with them is honoured.

Therefore the Holy Ghoſt, of neceſſity, muſt be true and everlaſting God with the Father and the Son in one only eſſence. For if he were not true and everlaſting God, then could not be attributed and given unto him the divine power and honour, that he maketh alive, and that together with the Father and the Son he is worſhipped and glorified, touching which point the Fathers powerfully did ſet themſelves againſt the Hereticks, and out of Holy Scripture ſtoutly maintained the ſame.

Of the Office of the Holy Ghoſt.

THE Holy Ghoſt (ſaid *Luther*) is God everlaſting, as we acknowledge and believe in our Chriſtian faith. Our Saviour Chriſt giveth unto him ſundry names and titles: Firſt, He calleth him a Reprover, *Who reproveth the World of ſin*, &c. Secondly, a Comforter. Thirdly, a Spirit of Truth. Fourthly, that he proceedeth from the Father; in each particular it appears that he is true and eternal God with the Father and the Son. Fifthly, that he witneſſeth of Chriſt, &c.

Wherewith the Holy Ghoſt comforteth, and from whence he is called a Comforter.

ANSWER: The world (ſaith Chriſt) will excommunicate and kill you as Hereticks and Rebels, and will think they do right therein; yea, that therein they do God good ſervice; ye muſt be held in the wrong, ſo that every man will ſay, O! theſe Hereticks are ſerved rightly, Who would wiſh them better? As then you will be weak in your conſciences, and oftentimes will think with yourſelves, Who knoweth whether we have done right or no? Surely, we have done too much; ſo that ye will be held to be in the wrong both before the world and in your own conſciences.

As if Chriſt ſhould ſay, Son or Daughter be of good cheer; foraſmuch as I know how it will go with you, namely, that you ſhall find comfort neither in the world, nor from yourſelves; therefore I will not forſake you, nor ſuffer you to ſink in ſuch need; but when all comfort in the world is gone, and when ye are terrified and diſmayed, then I will ſend unto you the Holy Ghoſt, the true Comforter; he ſhall cheer up your hearts again, and ſhall ſay unto you, Be of good comfort, and faint not; do not regard nor care for the cenſure of the world, nor what your own thoughts are, but hold ye faſt on that which I ſay. The Holy Ghoſt (ſaid *Luther*) is a Comforter, and not a breeder of ſorrow; for where ſorrow and heavineſs is, there the Holy Ghoſt is not at home. The devil is a ſpirit of fear and frighting, but the Holy Ghoſt is a Comforter.

Why the Holy Ghoſt is called the Spirit of Truth.

ANSWER: The Holy Ghoſt (ſaid *Luther*) is not ſuch a Comforter as the world is, where neither truth nor conſtancy is; but he is a true, an everlaſting, and a conſtant Comforter, without deceit and lies; he is one whom no man can deceive.

Wherefore

Wherefore is He called a Witneſs?

ANSWER: Becauſe he beareth witneſs only of Chriſt and of none other; without this witneſs of the Holy Ghoſt concerning Chriſt, there is no true nor conſtant comfort. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) it reſteth all on this, that we take ſure hold on the text, and ſay, I believe in Jeſus Chriſt, who died for me; and I know that the Holy Ghoſt (who is called, and is a witneſs and a Comforter) doth preach and witneſs (in Chriſtendom) of none, but only of Chriſt, therewith to ſtrengthen and comfort all ſad and ſorrowful hearts. Thereon will I alſo remain, and will depend upon none other for comfort.

Witneſſes out of Holy Scripture, that the Holy Ghoſt is God, and yet he is another Perſon than is the Father and the Son.

HEREIN (ſaid *Luther*) it is needleſs to give credit and to believe what man ſaith; for our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt himſelf preacheth and witneſſeth in moſt loving and ſweet ſort, that the Holy Ghoſt is Everlaſting and Almighty God. Otherwiſe he would not have directed his commiſſion and command in that form and way, where he ſaith, *Go, and teach all nations, and baptize them in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, aud teach them to keep and obſerve all things whatſoever I have commanded you*, &c. Matth. xxviii. But ſeeing he directeth his commiſſion in ſuch ſort with expreſs words, it muſt needs follow, that the Holy Ghoſt is true, eternal God, equal in power and might with the Father and the Son without all end. Otherwiſe Chriſt would not have ſet and placed him next and with himſelf and the Father in ſuch a work as the remiſſion of ſins and everlaſting life. Likewiſe Chriſt ſaith alſo, *And I will pray the Father, and he ſhall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; Even the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive, becauſe it ſeeth him not, neither knoweth him.* Mark well, I pray (ſaid *Luther*), this ſentence; for therein we find the difference of the Three Perſons diſtinctly held out unto us. *I* (ſaith Chriſt) *will pray the Father, and he ſhall give you another Comforter.* Here we have Two Perſons, Chriſt the Son that prayeth, and the Father that is prayed unto. Now if the Father ſhall give ſuch a Comforter, then the Father himſelf cannot be that Comforter; neither can Chriſt (that prayeth) be the ſame. Inſomuch that very ſignificantly the Three Perſons herein are plainly pictured and pourtrayed unto us. For even as the Father and the Son are two diſtinct and ſundry Perſons; Even ſo, the third perſon of the Holy Ghoſt is another diſtinct Perſon, and yet notwithſtanding there is but one only everlaſting God.

Now what the ſame third Perſon is, Chriſt teacheth, John xv. where he ſaith, *But when the Comforter is come, whom I will ſend unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth, which proceedeth from the Father, he ſhall teſtify of me*, &c.

In this place (ſaid *Luther*) Chriſt ſpeaketh not only of the office and work of the Holy Ghoſt, but alſo of his eſſence and ſubſtance, and ſaith, *He proceedeth from the Father*; that is, His proceeding is without beginning, and is everlaſting. Therefore the Holy Prophets do attribute and give unto him this title, and do call him, *The Spirit of the Lord*, Joel ii.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

OF SINS.

Of the Difference between Original and Actual Sins.

NONE of the Fathers of the Church made mention of Original Sin until Auſtin came, who made a difference between Original and Actual Sin; namely, that Original Sin is to covet, luſt, and deſire, which is the root and cauſe of Actual Sin; ſuch luſt and deſire in the Faithful, God forgiveth, and imputeth it not unto them, for the ſake of Chriſt, ſeeing they reſiſt the ſame by the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt. According to St. Paul, Rom. viii. where he ſaith, *If ye live after the fleſh, ye ſhall die; but if ye through the Spirit mortify the deeds of the body, ye ſhall live.* Here we have a very clear difference between ſaints and ſinners.

To Sin againſt the known Truth.

MANY there are (ſaid *Luther*) of the Papiſts and others who do oppoſe the known truth. St. Paul ſaith, *A man that is an Heretick after the firſt and ſecond admonition, rejects* knowing that he that is ſuch is ſubverted, and ſinneth, being condemned of himſelf. And Chriſt ſaith, *Let them alone, they are blind leaders of the blind*, &c. Therefore if one err through ignorance, ſuch will be inſtructed; but if he be hardened and will not yield to the truth, like unto Pharaoh, who would not acknowledge his ſins, nor humble himſelf before God, and therefore was deſtroyed in the Red Sea. Even ſo God will deſtroy every obdurate and impenitent ſinner.

Of Sins againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

SINS againſt the Holy Ghoſt (ſaid *Luther*) are, firſt, Preſumption; ſecond, Deſpair; third, To oppoſe and condemn the known truth; fourth, Not to wiſh well, but to grudge one's brother or neighbour the grace of God; fifth, To be hardened; ſixth, Impenitency.

Touching the Difference of Sins.

AT the Imperial Aſſembly held at Auſpurg, *anno* 1530, when the Confeſſion of the Proteſtants was read before the Emperor, and all the States of the Empire, there William Duke of Bavaria (who vehemently oppoſed the Doctrine of the Goſpel) aſked Docter Eck, and ſaid, Sir, may we overthrow this Doctrine out of the Holy Scripture? Then ſaid Docter Eck, No; by the Holy Scriptures we cannot, but by the Fathers we may; whereupon the Cardinal Albertus ſaid to the Duke, Behold how finely our Divines ſtand to us. The Proteſtants (ſaid he) have their doctrines out of Holy Scripture; but we have ours without the Scriptures.

The ſame Biſhop ſaid at that time, touching an agreement between the Proteſtants and Papiſts, Ah! ſaid he, what agreement can be made? the Proteſtants have one article, which we never can confute (though all the reſt were falſe); namely, that of Matrimony, *Hæc teſtimoni ipſorum* (ſaid *Luther*) *valde nos confirmant*. Therefore

to

to ſpeak according to Scripture, all this is truly called wilful ſinning. For we are all ſinners by nature; we are conceived and born in ſin; ſin has poiſoned us through and through; we have from Adam a will, which continually ſetteth itſelf againſt God, except by the Holy Ghoſt it be renewed and changed. Of this neither the philoſophers nor the lawyers know any thing; therefore they are juſtly excluded from the circuit of divinity, not grounding their doctrine upon God's Word.

There are three ſorts of Ignorance, One is called Invincible; the ſecond, Groſs; the third, Wilful. Invincible Ignorance is, when one knows nothing of the laws deſcribed, whether human or divine. This ignorance all Heathen nations are in, Inaſmuch as they neither know nor believe that God is Three in Perſon and was made man. Therefore they are held innocent by worldly wiſe people; but in Divinity they are not ſo, for St. Paul ſaith, *They are all gone out of the way*, &c. And Death paſſed upon all men, for all have ſinned; that is (ſaid *Luther*), upon all, yea, even upon little children and ſucklings.

Groſs ignorance is when one has no deſire to learn; ſuch is juſtly ignorant; that is, he is not altogether innocent, though he is in ſome degree.

But ignorance, which is affected and indulged, is, when one wilfully will not know a thing; this the lawyers do call, *Dolum malum*, wicked craftineſs, as now our Papiſts are.

Of the greateſt Sins which are committed againſt God.

THE greateſt ſins which are committed againſt God, are the violations of the firſt Table of the Law. No man underſtandeth nor feeleth theſe ſins, but he only that hath the Holy Ghoſt and the grace of God. Therefore people are ſecure, and although ſuch do draw God's wrath upon them, yet they flatter themſelves that they ſtill remain in God's favour. Yea they corrupt the Word of God, and condemn the ſame; yet they think, they do that which is pleaſing to God, and do him ſpecial ſervice. As for example: Paul thought not otherwiſe; for he held the Law of God to be the higheſt and moſt precious treaſure on earth, as we do the Goſpel. He would venture life and blood to maintain it; and he thought he wanted neither underſtanding, wiſdom, nor power.

But before he could rightly look about him, and thought his cauſe moſt ſure, then he heard another leſſon, he got another manner of commiſſion, and it was told him plainly, That all his works, his actions, his diligence and zeal were quite againſt God. Yet, notwithſtanding, his doings carried the beſt and faireſt luſtre and reſpect, by the learned, and ſeemingly holy people, inſomuch that they muſt ſay, Paul dealt therein uprightly, and performed divine and holy works in ſhewing ſuch zeal for God's honour and for the Law.

But God (ſaid *Luther*) ſtruck him on the ear, that he fell to the ground, and muſt hear, *Saul, Saul, quid perſequeris me?* As if he ſhould ſay, Saul, even with that which thou thinkeſt to do me ſervice, even with the ſame thou doſt nothing elſe but perſecute me, as my greateſt enemy; and it is true, Thou boaſteſt that thou haſt my Word, that thou underſtandeſt the Law, and wilt earneſtly defend and maintain the ſame, thou receiveſt witneſs and authority from the Elders and Scribes, and in ſuch thy conceit and blind zeal thou proceedeſt.

But know, That in my law I have commanded, That whoſo taketh my name in vain, the ſame ſhall die. Thou, Saul, takeſt my name in vain, therefore thou art juſtly puniſhed.

That Paul had broke the third command, his works and actions plainly prove For he perſecuted the Son of God, the true Meſſiah, or Chriſt, who is the Word, and. is called the name of God.

This argument Paul could not unlooſe; therefore, muſt he creep to the Croſs, muſt be aſhamed of his proceedings, and ſay, I have not rightly underſtood the Law of God; he muſt acknowledge and confeſs his great ſins, his unjuſt dealing, his unbelief, his corrupt underſtanding and blindneſs; he muſt pronounce his own ſentence, and ſay, I am rightly ſerved. Therefore he ſaith, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? Mark (ſaid *Luther*), this man was a maſter in the Law and Moſes, and yet now aſketh, What he ſhould do?

That the greateſt and moſt common Sin, is, the Contemning of God's Word.

BESIDES theſe great and grievous ſins, we have within us many things (ſaid *Luther*) which is againſt our Lord God, and which juſtly diſpleaſeth him: ſuch as anger, impatience, covetouſneſs, care and carping for the belly, incontinency, luſt, hatred, malice, and other vices. Theſe are great ſins, which every where in the world go on with power, and get the upper hand. Yet theſe are nothing in compariſon of Contemning of God's Word; yea, all thoſe ſins would remain uncommitted, if we did but love and reverence the ſame. But, alas! we find the contrary, and that the whole world is drowned in this ſin. No man giveth a fillip for the Goſpel, but all do ſnarl at and perſecute it, yet they hold the ſame for no ſin. In like manner I behold with wonder in the Church, that among the hearers, one goeth this way, another that way; and among ſo great a multitude, there are few that come there with intent to mark what is delivered in the ſermon. Moreover, this ſin is ſo common, that people will not confeſs and acknowledge the ſame to be like other ſins; every one holdeth it for a ſlight thing to hear without attention, and not diligently to mark, learn, and inwardly digeſt the ſame. It is not ſo about other ſins; as murder, adultery, thieving, &c. For, after theſe ſins, in due time doth follow grief or ſorrow of heart, and would wiſh they had not been committed. But not to hear God's Word with diligence, yea, to contemn, to perſecute it, of this man maketh no account. Therefore, it is a ſin ſo fearful, for the committing of which both land and people muſt be deſtroyed. For ſo it went with Jeruſalem, with Rome, Greece, and other kingdoms.

In this manner went it alſo with the Chriſtians towards the Eaſt, in thoſe excellent, great and fair countries, which now the Turk hath brought under his rule. Hungary is now likewiſe almoſt gone, where God's Word hath been, and is contemned, therefore they muſt now hear the Turk with his Alcoran.

We Germans, and other nations, will not hear nor ſuffer the Goſpel, therefore we muſt ſuffer the devil's ſects, the Antinomians, and other ſeducers; for ſo it muſt go where God's Word is deſpiſed and will not be heard. And ſeeing that the ſame is the higheſt and greateſt ſin, ſo belongeth thereunto the greateſt and ſharpeſt puniſhment.

Of the Difference of the Phariſee's and the Publican's Sins.

CHRIST well knew (ſaid *Luther*) how to make a difference of ſins; for we ſee in the Goſpel, how harſh he was towards the Phariſees, by reaſon of their great hatred and envy againſt him and his Word. But, on the contrary, how mild and friendly he ſhewed himſelf towards the woman which was a ſinner. This envy will needs rob Chriſt of his Word, for he is a bitter enemy unto him, and in the end will crucify him. But the woman, as the greateſt ſinner, taketh hold on the Word, heareth Chriſt, and believeth that he is the only Saviour of the world;

world; ſhe waſheth his feet, and anointeth him with a coſtly water: from whence Chriſt ſaid to the Phariſee which invited him, *Thou haſt given me no kiſs*, &c. Therefore, let us acknowledge ourſelves to be ſinners, and not proud and puffed-up ſaints.

Example——That God forgiveth Sins.

LET us (ſaid *Luther*) not think ourſelves more juſt than was the poor ſinner and murderer on the Croſs. I believe, if the Apoſtles had not falle n, they would not have believed the Remiſſion of Sins. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*), when the devil upbraideth me touching my ſins, then I ſay, Good Sir Peter, although I am a great ſinner, yet I have not denied Chriſt my Saviour, as you have done. In ſuch inſtances the Forgiveneſs of Sins remaineth confirmed. And although the Apoſtles were ſinners, yet our Saviour Chriſt always excuſed them (as when they plucked the ears of corn); but on the contrary, he jeered the Phariſees touching the paying of tribute, as he commonly ſhewed his diſapprobation of them; but the diſciples he always comforted, as Peter, where he ſaith, *Fear not, thou ſhalt henceforth catch men.*

That God leaveth no Sins unpuniſhed which are not acknowledged and confeſſed, eſpecially Sins againſt the firſt Table.

NO ſinner (ſaid *Luther*) can outrun his puniſhment, except he be ſorry for his ſins, as experience teacheth. For although one eſcapeth ſcot-free, yet at laſt he will be ſnapped, as the Pſalm ſaith, *God indeed is ſtill judge on earth:* that is, He ſuffereth no evil to go unpuniſhed.

Our Lord God is never more diſpleaſed, than when we will defend and maintain our ſins, as Saul did; for the ſins which are not acknowledged, are againſt the firſt table of the law; but they which are acknowledged, are againſt the ſecond table. Saul ſinned againſt the firſt, but David ſinned againſt the ſecond. Such come eaſily to right again, through repentance. But the other, that ſin againſt the firſt table, do not (or very ſeldom) recover again; for they will not acknowledge that they have done amiſs.

Of the Fall of the Ungodly, and how they are ſurpriſed in their Ungodlineſs and Falſe Doctrine.

OUR Lord God (ſaid *Luther*) ſuffereth the ungodly to be ſurpriſed and taken captive in very ſlight and ſmall things, when they think not of it, when they are moſt ſecure, and live in delight and pleaſure, in ſpringing and leaping for joy. In ſuch a manner was the Pope ſurpriſed by me, in and about his indulgences and pardons, which was altogether a ſlight thing. The Venetians, likewiſe, were taken napping by Emperor Maximilian.

That which falleth in Heaven is deviliſh, but that which ſtumbleth on earth is human.

Of the Signs that God hath forgiven us our Sins.

GOD forgiveth ſins merely out of grace for Chriſt's ſake; but we muſt not abuſe the grace of God. God hath given ſigns and tokens enough, that our ſins ſhall be forgiven; namely, the Preaching of the Goſpel, Baptiſm, the Lord's Supper, and the Holy Ghoſt into our hearts.

Now it is alſo needful that we evidence by our works that we have received the

the Forgiveneſs of Sins, by each forgiving the faults of his brother. There is no compariſon between God's remitting of ſins, and that of ours. For what are one hundred pence, in compariſon of ten thouſand pounds (as Chriſt ſaith); nothing at all? And although we deſerve nothing by our forgiving, yet we muſt forgive, that thereby we may prove and give teſtimony, that we from God have received Forgiveneſs of our Sins.

To believe the Forgiveneſs of Sins, maketh one ſaved.

I REMAIN ſtill (ſaid *Luther*) wholly upon this article of the Remiſſion of Sins; I yield nothing at all the Law, nor to all the devils. Whoſo can but believe the Forgiveneſs of his Sins, the ſame is a happy creature.

That Chriſt forgiveth right and true Sins.

AS I was a friar in the monaſtery at Erffurt (ſaid *Luther*), I wrote to Doctor Staupitz thus, *O my ſins, ſins, ſins!* Whereupon he made me this anſwer, Thou wouldſt fain be without ſins, and yet thou haſt no right ſins, as murdering of parents, public blaſpheming, contemning of God, adultery, &c. Thou muſt have a regiſter, wherein are written and noted right and true ſins, if thou wilt have that Chriſt ſhall help thee; thou muſt not trouble thyſelf about ſuch puppy-ſins, nor make out of every Bombard a ſin.——This was a comfortable prieſt, fit for the devil.

Againſt Temptations.

IF (ſaid *Luther*) thou art tempted, by reaſon of thy ſins, in that thou art a ſinner, and haſt incurred God's anger againſt thee, then confeſs the ſame, and ſay, Yea, it is, alas! too, too true, that I am a great ſinner, but God is far greater than my ſins; I will neither add greater ſins to thoſe which I have already committed, nor will I deny the ſeat of grace, my Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

God did not caſt in David's teeth the ſixth and ſeventh commandments, by reaſon of his murder and adultery, but that for his ſake the name of God by the Gentiles was blaſphemed, &c.; for that is the moſt diſpleaſing to God.

Manaſſes ſhed ſo much blood in Jeruſalem, that it ſwam aloft, as the Scripture ſaith. But when he confeſſed them, and ſaid, *I have ſinned:* then the Lord, out of grace, forgave him. God ſaid alſo, touching Ahab, *He hath humbled*, or bowed, *himſelf before me.* Therefore, during his life, he was ſpared from puniſhment; he was an abominable wicked wretch. If Elias had not fled from him, he had alſo ſlain him. Moſt excellent examples there are of God's mercy.

A mayor in a city, a father and a mother, a maſter and a dame, tradeſmen and others (ſaid *Luther*) muſt now and then look through the fingers towards their citizens, children, and ſervants, if their faults and offences be not too groſs and frequent; for where we will have *ſummum jus*, the ſharpeſt law, there followeth oftentimes *ſumma injuria*, ſo that all muſt go to wreck. Neither do they which are in office always hit it rightly, but do err many times, and ſin in doing wrong, and muſt therefore deſire the Forgiveneſs of Sins.

That the Forgiveneſs of Sins muſt paſs through all Things.

THE Law (ſaid *Luther*) doth juſtify in no ſtate, calling and art; impoſſible it is that every thing ſhould go in a ſtraight line according to the Law, as we ſee

ſee in the grammar which is taught in ſchools; no rule is ſo common, which hath not an exception. Therefore, the Forgiveneſs of Sins is needful through life, and is held out in all arts and ſciences.

That which we call *mathematicum punctum* (which is ſo line-ſtraight, that it cannot be faulty in the leaſt and ſmalleſt point), the ſame is impoſſible; neither is the righteouſneſs or juſtification, according to the Law, any where to be found.

But *phyſicum punctum* (as they call it in the ſchools, where every thing is not juſt), the ſame ſheweth the Remiſſion of Sins, where we muſt have patience, though every thing be not as we could wiſh it to be.

But although that little point, which they call *mathematicum*, be no where to be found, yet we muſt, as near as poſſible, aim and ſhoot at the mark; yet ſo, that we muſt always look through the fingers. We muſt hear, and not hear; ſee, and not ſee, &c.

The lawyers in their art (ſaid *Luther*) muſt alſo ſeek for the Remiſſion of Sins; for they hit it not always right, when they pronounce wrong judgment, and that the devil for the ſame tormenteth their conſciences, then they are not able to reſiſt him, although they had the firſt council in the land to plead for them.

Where we ought to ſeek Forgiveneſs of Sins, and how we muſt take hold thereof.

THE Forgiveneſs of Sins is declared only in God's Word, and there we muſt ſeek it; for it is grounded on God's promiſes. God forgiveth thee thy ſins, not becauſe thou feeleſt them and art ſorry, for that doth ſin itſelf produce, and can deſerve nothing; but he forgiveth thy ſins becauſe he is merciful, and becauſe he hath promiſed to forgive for Chriſt's ſake, his dearly beloved Son, and cauſed his word to be applied to thee; namely, *Be of good comfort, thy ſins are forgiven thee.*

Of the Secureneſs of Sins.

WHEN God ſaid to Cain, *If thou do well, ſhalt thou not be accepted? And if thou doſt not well, ſin lieth at the door.* He therewith ſheweth the ſecureneſs of ſinners, and he ſpeaketh with him as with the greateſt hypocrite, and poiſoned Capuchin friar; and as if Adam ſhould ſay, Thou haſt heard how it went with me in Paradiſe; I alſo would willingly have hid my offence with fig leaves, and did lurk behind a tree, but know, good fellow, our Lord God will not be deceived, the fig-leaves would not ſerve the turn, &c.

Ah (ſaid *Luther*)! it was, doubtleſs, to good Adam, a ſmarting and a ſorrowful taſk, in that he was compelled to exclude, to baniſh and to proſcribe, his firſt-begotten and only Son, to hunt him away and drive him out of his houſe, and to ſay, Depart from me, and come no more in my ſight; I ſtill feel what I have already loſt in Paradiſe, I will loſe no more for thy ſake; I will now, with more diligence, take heed to my God's commandments. And no doubt (ſaid *Luther*) Adam afterwards preached with earneſt diligence.

Of Hatred and Pride.

THESE two ſins, Hatred and Pride, do deck and trim themſelves, like as the devil clothed himſelf in the godhead. Hatred will be godlike; Pride will be truth. Theſe two (ſaid *Luther*) are right deadly ſins: Hatred, is killing; Pride, is lying.

Of the Acknowledgment of Sins.

IT can be hurtful to none (ſaid *Luther*) to acknowledge and confeſs their ſins. Have we done this or that ſin, what then? Let us freely in God's name acknowledge the ſame, and not deny it; let us not be aſhamed to confeſs, but let us from our hearts ſay, O Lord God! I am ſuch and ſuch a ſinner, &c.

And although thou hadſt not committed this or that ſin, yet, nevertheleſs, thou art an ungodly creature; and if thou haſt not done that ſin which another hath done, ſo hath he not committed that ſin which thou haſt done; therefore cry quittance one with another. It is even as one ſaid that had young wolves to ſell, he was aſked, which of them was the beſt? He anſwered, and ſaid, If one be good, then they are all good, they are like one another. If (ſaid *Luther*) thou haſt been a murderer, an adulterer, a whoremonger, or a drunkard, &c. ſo have I been a blaſphemer of God, becauſe for the ſpace of fifteen years together, I was a Friar, and have blaſphemed God with celebrating that abominable idol the Maſs. It had been better for me that I had been a partaker of other great wickedneſſes inſtead of the ſame; but what is done cannot be undone; he that hath ſtolen, let him henceforward ſteal no more.

Sins diſtinguiſhed.

THE ſins of common ſimple people are nothing in regard of the ſins which are committed by great and high perſons, that are in ſpiritual and temporal offices.

What are the ſins done by a poor wretch, that according to law and juſtice is hanged; or the offences of a poor whore, to be compared to the ſins of a falſe teacher, who daily make away with many poor people, and killeth them both in body and ſoul? But ſuch ſins which are committed againſt the firſt Table of God's Ten Commandments, are not ſo much regarded by the world, as thoſe which are committed againſt the ſecond Table.

Of Sins of Blaſphemy.

WHEN the devil bloweth into my breaſt (ſaid *Luther*) that Chriſt is not gracious unto me, the ſame is a ſin of blaſphemy; for God hath promiſed and earneſtly commanded, that we ſhall expect forgiveneſs of ſins only of this Chriſt; he that will not, maketh God a liar: but I muſt talk with the devil in this manner, and ſay, Although I am a ſinner and unrighteous, yet Chriſt is righteous, in him do I believe, he beſtoweth all his righteouſneſs upon me.

That Sins do grow and increaſe.

IN the eighty-ſixth year of Abraham's age Iſmael was born, and before he attained to ninety-nine years, Sodom and Gomorrah were deſtroyed, ſo ſoon did ſin increaſe and got the upper hand in thoſe five cities: even as now the wickedneſs of mankind in a ſhort time is grown ſo great, and riſen to that heighth, that I dare preſume to ſay, The world cannot continue many hundred years longer. Sodom and Gomorrah were conſumed in the 488th year after the deluge of Noah.

Of Original Sins in Chriſtians.

ORIGINAL ſin, after regeneration (ſaid *Luther*), is like to a wound that beginneth to heal; and though it be a right wound, yet it is healed, and in continual practice of healing, though it ſtill runneth and be ſore.

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In ſuch a manner original ſin remaineth in Chriſtians until they die, yet it is mortified and continually dying. The head thereof is cruſhed in pieces, ſo that it cannot accuſe or condemn us.

Every Man ſeeketh his own Profit, ſeeing our Nature is ſpoiled.

ALL natural inclinations (ſaid *Luther*) are either without God or againſt him; therefore none are good. I prove it thus: All affections, deſires, and inclinations of mankind are evil, wicked and ſpoiled, as the Scripture ſaith.

Experince alſo witneſſeth the ſame; for we ſee that no man is ſo honeſt as to marry a wife, only thereby to have children, to love and to bring them up in the fear of God.

No valiant hero undertaketh great enterpriſes for the common good, but out of ambition, for which he is juſtly condemned: hence it muſt needs follow, That ſuch original natural deſires and inclinations are altogether wicked. But God beareth with them, and letteth them paſs in thoſe that believe in Chriſt.

Of the Picture of God's Mercy.

GOD hath pictured and placed before our eyes many ſtrong examples of his mercy ſhewn towards the godly that ſorely fell and groſly ſinned, among whom Adam is the firſt; afterwards others, as David, Job, Jeremiah, &c. who curſed the day of their birth. But (ſaid *Luther*) this word, Curſing, in the Hebrew tongue ſoundeth not ſo harſh as it doth in the High German language, but it is more mild than to wiſh evil and miſchief; it ſoundeth in Hebrew, as might we ſay, *Misfortune befall thee.*

Of Preſumption.

NOTHING is more hurtful, than when one preſumeth, flattereth, and dreameth, that he believeth and underſtandeth the Goſpel.

CHAP. X.

OF FREE-WILL.

Of the Name of Free-Will.

THE very name, Free-will, was odious (ſaid *Luther*) to all the Fathers. I, for my part, do yield that God hath given to mankind a free-will, but here is the queſtion; Whether the ſame freedom be in our power and ſtrength, or no? We may very fitly call it a ſubverted, a perverſe, and a fickle wavering will; for it is only God that worketh in us, and we muſt ſuffer and be ſubject to his pleaſure. Even as a potter out of his clay maketh a pot or veſſel, either for honour or diſhonour. Juſt ſo is it with our free-will, only to ſuffer, and not to work, *paſſivè*, *non activè*, which ſtandeth not in our ſtrength; for we are not able to do any thing that is good in divine cauſes.

What our Free-will doth effect.

I (ſaid *Luther*) oftentimes have been directly reſolved to live uprightly, and to lead a true godly life, and to ſet every thing aſide that would let or hinder, but it was far from being put in execution; even as it was with Peter, when he ſware he would lay down his life for Chriſt.

I will not lie nor diſſemble before my God, but will freely confeſs, I am not able to effect that good which I do intend, but muſt expect the happy hour when God ſhall be pleaſed to meet me with his grace.

The will of mankind is either preſumptuous or deſpairing. No human creature can ſatisfy the law. For the law of God diſcourſeth with me as it were after this manner: Here is a great, a high, and a ſteep mountain, and thou muſt go over it, whereupon my fleſh and free-will ſaith, I will go over it; but my conſcience ſaith, Thou canſt not go over it: then cometh deſpair, and ſaith, If I cannot, then I muſt forbear. In this ſort doth the law work in mankind either preſumption or deſpair; yet, nevertheleſs, the law muſt be preached and taught; for if we preach not the law, then people grow rude and ſecure; but if we preach it, then we make them afraid.

Of the Ability of Free-will.

SAINT Auſtin writeth, that free-will, without God's grace and the Holy Ghoſt, can do nothing but ſin; which ſentence ſorely preſſeth and troubleth the ſchool-divines. They ſay, Auſtin ſpake *Hyperbolicè*, and too much; for they underſtand that part of Scripture to be ſpoken only of thoſe people which lived before the deluge, where God ſaith, *And God ſaw that the wickedneſs of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually, &c.* Whereas he ſpeaketh in a general way which theſe poor ſchool-divines do not ſee; neither what the Holy Ghoſt ſaith ſoon after the deluge, almoſt the ſame words as before, *And the Lord ſaid in his heart, I will not again curſe the ground any more for man's ſake, for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth, &c.*

Therefore we conclude in general, That man, without the Holy Ghoſt and God's grace, can do nothing but ſin; he proceedeth therein continually without intermiſſion, and from one ſin falleth into another. Now, if man will not ſuffer wholſome doctrine, but contemneth the all-ſaving Word, and reſiſteth the Holy Ghoſt, then through the effects and ſtrength of his free-will he becometh God's enemy; he blaſphemeth the Holy Ghoſt, and preſently followeth the luſts and deſires of his own heart, as examples in all times do clearly ſhew.

But we muſt well and diligently weigh the words which the Holy Ghoſt ſpeaketh through Moſes, for he ſaith not ſlightly, *The thoughts of man are evil*, but, *Every imagination of the thoughts of his heart is evil continually*: inſomuch, that what a man is able to conceive with his thoughts, with his underſtanding and free-will with higheſt diligence, the ſame is evil, and not once or twice, &c. but it is evil continually; that is, always from time to time: and without the Holy Ghoſt, man's reaſon, his will and underſtanding is without the knowledge of God; and to be without the knowledge of God, is nothing elſe than to be ungodly, to walk in darkneſs, and to hold that for beſt which is directly worſt.

But (ſaid *Luther*) I ſpeak only of that which is good in divine things and according to the Holy Scripture; for in this caſe we muſt make a difference between that which is temporal, and that which is ſpiritual, between policy and divinity; for God doth alſo allow of the government of the ungodly, and doth reward their virtues, yet only

ſo

ſo far as belongeth to this temporal life; for man's will and underſtanding conceiveth that to be good which is external and temporal, yea alſo, it taketh the ſame to be not only good, but the beſt and chiefeſt good.

But when we Divines deal about Free-will, we demand what man's Free-will is able to accompliſh in divine and ſpiritual matters, not in outward and temporal affairs: and we do directly conclude, That man, without the Holy Ghoſt, is altogether wicked before God, although he were decked up and trimmed with all the virtues of the Heathen, and had all their works.

There are indeed (ſaid *Luther*) fair and glorious examples in the hiſtories of the Heathens touching many virtues; that they were fine and temperate, and lived chaſte lives; they were bountiful, they loved their country, parents, wives, and children; they were men of courage, and behaved themſelves courteous and friendly.

But, I ſay, That the very ideas of mankind concerning God, concerning the true worſhiping of God, and concerning God's will, are altogether ſtark blind and darkneſs. For the light of human wiſdom, reaſon, and underſtanding (which alone is given to man), comprehendeth only what is good and profitable outwardly.

And although we ſee that the Heathen Philoſophers now and then did diſpute touching God, and of his wiſdom, wherewith he ruleth all things very pertinently (inſomuch as ſome have made Prophets of Socrates, of Xenophon, of Plato, &c.), yet, notwithſtanding, becauſe they knew not that God ſent his Son Chriſt to ſave ſinners; therefore, ſuch fair, glorious, and wiſe-ſeeming ſpeeches and diſputations, are nothing elſe but mere blindneſs and ignorance, according to the true ſenſe of the aforeſaid Scripture, which expreſsly ſaith, *All the imaginations of the thoughts of man's heart is evil continually.*

Another Diſcourſe of Free-will.

AH, Lord God! (ſaith *Luther*) why ſhould we boaſt of our Free-will, as if it were able to do any thing in divine and ſpiritual matters were they never ſo ſmall? For when we conſider what horrible miſeries the devil hath brought upon us through ſin (which are innumerable and monſtrous), then we might ſhame ourſelves to death.

For firſt, Free-will did lead us into original ſin, and brought death upon us: afterwards, upon ſin followed not only death, but alſo all manner of miſchiefs, as we daily find in the world; ſuch as murder, lying, deceiving, ſtealing, and other evils, inſomuch that no man is in ſafety the twinkling of an eye, neither in body nor goods, which always do hover and ſtand in danger.

And beſides theſe evils, there is yet a greater (as is noted in the Goſpel), namely, that people are poſſeſſed of the devil, who maketh them mad and raging, ſo that by reaſon of ſin, the generation of mankind is nothing elſe but a ſtinking and filthy privy and habitation of devils. For there lieth on our necks everlaſting death and God's wrath. Moreover, we are never in quiet, but are plagued here on earth both in body and ſoul.

Now (ſaid *Luther*) what goodneſs can ſuch a ſpoiled and poiſoned creature think, much leſs perform, that might be pleaſing to God, in divine and ſpiritual matters which concern the ſalvation of our ſouls.

In temporal things which pertain to body and wealth, and to this life, as to govern land and people, to rule in houſe-keeping, &c. Free-will may do ſomething that hath a ſhew and reſpect before men; but every thing that proceedeth not out of faith is ſin, ſaith St. Paul.

We know not rightly what we became after the fall of our firſt parents; what from our mothers we have brought with us. For we have brought altogether a confounded, a ſpoiled, and a poiſoned nature both in body and ſoul: and throughout the whole of man is nothing that is good, as the Scripture ſaith.

And this is my abſolute opinion (ſaid *Luther*): he that will maintain and defend man's Free-will, that it is able to do or work any thing in ſpiritual cauſes (be they never ſo ſmall), the ſame hath denied Chriſt. This I have always maintained in my writings, eſpecially in thoſe which I wrote againſt Eraſmus Roterodamus (one of the principal learned men in the whole world); and thereby will I remain, for I know it to be the truth; and though all the world ſhould be againſt it, and otherwiſe conclude, yet the decree of the Divine Majeſty muſt ſtand faſt againſt the gates of hell.

Touching this point, I find myſelf much wronged by ſome (eſpecially by the Synergiſts) who prate and alledge, That I had altered my harſh opinion concerning Free-will, and had mollified the ſame (as they term it), ſeeing it is directly againſt their errors, and they falſely give out that they are my diſciples.

I confeſs, that mankind hath a Free-will, but it is to milk kine, to build houſes, &c. and no further: for ſo long as a man is at eaſe and in ſafety, and is in no want, ſo long he thinketh he hath a Free-will which is able to do ſomething; but when want and need appeareth, ſo that there is neither meat, drink, nor money, Where is then Free-will? It is utterly loſt, and cannot ſtand when it cometh to the pinch. But faith only ſtandeth faſt and ſure, and ſeeketh Chriſt.

Therefore faith is far another thing than Free-will; nay, Free-will is nothing at all, but faith is all in all.

I pray (ſaid *Luther*) put it to the trial; Art thou bold and ſtout, and canſt thou carry it luſtily with thy Free-will when plague, wars, and times of dearth and famine are at hand? In the time of plague thou knoweſt not what to do for fear; then thou wiſheſt thyſelf a hundred miles off. In time of dearth thou thinkeſt, Where ſhall I have to eat? Thy will cannot ſo much as give thy heart the ſmalleſt comfort in theſe times of need, but the longer thou ſtriveſt, the more it maketh thy heart faint and feeble, inſomuch as it is affrighted even at the ruſhing and ſhaking of a leaf. Theſe are the valiant acts which our Free-will can do and atchieve.

But on the contrary, faith is the Domina and Empreſs: and although it be but ſmall and weak, yet it ſtandeth, and ſuffereth not itſelf to be utterly dejected. Faith hath great and mighty parts, as we ſee in Holy Scripture, and on the loving Diſciples; waves, winds, ſeas, and all manner of misfortune do appear even unto death: Who in ſuch a caſe would not be affrighted? But faith (how weak ſoever) ſtandeth like a wall, and little David-like aſſaulteth Goliah; that is, It fighteth againſt ſin, death, and all danger, eſpecially it fighteth valiantly when it is a ſtrong and complete faith: A weak faith ſtriveth well, but it is not ſo bold as ſtrong faith.

Whether the Free-will of Mankind worketh any Thing in the Converſion and Juſtification.

SOME new divines do alledge, That the Holy Ghoſt worketh not in thoſe that do reſiſt him, but only in ſuch as are willing and give conſent thereto, whereby it appeareth, that Free-will is alſo a cauſe and helper of Faith; whereupon it followeth, That faith alone juſtifieth not, nor that the Holy Ghoſt alone worketh through the Word, but that our will doth ſomething therein.

But I ſay (ſaid *Luther*) it is not ſo; the will of mankind worketh nothing at all in his converſion and juſtification; *Non eſt efficiens cauſſa Juſtificationis, ſed materialis tantùm,*

tantùm. It is the matter on which the Holy Ghoſt worketh (as a potter maketh a pot out of clay); alſo in thoſe that reſiſt and are averſe, as in St. Paul. But after that the Holy Ghoſt hath wrought in the wills of ſuch reſiſtants and averſe parties, then he alſo maketh and prepareth that the will is willing, and, as it were, conſenting thereunto.

They ſay and alledge further, That the example of St. Paul's converſion is a particular and ſpecial work of God; therefore the ſame cannot be brought in for a general rule, as if it ſhould be ſo with all others. I anſwer (ſaid *Luther*), Even like as St. Paul was converted, even juſt ſo are all others converted; for we all reſiſt God, but the Holy Ghoſt draweth the will of mankind in his time, when he pleaſeth, through preaching.

Even as no man can or may lawfully beget children, but only in the ſtate of matrimony (although many married people have no children), even ſo the Holy Ghoſt worketh not always through the Word, but when it pleaſeth him. Inſomuch that Free-will doth nothing inwardly in our converſion and juſtification before God; neither doth it work with our ſtrength (no, not in the leaſt), but only we be prepared and made fit by the Holy Ghoſt, as a potter fitteth his clay.

The ſentences in holy Scripture touching Predeſtination, as, *No man can come to me except the Father draweth him*, do ſeem to terrify and affright us; but it is not ſo, for they do but only ſhew, That we can do nothing with our ſtrength and will that is good before God, and they put the godly alſo in mind to pray: when people do ſo, then they may conclude, that they are predeſtinated.

Ah! why ſhould we boaſt of our Free-will, that it can do any thing in man's converſion? We ſee the reverſe in thoſe poor people which are corporeally poſſeſſed of the devil (how he rendeth and teareth, and how ſpitefully he dealeth with them, and how hardly he is driven out). Truly, the Holy Ghoſt alone muſt drive him out, as Chriſt ſaith (when he had driven the devil out of the poor, blind, dumb and deaf man), *If I, with the finger of God, do drive out devils, then no doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you.* As if he ſhould ſay, If the kingdom of God ſhall come upon you, then the devil muſt firſt be driven out, for his kingdom is oppoſite to God's kingdom, as ye yourſelves confeſs. Now the devil will not be driven out by devils, much leſs by men, or by man's ſtrength, but only by God's ſpirit and power.

Hence it followeth, that if the devil be not driven out through God's finger, then the kingdom of the devil is ſtill there; and where the devil's kingdom is, there is not God's kingdom.

And likewiſe, ſo long as the Holy Ghoſt cometh not into us, we are not only unable to do any thing that is good, but alſo we are ſo long in the kingdom of the devil, inſomuch that we can do nothing but what is pleaſing unto him.

As St. Paul ſaith to Timothy, that the people are led captive by the devil at his will. How then ſhould he endure, that thoſe which are his, ſhould once dare to think or to do any thing which were againſt his kingdom, but altogether that which were for it.

I pray (ſaid *Luther)* tell me, What could he have done to be freed from the devil, though all the people on earth had been preſent to help him? Truly, nothing at all; he was forced to do and to ſuffer that which the devil, his lord and maſter, was pleaſed with, until our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt came with Divine power.

Now mark, If he could not be quit of the devil corporeally from his body, how then ſhould he be quit of him ſpiritually from his ſoul, through his own will, ſtrength, and power? For the ſoul was the cauſe why the body was poſſeſſed, which alſo

alſo was a puniſhment for ſin. It is a matter more difficult to be delivered from ſin than from the puniſhment; the ſoul alſo is always heavier poſſeſſed than the body, as hereby is proved. The devil leaveth to the body its natural ſtrength and activity; but the ſoul by him is bereaved of underſtanding, of reaſon, and of power, as we ſee on poſſeſſed people.

Let us but diligently mark how Chriſt pictureth out the devil. He nameth him a ſtrong giant that keepeth a caſtle; that is, the devil hath not only the world in poſſeſſion as his own kingdom, but he fortifieth it in ſuch a way, that no human creatures can take it from him, and he keepeth it alſo in ſuch peace and quietneſs, that he doth even what he willeth to have done.

Now, how much a caſtle or fort is able to ſet and to defend itſelf againſt the tyrant which is therein, even ſo much is Free-will and human ſtrength able to ſet and defend itſelf againſt the devil; that is, no way able at all, but it muſt be ſubject unto him. And even as that caſtle or fort muſt be overcome by a ſtronger, and muſt be won from the tyrant, even ſo mankind muſt be delivered and regained from the devil through Chriſt. Hereby we ſee plainly, that our doings and righteouſneſs can help nothing towards our deliverance, but that it is only by God's grace and power.

That Man's Will helpeth nothing to his Salvation.

O (Said *Luther*)! how excellent and comfortable a Goſpel is that, in which our Saviour Chriſt ſheweth what a loving heart he beareth toward us poor ſinners, who are able to do nothing at all for ourſelves to our ſalvation.

For like as a ſilly ſheep cannot take heed to itſelf, that it err not nor go aſtray, unleſs the ſhepherd always leadeth it; yea, and when it hath erred, gone aſtray and is loſt, it cannot find the right way, nor come to the ſhepherd, but the ſhepherd muſt go after it, and ſeek until he findeth it (without which care, it muſt always go aſtray and be loſt), and when he hath found it, then he muſt carry it, to the end that it may not be ſcared from him again, go aſtray, or be torn by the wolf.

Neither can we help ourſelves, nor attain a peaceable conſcience, nor outrun the devil, death and hell, unleſs Chriſt himſelf ſeeketh and calleth us through his Word; and when we are come unto him, and poſſeſs the true faith, yet we of ourſelves are not able to keep ourſelves therein, nor to ſtand, unleſs he always holdeth us up through his Word and Spirit, ſeeing that the devil every where lieth lurking for us, and, as St. Peter ſaith, like a roaring lion, to the end he may devour us; ſo that we have no reaſon to brag or boaſt of our Free-will, which has no power to begin, to proceed, to help or aſſiſt, in the leaſt; but Chriſt our Saviour muſt only do it.

Another Inability of Free-Will.

I VERY fain would know (ſaid *Luther*) how that man which knoweth nothing of God, ſhould know how to govern himſelf: he that is conceived and born in ſin (as we all are), and by nature is a child of wrath, and God's enemy? How ſhould we know how to find the right way and remain therein, when (as the Prophet Iſaiah ſaith) *We can do nothing elſe but go aſtray.* How is it poſſible that we ſhould defend ourſelves againſt the devil (who is a Prince of this world, and we are his priſoners), when, with all our ſtrength, we are not able ſo much as to hinder a leaf, or a fly, from doing us hurt?

I ſay, How may we poor miſerable wretches preſume to boaſt of comfort, of help

help and counſel againſt God's judgment, his wrath and everlaſting death; whereas we cannot tell which way to ſeek help or comfort, nor how to adviſe ourſelves, no, not in the leaſt of our corporal neceſſities, as daily experience teacheth us, either for ourſelves, or others?

Therefore thou mayeſt boldly conclude, That ſo little as a natural ſheep can in the leaſt help itſelf, but muſt needs expect and wait for all aſſiſtance and help from the ſhepherd; ſo little (yea much leſs) can a human creature find comfort, help, and advice of himſelf in thoſe caſes pertaining to ſalvation, but muſt expect and wait for the ſame only from God, his ſhepherd, who is a thouſand times more willing to do every good thing for his ſheep, than any honeſt temporal ſhepherd is to do for his natural ſheep.

Now, ſeeing that human nature, through Original Sin, is wholly ſpoiled, perverted outwardly and inwardly in body and ſoul, where is then the Free-will and human ſtrength? Where then are human traditions, and the preachers of works, which do teach and ſay, We muſt make uſe of our own abilities, and by our own works muſt prepare ourſelves to obtain God's grace, for then, ſay they, we are children of ſalvation? O! fond, fooliſh, and falſe doctrine; for we are altogether untoward and unprepared with our abilities, with our ſtrength and works, when it cometh to the combat, to ſtand or hold out. How can that man be reconciled to God, whom he cannot endure to hear, but flieth from him to an human creature; he expecteth more love and favour of one that is a ſinner, than he doth of God. Is not this a fine Free-will, a reconciliation, or an atonement?

Like as the children of Iſrael carried themſelves on Mount Sinai, when God gave them the Ten Commandments, where it may be plainly ſeen, that human nature and Free-will can do nothing, nor ſubſiſt before God; for they feared that God would ſuddenly ſtrike among them, they held him merely for a devil, an hangman, and a tormentor, who did nothing but fret and fume. Alas! (ſaid *Luther*), he that hath no more to help himſelf with than his Free-will and works, let him jog on towards hell, for therewith he obtaineth nothing; he muſt be furniſhed with ſomething better and greater than with his holy life. Therefore, I ſay, human ſpiritual ſtrength is not only ſpoiled, but alſo through ſin it is altogether deſtroyed, both in mankind and in devils, in ſuch a degree, that there is nothing elſe but a perverſe will and underſtanding, which in every particular is an enemy to God, and againſt his will, which thinketh and imagineth nothing but what is contrary to and againſt God.

True it is, and I do allow (ſaid *Luther*) that man's natural ſtrength, in ſome meaſure, is yet unſpoiled. But in what meaſure? Anſwer. A man (though he be altogether drowned in ungodlineſs, and is become the devil's own) hath a Free-will and power in domeſtic and temporal government; alſo to rule a ſhip, and to fulfill ſuch and the like affairs which God hath made ſubject to man, as is noted Gen. i. ſuch natural ſtrength and abilities are not taken from man (although God muſt be alſo preſent therein with his almighty power), but are rather confirmed by God's Word, as obſerved before.

But the miſchief is (ſaid *Luther*), that the Sophiſts will bring theſe abilities into the ſpiritual kingdom. And it may be, that they have found ſome ſuch ſtuff in the good Fathers; for the Romaniſts (who underſtood leſs than horſes and mules) brought them into theſe ſpiritual matters, with which they mingled ſpiritual and temporal things together.

Therefore, it belongeth to us to cleanſe the Church from ſuch filth as they have brought in, and to lay aſide ſuch offences, and clear them out of the way.

We can permit ſuch ſentences to be right, ſo far as they pertain to this temporal and worldly kingdom.

But when they will bring them into the ſpiritual kingdom, where we have to deal with God and Conſcience, then we flatly ſay, No. For in us there is nothing pure and good; but whatſoever we are and have, the ſame is altogether drowned in ſin. All that is in our wills is evil; and all that is in our underſtanding, is blindneſs and error.

Of God's horrible Wrath, when he leaveth us to our own Wills.

HOW could there be a greater wrath from God, than when he left us to our own mind and will, took away his Word, reproved us no more, but ſuffered an human creature, yea the devil himſelf, to be our tutor? What in ſuch a caſe could proceed thereout, but hereſies and diſcords in doctrine? If there be diſcords in doctrine, then follow external and civil diſſentions and tumults (as we read in Joſephus what abominable ſects and inſurrections aroſe among the Jews ſhortly before Chriſt's nativity).

Therefore I (ſaid *Luther*) utterly do reject all teachers that any way do ſpeak in the praiſe of our Free-will, and therein I hold their doctrine to be ſuch as directly ſtriveth and fighteth againſt the help and grace of our bleſſed ſweet Saviour Chriſt Jeſus. For ſeeing that without Chriſt death and ſin are our lords, and that the devil is our god and prince; ſo there can be no ſtrength, power, nor will, whereby we might prepare ourſelves to righteouneſs and life, but muſt be blinded and become the devil's captives, to do and to think what pleaſeth him, and to do that which is againſt God and his commandments. Is not this a fine freedom?

Of the Doctrine touching the Free-will towards God.

LOVING Friends (ſaid *Luther*) our Doctrine, that Free-will is dead and nothing at all, is grounded powerfully in Holy Scripture. But I ſpeak of the Free-will towards God, and in cauſes touching the ſoul. For what ſhould I diſpute about that Free-will which governeth over horſe and kine, money and riches? I know very well that God hath ſubjected to man all cattle, and the earth, &c. But that pertains not to this. If there were none other ſentence but only that of St. Paul, *They are taken captive by the devil at his will*, we had ground and Scripture ſufficient. For to be the devil's captives is no freedom at all, ſeeing they are in ſuch captivity, that they muſt do even what he will, whereupon muſt needs follow, that our Free-will is the devil's will. For according to his will they muſt live as his captives; and this is clear as ſpecified above.

Chriſt himſelf alſo concurreth herewith, Luke xi. where he ſaith, *When a ſtrong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace; but when a ſtronger then he ſhall come upon him, and overcome him, he taketh from him all his armour wherein he truſted, and divideth the ſpoils.* Here Chriſt himſelf witneſſeth, that the devil poſſeſſeth thoſe which are his in peace, unleſs a ſtronger then he overcometh him.

We have alſo before our eyes the work of divine love itſelf, namely, that Jeſus Chriſt, the Son of God, died to deliver us from the devil, from death and ſin.

Now if there were a Free-will in us to oppoſe or overcome the devil, death, and ſin, then it were needleſs that Chriſt ſhould have died for us. For I ſay, he that is able without Chriſt to ſhun or out-run ſin, the ſame may even as well ſhun and out-run death; for death is the puniſhment of ſin. But I never yet heard of that human creature who made ſuch proof of his Free-will againſt death; but contrary, that death hath power over all creatures, which he could not have done, if ſin had not before taken captive and overcome all mankind.

By this act and article of faith in Chriſt (ſaid *Luther*) do we remain, let the Papiſts

ſay what they will, and let them go on and proceed with their ſwiniſh cenſures as they pleaſe. No human creature ſhall bring us from this acknowledgment that Chriſt hath delivered us from the devil, death and ſin. If this be true, then remaineth none other Free-will. For, if that be a freedom, to be captive to the devil, to death, and to ſin; then, let it be a freedom to thoſe that make their dreams and fancies of new Goſpels againſt the true ancient Goſpel of Chriſt.

Laurentius Valla (ſaid *Luther*) is the choiceſt man that ever I found touching this point. *De libero arbitrio benè diſputat, quærit ſimplicitatem in pietate, & in literis ſimul, Eraſmus eam tantum in literis quærit, pietatem ridet.*

CHAP. XI.

OF THE HOLY CATECHISM.

That the Catechiſm muſt remain.

THE Catechiſm (ſaid *Luther*) muſt keep the government in the Church, and remain lord and ruler; that is, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Sacraments, &c. And although there be many that ſet themſelves againſt the ſame, yet it ſhall ſtand faſt, and alſo keep the pre-eminence, through him, of whom it is written, *Thou art a prieſt for ever:* for he will be a prieſt, and will alſo have prieſts in deſpite of the devil, and all his inſtruments on earth. He hath already fought two battles; the one with T. M. the other with L. X^mo^. both which, by their diſciples, are ſtill proclaimed for ſaints.

That the Catechiſm is neceſſary in the Church, eſpecially for the Children.

THE public ſermons (ſaid *Luther*) do very little edify children, who obſerve and learn but little thereby: but it is more needful, that they be taught and well inſtructed with diligence in ſchools, and at home that they be orderly heard and examined what they have learned; that way profiteth much: indeed, the ſame is very weariſome, but is very neceſſary. The Papiſts fly from ſuch labour and pains; they trouble themſelves rather with keeping records of their rents and cuſtoms, inſomuch as their children are neglected and forſaken.

That the Catechiſm is the beſt and moſt neceſſary Doctrine in the Church.

MY advice is (ſaid *Luther*), that we diſpute not much of myſteries and hidden things, but rather cleave ſimply to God's Word, eſpecially the Catechiſm; for therein we have a very exact, direct, and ſhort way to the whole Chriſtian religion. For God himſelf gave the Ten Commandments, Chriſt himſelf penned and taught the Lord's Prayer, the Holy Ghoſt did moſt compendiouſly faſten and comprehend the Articles of Faith. Theſe three pieces are ſet down and deſcribed ſo excellently, that they never could have been better performed: but they are by us ſlighted and contemned as things of ſmall value, by reaſon the little children daily ſay and rehearſe the ſame.

The Catechiſm is the moſt compleat and beſt doctrine, therefore it ſhould continually be preached; all publick preaching ſhould be grounded and built thereupon. I could

could wiſh that we preached it daily, and plainly read it out of the book. But our preachers and hearers have it at their fingers ends, they have already ſwallowed it all up; they are aſhamed of this ſlight and ſimple doctrine (as they hold it), and will be held in higher eſteem and regard, and will preach of deeper learning. Our pariſhioners ſay that our preachers fiddle always one leſſon; they preach nothing but the Catechiſm, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, of the Lord's Prayer, of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper: all theſe we know well enough already, &c. Inſomuch that they now employ themſelves about higher things; they preach ſuch points wherein the hearers take delight, and thereby leave the foundation on which we ought to build.

Of the Contents and Sum of the Catechiſm.

THE Catechiſm (ſaid *Luther*) is the right Bible of the laity; wherein is contained the whole ſum of Chriſtian doctrine, neceſſary to be known of every Chriſtian to ſalvation: As Solomon's Song, called *Canticum Canticorum*, a Song of all Songs; likewiſe the Ten Commandments of God, *Doctrina Doctrinarum*, a Doctrine of all Doctrines, by which God's will is known, what God will have of us, and what is wanting in us.

Secondly, there is the *Symbolum*, or the Confeſſion of Faith in God and in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; *Hiſtoria Hiſtoriarum*, an Hiſtory of Hiſtories, or the higheſt Hiſtory, wherein are delivered unto us the wonderful works of the divine Majeſty from the beginning to all eternity; how we and all creatures are created by God; how we are delivered by the Son of God through his humanity, his paſſion, death, and reſurrection, and alſo, how we are renewed and collected together one people of God, have remiſſion of ſins and everlaſting life.

Thirdly, There is the Lord's Prayer, *Oratio Orationum*, a Prayer above all Prayers, the Prayer which the moſt high Maſter taught us; wherein are comprehended all ſpiritual and temporal bleſſings, and the ſtrongeſt comforts in all trials, temptations, and troubles, even in the hour of death.

Fourthly, There are the bleſſed Sacraments, *Cerimoniæ Cerimoniarum*, the higheſt Ceremonies, which God himſelf hath inſtituted and ordained, and therein hath aſſured us of his grace. In regard of theſe things (ſaid *Luther*) we ſhould eſteem and love the Catechiſm, and diligently inſtruct the youth therein. For in the ſame is contained and joined together the ancient, pure, divine doctrine of the Chriſtian church. And whatſoever is contrary thereunto, we hold for new and falſe doctrine; although the ſame have never ſo glorious a ſhew and luſtre, yet we muſt well beware and take good heed that we meddle not therewith. In all my youth I never heard any preaching at all, either of the Ten Commandments or of the Lord's Prayer.

Future hereſies will darken this light; we have the Catechiſm (God be praiſed) ſo pure in the pulpits, as hath not been for the ſpace of one thouſand years. So much could not be collected out of all the books of the Fathers, as (by God's grace) is now taught out of the little Catechiſm. Truly there have been great darkneſſes in former times: Andrew Carlſtad was promoted a Doctor in Divinity eight years before he read in the Bible. At that time (ſaid *Luther*) I only read in the Bible at Erffurt, in the monaſtery; and God then wonderfully wrought (contrary to all human expectation) ſo that I was conſtrained to depart from Erffurt, and was called to Wittemberg, where I became ſuch a friar, as that (next under God) I gave the devil, the Pope of Rome, ſuch a blow, as no Emperor, King, nor Potentate could have given him the like; yet it was not I, but God by me, his poor, weak, and unworthy inſtrument.

Of

Of the Virtues and Vices concerning the Ten Commandments.

THE *Decalogus*, that is, the Ten Commandments of God, are a looking-glaſs, and a brief ſum of all virtues and doctrines, both how we ought to behave towards God and alſo towards our neighbour; that is, towards all mankind.

There never was at any time written a more excellent, complete, nor compendious book of virtues.

The duty of the Firſt and Second Commandment is, to fear God, to love and to truſt in him; the contrary is, ſin and vice, an ungodly life, contemning of God, hatred, deſpair, &c.

The duty of the Third Commandment is, to acknowledge and to preach the doctrine of God's Word; the contrary is, blaſpheming of God, to be ſilent and not to confeſs the truth when need requireth.

The duty of the Fourth Commandment is, the external ſervice of God, as the preaching of God's Word, hearing, reading, and meditating of the ſame, to the end we may make proof of our faith; the contrary is, deſpiſing of God's Word, and the outward ſervice of God, as the Holy Sacraments.

The duty of the Fifth Commandment is, obedience towards parents, tutors, and magiſtrates in thoſe things which are not againſt God; the contrary is, diſobedience and rebellion.

The duty of the Sixth Commandment is, meekneſs, not to be deſirous of revenge, not to bear malice; againſt this is tyranny, rage, hatred, envy, &c.

The duty of the Seventh Commandment is, continency and chaſtity; againſt the ſame is, laſciviouſneſs, immodeſt behaviour, adultery, whoreing, &c.

The duty of the Eighth Commandment is, to do good, to give and lend willingly, to be liberal; the contrary is, covetouſneſs, ſtealing, uſury, fraud, and to wrong in trading and dealing.

The duty of the Ninth Commandment is, to love the truth, not to backbite and ſlander, to ſpeak well of all men; the contrary is, lying, backbiting, and to ſpeak evil of another.

The duty of the Tenth Commandment is, righteouſneſs, to let every one poſſeſs his own; the contrary is, to be miſerable and unjuſt.

The duty of this Commandment is, to be without all covetous deſires in the heart, to be content with that which one hath; againſt that is, the luſtings of the heart. St. Paul ſaith, The end of the Commandment is charity, out of a pure heart, and of a good conſcience, and of faith unfeigned.

Of the abuſing of God's Name contrary to the Firſt, Second, and Third Commandment.

THE words, *I am the Lord thy God, thou ſhalt have none other gods but me: thou ſhalt not take the name*, &c. I thought them once (ſaid *Luther*) to be of no value before the light of the Goſpel came; yea, I thought them unprofitable and ridiculous words, when I firſt read them, I thought with myſelf, who knoweth not this? But now, God be praiſed, I ſee what they mean and require; yea, they are far more wonderful than any creature can comprehend and expreſs. The Pope, and his ſhaven crew, believe not theſe words to be true, although they prate much thereof; they make the proverb true, namely, *In God's name all miſchief begins.* Indeed thoſe ſectaries and ſeducing ſpirits have made good the ſame. If God's name were not ſo abuſed, it would go better on earth; but ſeeing there is no bounds to this ſin, therefore it goeth ſo evil with us as we daily ſee and hear.

How we may honour and comprehend God aright.

BY Faith in his fear, for he ſaith, *I am the Lord thy God.* If he be ours, then he will take care of us, he will maintain, defend, help, and deliver us. *The gods of the Heathen have eyes and ſee not, ears and hear not,* &c. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) the Heathen and Mouth-Chriſtians believe not that God careth for them; nay, they have no right God, but deaf, blind gods and idols. But we have a God that careth for us; we hope for and expect his help; we alſo fear him, that we may not provoke his wrath nor diſpleaſe him. God witneſſeth that he careth for us; for he led his people out of Egypt, defended and delivered them. And although he, in his conduct towards the Children of Iſrael, ſuffered them firſt to be well plagued, to the end he might try and make proof of their faith, yet at laſt he delivered them out of temptations.

It was an awful example of God's wrath that at one time he made away and deſtroyed ſo many of the Egyptians; and yet man's heart is ſo iron-hard that he will not fear God although he puniſheth ſo horribly. And on the other hand, how he maintained and fed his people in the wilderneſs, defended them from the fiery ſerpents; alſo how he puniſhed the calf-worſhippers, and thoſe that deſpaired of the Land of Promiſe. Theſe and many examples in our time, if well conſidered, do ſhew that God taketh care for his creatures. But we paſs them ſlightly by, and regard them not; ſo great is the wickedneſs of peoples hearts.

A jealous God. God is jealous two manner of ways; firſt, God is angry as one that is jealous over them that fall from him, and become falſe and treacherous; that perfer the creature before God the Creator; that build upon the favours of the great; that depend upon their friends, upon their own power, riches, arts, wiſdoms, &c.: or thoſe that forſake the righteouſneſs of faith, do contemn the ſame, and will be juſtified and ſaved by and through their own good works.

God is alſo vehemently angry with thoſe that boaſt and brag of their power and ſtrength; as we ſee by Sennacherib, King of Aſſyria, who boaſted of his great power, and thought utterly to deſtroy Jeruſalem. Likewiſe with King Saul, who alſo thought to defend and keep the kingdom through his ſtrength and power, and to bring it upon his children, when he had ſuppreſſed David and rooted him out.

Secondly, God is jealous for them that love him and highly eſteem his word; ſuch God loveth again, defendeth and keepeth as the apple of his eye, and reſiſteth their adverſaries, beateth them back, inſomuch that they be not able to perform what they intended. Therefore, this word, Jealous, comprehendeth therein both hatred and love, revenge and protection; for which cauſe it requireth both fear and faith: fear, that we provoke not God to anger, nor work his diſpleaſure; faith, that in trouble we may believe he will help, nouriſh, and defend us in this life (as we daily pray, *Give us this day our daily bread,* &c.), and will pardon and forgive us our ſins, and for Chriſt's ſake will preſerve us to life everlaſting.

For faith muſt rule and govern in and over all things both ſpiritual and temporal; The heart muſt believe moſt certainly that God looketh upon us, loveth, helpeth, and will not forſake us, as the Pſalm ſaith, *Call upon me in the time of trouble, ſo will I deliver thee, and thou ſhalt praiſe me,* &c. Alſo, *The Lord is nigh unto all thoſe that call upon him; yea, all that call upon him faithfully.* And, *He that calleth upon the name of the Lord, ſhall be ſaved,* or ſhall be holpen.

He viſiteth the ſins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation, &c. This is a horrible word of threatening, which juſtly ſhould affright our hearts, and ſtir up a fear in us. It is quite contrary to our reaſon, for we conceive

it to be a very unjuſt proceeding, that the children and poſterity ſhould be puniſhed for their fathers and fore-fathers offences. But foraſmuch as God hath ſo decreed, and is pleaſed ſo to proceed, therefore our duty is to know and acknowledge that he is a juſt God, and that he wrongeth none, to the end he may be feared.

Seeing that theſe fearful threatenings are contrary to our underſtanding, therefore fleſh and blood regardeth them not, but caſteth them in the wind, they ſignify no more than the hiſſing of a gooſe. But we that are true Chriſtians do believe the ſame to be certain (when the Holy Ghoſt toucheth our hearts), and that this proceeding is juſt and right, and thereby we ſtand in the fear of God.

Here again we may ſee (ſaid *Luther*) what man's free-will can do, in that it underſtandeth and feareth nothing. If we did but feel and know how earneſt a threatening this is, we ſhould for fear inſtantly fall down dead: as we have ſuch examples, where God ſaith, That for the ſins of Manaſſes he will caſt the people into miſerable captivity.

But ſome may ſay, Then I ſee well, that the poſterity have no hope of grace when their parents do ſin. *Anſwer.* Thoſe that do repent, from them the Law is taken away and aboliſhed, ſo that their parents ſins do not hurt them: as the Prophet Ezekiel ſaith, *The ſon ſhall not bear the iniquity of his father*; yet God permitteth the external and corporal puniſhment to go on, yea, ſometimes over the penitent children alſo for examples, to the end that others may fly from ſin and lead a godly life. But he doth well, and is merciful unto thouſands, &c. This is a great, a glorious, and comfortable promiſe, that far ſurpaſſeth all human reaſon and underſtanding, that for the ſake of one godly perſon, ſo many ſhould be partakers of undeſerved bleſſings and mercies. For we find many examples, that a multitude of people have enjoyed mercies and benefits for the ſake of one good and godly man; as for Abraham's ſake many people were preſerved and bleſſed, as alſo for Iſaac's ſake; and for the ſake of Naaman, the whole kingdom of Aſſyria was bleſſed of God.

But to love God, is, that we certainly hold and believe that God is gracious unto us, that he helpeth, aſſiſteth, and doth us good. Therefore love proceedeth from faith, and God requireth faith, to believe that he promiſeth all good unto us.

Brief Sentences of the Catechiſm, according as Luther *uſed to teach and inſtruct his Family at home.*

Of the Ten Commandments of God.

AS the Faith is, ſo is alſo God.
God ſtayeth not quite away, though he ſtayeth long.
Deſpair maketh Prieſts and Friars.
God careth and provideth for us, but we muſt labour.
God will have the heart only and alone.
Idolatry is the imagination of the heart.
God giveth by creatures.
God's-Word placeth before our eyes the world, to the end we may ſee what a fine ſpark it is.
God's Word is our ſanctification, and maketh every thing happy.
Works of obedience muſt highly be regarded.
All that govern are called Fathers.
Shepherds of Souls are worthy of double honour.
Magiſtrates belong not to the fifth Commandment.
Wrath is forbidden in every man, except in the magiſtrates.

All

All occaſions of death are forbidden.
Matrimony proceedeth freely in every ſtate and calling.
Matrimony is neceſſary and commanded.
Matrimony forbidden and diſallowed is againſt God's command.
Matrimony is a bleſſed ſtate, and pleaſing to God.
To ſteal is what one taketh unjuſtly.
Unfaithfulneſs is alſo ſtealing.
Thieving is the moſt common trade in the world.
Great thieves go ſcot-free, as the Pope and his crew.
Falſeneſs and covetouſneſs proſper not.
Backbiting is meddling with God's judgment.
Cenſuring, and to ſpeak evil behind one's back, belongeth only to the magiſtrates.
We muſt cenſure and reprove no man behind his back.
We muſt judge charitably in every thing.
There are no good works without the Ten Commandments.
To fear God, and to truſt in him, is the fulfilling of all the Commandments.
The firſt Commandment driveth on all the reſt.

Of the Creed.

THE Creed teacheth to know God, and what a God we have.
In all caſes we muſt make uſe of faith.
God giveth himſelf unto us with all creatures.
We muſt always drive on the article of Jeſus Chriſt.
The Holy Ghoſt bringeth Chriſt home unto us; he muſt reveal him.
Where the Holy Ghoſt preacheth not, there is no Church.
The Works of the Holy Ghoſt are wrought continually.

Of the Lord's Prayer.

TO pray, is to call upon God in all need, which is made precious through God's command, and neceſſity ſtirreth up earneſt and devout prayers, and which are our weapons againſt the devil.
The devil, the world, and our fleſh is againſt God's Will.
The devil hindereth and deſtroyeth the daily bread, and all the gifts of God.
God careth for our bodies daily.
No man can live in the world without ſin.
No man can bring his own righteouſneſs before God.
We muſt forgive, as God forgiveth us.
To forgive our neighbour, aſſureth us fully that God hath forgiven us.
We are tempted three manner of ways, of the devil, of the world, and of our fleſh.
Temptations ſerve againſt the ſecureneſs of our fleſh.
Temptations are not overcome through our own ſtrength.
The devil would hinder all that we pray for.
The devil goeth about to bring us into all manner of need.

Of Baptiſm.

FAITH is annexed to Baptiſm.
Faith muſt have before it ſome external thing.
Faith maketh the perſon worthy.

Baptiſm

Baptiſm is not our work but God's.
Baptiſm is right, although no man believeth.
No man muſt build upon his faith.
Unbelief weakeneth not God's Word.

Of the Lord's Supper.

THE Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is of God's ordaining.
The Word maketh a Sacrament.
Chriſt in the Sacrament is ſpiritual food for the ſoul.
Remiſſion of ſins is obtained only through the Word.
Faith receiveth the forgiveneſs of ſins.
The Sacrament conſiſteth not in our worthineſs.
Faith and human underſtanding are one againſt another.
Faith dependeth on the Word.
As we hold of Chriſt, even ſo we have him.
Faith is a Chriſtian's treaſure.
The Goſpel is the power of God.

Good Works.

GOOD Works are nameleſs.
A Chriſtian's work ſtandeth for the good of the neighbour.
Faith in Chriſt deſtroyeth ſin.
The holy Scriptures only give comfort, they forbid not good works.
Chriſt is a general good.
Chriſtians do pray for and deſire the laſt Day of Judgment.
The Church heareth none but Chriſt.
Chriſt is of a mean eſtate and ſmall repute.
In adverſities we ſhould ſhew ourſelves like men and pluck up good ſpirits.
Our whole life ſhould be manly, we ſhould fear God and put our truſt in him.
Faith maketh us Chriſt's heritage.
We ſhould aim at celeſtial honour, and not regard the contemning of men.
Chriſt ſpareth us out of mere grace through the Word.
The Goſpel is altogether joyful.
Grace condemneth all people's own righteouſneſs.
Salvation is purchaſed and given unto us without our deſerts.
Regeneration is the work only of the Holy Ghoſt.
Human reaſon cannot comprehend nor underſtand the goodneſs and benefits of God.
Good works are the ſeals and proofs of faith. For, even as a letter muſt have a ſeal to ſtrengthen the ſame, even ſo, faith muſt have good works.
Faith hath regard to the Word, and not to the Preacher.
The Preacher and the Word are two Perſons.
This natural life is a little piece of the life everlaſting.
Own imaginations and conceits ſpoil all things.
The Goſpel cometh of God, it ſheweth Chriſt, and requireth Faith.
The Goſpel is a light in the world, which lighteneth mankind, and maketh children of God.
Falſe Preachers are worſe then deflowerers of virgins.
Righteouſneſs is obtained through faith, and not through works. Works make faith ſtrong.

A Preacher is made good through temptations.
A Prince is veniſon in heaven.
A perſon muſt be good before his works can be good.
We muſt not be dejected, but believe and pray.
No State or Calling is of any value to make one good before God.
Faith endureth no human traditions in the conſcience.
The Saints oftentimes erred like men.
We muſt diſtinguiſh offices from the perſons.
We hate puniſhment, but we love ſin.
God preſerveth the ſanctified; yea, even in the midſt of errors.
No great Saint lived without errors.
A Chriſtian's life conſiſteth of three points; of faith, love, and the croſs.
We command a Chriſtian in nothing, he is only admoniſhed.
We muſt curb ourſelves in our own wills and minds.
All revenge among Chriſtians is taken away; they muſt grow up and encreaſe in the fruits of the ſpirit, among which, love is the greateſt, for ſhe goeth about with the people.
Human reaſon comprehendeth not, nor underſtandeth that Chriſt is our brother.
Chriſt is given unto us that believe with all his benefits and works.
Chriſt cometh unto us by preaching, ſo that he is in the midſt of us.
Without the Croſs we cannot attain to glory.
The Goſpel cannot be truly preached without offence and tumult.
The Holy Ghoſt maketh one not inſtantly complete, but he muſt grow and encreaſe.
We loſe nothing by the Goſpel, therefore we ſhould venture thereupon all we have.
To believe the Goſpel, delivereth from ſins.
Works belong to the neighbour, faith to God.
Thoſe that cenſure and judge others, condemn themſelves.
Such as is the Faith, ſuch is alſo the benefit.
To doubt is ſin and everlaſting death.
We know Chriſt when he himſelf is a ſchool-maſter in our hearts, and breaketh bread unto us.
God's Word kindleth Faith in the heart.
Faith is to build certainly on God's mercy.
Chriſt requireth no ſeeming godlineſs, no hypocriſy nor diſſembling, but the godlineſs of the heart.
We are ſaved meerly by grace and mercy, if we truſt thereupon, but God muſt alter our hearts.
The law is nothing but a looking-glaſs.
Chriſt carrieth us upon his back before his Father.
Love regardeth not unthankfulneſs.

Objectum juſtitiæ proceedeth from works, that is, righteouſneſs dealeth with works, as this ſentence witneſſeth, *Forgive, and ye ſhall be forgiven:* Alſo, *Make you friends of the unrighteous mammon.* Likewiſe the publican's ſtriking upon his breaſt was a true repentance.

The tree muſt be good, before it beareth good fruit. We muſt highly eſteem of God's benefits which we have, but we muſt eſteem little of ourſelves.

I will (ſaid *Luther*) that the Catechiſm be preached to the common people, it ſerveth fit for them, I make mention thereof in all my ſermons. For it is the chiefeſt and beſt doctrine, I teach it as ſimply and plainly as poſſible I can, to the end the common people, the children and ſervants may well underſtand it; as for the learned, they know it too well already, to ſuch I will not preach.

Of

Of the Firſt Three Commandments of God.

THE Firſt Commandment (ſaid *Luther*) will ſtand and remain, that God is our God, the ſame will not be accompliſhed in this, but in the life everlaſting. All the other Commandments will ceaſe and end; for in the life to come, the world ceaſeth and endeth together with all external worſhippings of God, all policy and government; only God and the Firſt Commandment will remain everlaſtingly both here and there.

The Second Commandment is a Kingdom of Faith, and of Chriſt himſelf with his grace.

The Fourth Commandment is the *Sabbatiſmus*, or the Holy-day of reſt for the Words ſake, to the end we may ſpeak of God, whether on the Sabbath or on another day.

We ought well to mark (ſaid *Luther*) how, and with what great diligence Moſes handleth the Firſt Commandment, and ſo maſterly explaineth it. He was, doubtleſs, an excellent doctor. David afterwards was a gate or a door out of Moſes. For he had well ſtudied in Moſes, and ſo he became a fine poet, and an orator: for the Pſalms are altogether *Syllogiſms*, or concluding ſentences out of the Firſt Commandment. *Major*, the firſt, is God's Word itſelf. *Minor*, the ſecond, is Faith. The concluſion, or the ſhutting up, is the act, the work and the execution, inſomuch that it is done, as we believe. As, *Major*, *Miſericors Deus*, *reſpicit miſeros*. *Minor*, *Ego ſum miſer*. *Concluſio*, *Ergo Deus me quoq reſpicit*.

When we believe the Firſt Commandment, and ſo pleaſe God, then all our actions are pleaſing unto him. If thou heareſt his Word, if thou prayeſt, mortifieſt thy fleſh (whether thou art father or mother, ſon or daughter, magiſtrate, ſubject, man-ſervant, maid-ſervant, &c.), then ſaith God unto thee, I am well pleaſed with what thou doeſt. Moreover, when we obſerve the Firſt Commandment, then that *placet*, (I am well pleaſed) goeth and proceedeth through all the other Commandments and works. Art thou a Chriſtan? wilt thou marry a wife? wilt thou buy and ſell? wilt thou labour in the works of thy vocation? wilt thou puniſh and condemn wicked and ungodly wretches? wilt thou eat, drink, ſleep? &c. ſo ſaith God continually; *Placet*, yea, it all pleaſeth me well.

Primum Præceptum nihil aliud dicit, *quam placet aut diſplicet*. This is wholly and fully the Firſt Commandment. But if thou keepeſt not the Firſt Commandment, then ſaith God to all thy works and actions, *Non placent*, they pleaſe me not. Therefore Chriſt draweth the Firſt Commandment upon himſelf, where he ſaith, *He that honoureth me*, *honoureth the Father*; *he that honoureth not the Son*, *honoureth not the Father*. That is, I take upon me, and eſteem as mine own, all that which is the Father's; for *I and my Father are one*. Whatſoever the Father is, doth, and ſuffereth to be done, the ſame I am, the ſame I do, and the ſame I ſuffer. This is a great matter which all the Prophets well ſtudied and learned. This argument is taken *à poſteriori*, from that which followeth after, as if Chriſt would ſay, If I do ſo much as God doth, then I am God, for I am Chriſt, I do and ſuffer that which God doth and ſuffereth, therefore that which is done to me, the ſame is done to God. This is *à poſteriori*, he draweth it all to himſelf. But we can bring no Jew to believe it. Therefore by them this argument is of no value, neither do they conclude it, nay, they cannot endure it. It is but labour loſt (ſaid *Luther*) to diſpute with a Jew, for they cannot brook the moſt common and leaſt argument with goeth againſt them; As this, Ye Jews are not alone God's people, but the uncircumciſed are alſo the God's people. This argument they cannot endure, although they have innumerable examples

examples thereof in Holy Scripture, as thoſe of Pharaoh in Egypt, of Jethro, Moſes father-in-law, of the Ninivites, of the King of Tyre, of Naaman the Aſſyrian, and many more of other Heathens.

CHAP. XII.

OF THE LAW AND GOSPEL.

Whether we are tied to obſerve the Worldly and Politick Laws of Moſes, or no.

WE muſt and will (ſaid *Luther*) reject and contemn thoſe that ſo highly boaſt of the rights and proceedings in Moſes's Laws, *Judicialia*, in temporal affairs, for we have our written Imperial and country laws, under which we live, and unto which we are ſworn.

Neither Naaman the Aſſyrian, nor Job, nor Joſeph, nor Daniel, nor many other good and godly Jews, did uſe or obſerve Moſes's laws out of their country, but they obſerved the laws of the Gentiles among whom they lived.

Moſes's laws (ſaid *Luther*) bound and obliged only the the Jews in that place which God made choice of. Now they are free. Otherwiſe if we ſhould keep and obſerve the *Judicialia*, the laws and rights and temporal dealings of Moſes, then we muſt alſo be circumciſed and muſt keep the Moſaical ceremonies: for there is no difference; he that holdeth one as neceſſary, muſt alſo hold the reſt ſo too.

Therefore let us leave Moſes to his laws, excepting only the Moralia, which God hath planted in nature. as the Ten Commandments, which concern God's true worſhipping and ſervice, and a civil life.

To what Kind of People the Law and the Goſpel do belong.

GOD will have (ſaid *Luther*) that the ungodly hypocrites ſhould be ſmothered, ſuppreſſed, and terrified through the law, to the end they may be humbled; that they may ſee and know what they have done, and what they have to do. But the Goſpel is a doctrine that belongeth only to the poor, contrite, ſorrowful and perplexed conſciences.

Of the only Office and Work of the Law.

THE particular and only office of the law is, according as St. Paul teacheth; namely, That the tranſgreſſions thereby ſhould be acknowledged; for it was added becauſe of tranſgreſſions, till the ſeed ſhould come, to whom the promiſe was made. Theſe (ſaid *Luther*) are the expreſs and plain words of St. Paul; therefore we trouble not ourſelves with what the Papiſts allege to the contrary, and do ſpin out of human reaſon, in extolling the maintainers and ſeeming obſervers of Moſes's law.

That the Law, for the moſt Part, affrighteth the Good and Godly.

GOD (ſaid *Luther*) giveth to the Emperor the ſword, the Emperor delivereth it to the judge, and cauſeth thieves, murderers, &c. to be puniſhed and executed. Afterwards, when God pleaſeth, he taketh the ſword from the Emperor

Emperor again: even ſo doth God touching the Law; he leaveth it to the devil, and permitteth him therewith to fear and affrighten ſinners.

But, for the moſt part, the good and godly are plagued and tormented with the Law; the ſame concerneth the Day of Judgment, the Pope, alſo the univerſal world. The devil is ſenſible that his kingdom on earth is drawing to an end, therefore he ſhaketh and quaketh for fear.

Let us rejoice and comfort ourſelves in the Lord; let us be armed and girded with the Sword of the Spirit; let us pray and call upon God in our trouble, that we be delivered from all evil, and that his kingdom may come; let us cleave to Chriſt, and depend on him, ſo ſhall no power be able to ſeparate us from his love; then ſhall we, after this miſerable life is ended, behold one another with unſpeakable joy and gladneſs.

That the Uſe of the Law is Two-fold.

THE Law (ſaid *Luther*) is uſed two ways: firſt, For this worldly life; becauſe God hath ordained all temporal laws and ſtatutes to prevent and hinder ſin. But here ſome man might object and ſay, If the Law hindereth ſin, then it alſo juſtifieth. I anſwer, Oh! no, that doth no ways follow: that I do not murder, commit adultery, nor ſteal, &c. theſe ſins are not willingly left undone by me, becauſe I love virtue and righteouſneſs, but I abſtain therefrom, becauſe I fear the hangman, who threateneth me with the gallows, with the ſword, &c. It is the hangman that hindereth me from ſinning; like as chains, ropes, and other ſtrong bands, do hinder bears, lions, and other wild beaſts, from tearing and rending in pieces all that cometh in their way.

Hence we may underſtand, That the ſame can be no righteouſneſs that is performed out of fear of the curſe, but ſin and unrighteouſneſs; for the Law bindeth mankind (who by nature are prone to wickedneſs), that they do not ſin, as willingly they would.

Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) this is now the firſt inſtruction concerning the Law; namely, that the ſame muſt be uſed to hinder the ungodly from their wicked and miſchievous intentions. For the devil (who is an Abbot and a Prince of this world) driveth and allureth people to work all manner of ſin and wickedneſs; for which cauſe God hath ordained Magiſtrates, Elders, Schoolmaſters, Laws and Statutes to the end, if they can do no more, yet at leaſt that they may bind the claws of the devil, and hinder him from raging and ſwelling ſo powerfully (in thoſe which are his), according to his will and pleaſure.

Secondly, we uſe the law ſpiritually, which is done in this manner; That it maketh the tranſgreſſions greater, as Saint Paul ſaith; that is, that it may reveal and diſcover to people their ſins, blindneſs, and ungodly doings wherein they were conceived and born; namely, that they are ignorant of God, and are his enemies, and therefore have juſtly deſerved death, hell, God's judgments, his everlaſting wrath and indignation.

But the Hypocritical Sophiſts in univerſities know nothing thereof, neither thoſe which are of opinion, that they are juſtified by the Law, and by their own works.

But to the end that God might put to ſilence, might ſmother, ſuppreſs, and beat down to the ground theſe miſchievous and furious beaſts, he hath appointed and ordained a particular Hercules with a club, powerfully to lay hold on ſuch beaſts, and to take them captive, to ſtrike them down, and ſo to diſpatch them out of the way; that is, he gave the Law upon the Hill of Sinai, with ſuch fearful thundering and lightening, that all people thereat were amazed and affrighted.

It is exceeding neceſſary for us to know the uſe of the Law in this wiſe. For he that is not an open and a publick murderer, an adulterer, or a thief, the ſame

holdeth himſelf to be an upright and a godly man: As alſo the Phariſee would have ſworn that he was a juſt and godly perſon, for he was blinded and poſſeſſed ſpiritually of the devil, inſomuch that he could neither ſee nor feel his ſins, nor his miſerable caſe.

Therefore he was taken with ſuch imaginations and blaſphemous thoughts, whereby he was induced to exalt and applaud himſelf touching his good works and deſerts.

Such hypocrites and haughty ſaints can God by no better means humble and ſoften, than by and through the Law; for that is the right club or hammer, the thunder-clap from heaven, and the axe of God's wrath, that ſtriketh through, beateth down, and battereth ſuch ſtock-blind, hardened hypocrites.

For this cauſe (ſaid *Luther*) it is no ſmall matter that we ſhould rightly underſtand what the Law is, whereto it ſerveth, and what is its proper work and office. We do not reject the Law and the works thereof, but we confirm and erect the ſame, and do teach, that we ought to do good works; and we alſo affirm, that the Law is very good and profitable, yet ſo far, that we give him his right, and ſuffer him to remain within his bounds, that is, by his own proper work and office; namely, firſt, that thereby outward ſins be withſtood and hindered. Secondly, that inward and ſpiritual ſins may be diſcovered, confeſſed, and acknowledged.

Therefore the law is a light which lighteth, it openeth and maketh viſible, not God's grace and mercy, nor doth it diſplay unto us the righteouſneſs whereby we obtain everlaſting life and ſalvation: O, no! in no wiſe: but the Law openeth and diſplayeth unto us our ſins, our weakneſs, death, God's wrath and judgment.

But the light of the Goſpel is far another manner of light; the ſame enlighteneth the affrighted, broken, ſorrowful, and contrite hearts; it reviveth, comforteth, and refreſheth them. For it declareth, that God is merciful to unworthy condemned ſinners for the ſake of Chriſt, and that a bleſſing thereby is preſented unto them that believe; that is, grace, remiſſion of ſins, righteouſneſs, and everlaſting life.

When in this way we diſtinguiſh the Law and the Goſpel, then we attribute and give to each his right, work, and offices. Therefore, I pray and truly admoniſh all the lovers of godlineſs and pure religion (eſpecially thoſe who in time are to be teachers of others) that with higheſt diligence they would learn this article, which I much fear, after our time, will be darkened again, if not altogether extinguiſhed.

To teach that the Works of the Law is not neceſſary to Salvation; the ſame is offenſive to the Seeming-workers of Holineſs.

NEVER was a more bold and harſh ſermon preached in the world (ſaid *Luther*) than that which St. Paul preached, wherein he quite aboliſheth and taketh away Moſes, together with his Law, as inſufficient for a ſinner's ſalvation.

But who with patience could endure it now? From thence aroſe the continual diſſention and ſtrife which this Apoſtle had with the Jews. And if Moſes had not caſhiered and put himſelf out of his office, and had not taken it away with theſe words, where he ſaith, *The Lord thy God will raiſe up unto thee another Prophet out of thy brethren, him ſhalt thou hear*; who then at any time would or could have believed the Goſpel, and forſaken Moſes?

From hence proceeded the vehement accuſation brought by the reputable Jews, when they ſuborned certain men to accuſe the beloved St. Stephen, where they ſaid, *We have heard him ſpeak blaſphemous words againſt Moſes, and againſt God.* Likewiſe, *This man ceaſeth not to ſpeak blaſphemous words againſt the holy place and the Law, &c.* For to preach and to teach that the obſerving of the Law were not neceſſary to ſalvation, was to the Jews as horrible as if one ſhould ſtand up and preach among us Chriſtians, and ſay, Chriſt is not the Lamb of God that taketh away the ſins of the world.

St. Paul could have been content that they had kept and obſerved the Law, had they not aſſerted it was neceſſary to ſalvation.

But the Jews would no more endure that, than the Papiſts (with their ſopperies) will now endure that we hold and obſerve the ceremonies, ſo far that every one ſhall be at liberty either to obſerve or not obſerve them, according as occaſion ſerved; ſo that the conſcience therein might not be bound, nor enſnared, and that they would ſuffer God's Word freely to be preached and taught, &c. But (ſaid *Luther*) this they will not ſuffer; therefore both Jews and Papiſts are ungodly wretches; they are, as we uſe to ſay, two hoſen made of one piece of cloth.

That Moſes with his Law is moſt terrible.

MOSES (ſaid *Luther*) with his Law is moſt terrible; there never was any above him nor equal with him in perplexing, affrighting, in tyrannizing, and in threatening, preaching, and thundering; for he layeth ſharp hold on the conſcience, which fearfully he tormenteth. All this he doeth by God's expreſs command.

And at ſuch a time when we are affrighted, and feel our ſins, God's wrath and judgments, moſt certain, in the Law, is no juſtification, therein is nothing celeſtial and divine, but altogether ſuch proceedings as uſed to be in this world. Now the world is nothing elſe but the kingdom of the devil: it is a right ſink of ſin and of all wickedneſs, which poor, affrighted, and ſorrowful conſcience feel and know. But the contemners of God, and his Word, neither feel nor know any thing of the ſame.

Therefore it is clear and apparent that the Law can do nothing that is lively, ſaving, celeſtial, or divine; but what it doth or cauſeth is altogether temporal; that is, it giveth us to know what evil is in the world, both outwardly and inwardly.

But beſides this, the Holy Ghoſt muſt come over the Law, and ſpeak thus in thy heart: God will not have that thou ſhouldeſt affright thyſelf to death, but that through the Law thou ſhouldeſt know thy miſery, and yet not to deſpair, but believe in Chriſt who is the end of the Law for righteouſneſs.

Of the Cauſe why the Scripture, eſpecially St. Paul, ſpeaketh ſo contemptibly of the Law.

THE cauſe (ſaid *Luther*) that St. Paul now and then ſpeaketh ſo ſcornfully of the Law is, not that we ſhould contemn the Law, no, in no wiſe, but would rather that we ſhould eſteem and hold it precious.

But where he teacheth how we become juſtified before God, it was neceſſary for him ſo to ſpeak; for it is far another thing when we diſpute, how we may be juſtified before God, than when we deal about the Law: when we are in hand with the righteouſneſs that juſtifieth before God, then we cannot too much diſdain nor undervalue the Law.

The reaſon is this, that the conſcience muſt have regard and look to nothing elſe, but only to Chriſt; for which cauſe we muſt with all diligence endeavour to remove Moſes with his Law far from us, and out of our ſight, when we intend to ſtand juſtified before God, and neither to receive nor to entertain any thing, but only the promiſe in Chriſt.

That

That it is a difficult Thing in Trials and Temptations to contemn the Curſe and the Burthen of the Law.

IT is (ſaid *Luther*) an impoſſible thing for thy human ſtrength, whoſoever thou art, without God's aſſiſtance, that at ſuch a time when Moſes ſetteth upon thee with his Law, accuſeth and threateneth thee with God's wrath and death, that thou ſhouldeſt poſſeſs ſuch peace as if no Law nor ſin had ever been at any time; I ſay, it is impoſſible that a human creature ſhould carry himſelf in ſuch a way when he is aſſaulted with trials and temptations, and when the conſcience hath to do with God, as then to think that from everlaſting nothing hath been but only Chriſt, Grace, and everlaſting Life.

When thou feeleſt the terror of the Law, thou mayeſt ſay thus: Madam Law! I have no time to hear you ſpeak, your language is very rough and unfriendly, I would have you alſo know that your appointed time is expired, (as St. Paul ſaith), therefore I am now free, I will endure your bondage no longer.

But (ſaid *Luther*) when in time of trial and temptation we ſhall ſpeak and diſcourſe with the Law after this ſort, then we ſhall well find how hard a buſineſs it is to make a right difference between the Law of grace, and the law of thundering Moſes; I ſay, we ſhall then find, How great a divine and celeſtial gift it is to hope againſt Hope, whereas there ſeemeth nothing to be hoped for; and how true the ſpeech of Saint Paul is, where he ſaith, *Through Faith in Chriſt we are juſtified, and not through the works of the Law.*

We muſt highly eſteem of the Law, when we deal not with Juſtification.

BUT (ſaid *Luther*) when we are not in hand with juſtification, how we are made righteous and juſt before God; then we ought greatly and highly to eſteem the Law, we muſt extol and applaud it in the higheſt degree, and (with St. Paul) we muſt call it good, true, ſpiritual, and divine, as in truth it is; but in that it affrighteth and killeth, the ſame is the fault of our evil and poiſoned nature.

Therefore in any caſe we muſt not endure nor ſuffer the Law to houſe nor to be mingled with the righteouſneſs which availeth before God, ſeeing it hath coſt our Saviour Chriſt ſo much to rend its tyranny from the conſcience; for therefore he became a curſe, to the end he might deliver us from the curſe.

That the Law and the Goſpel are two contrary Things that cannot endure each other.

EVERY good and godly Chriſtian muſt diligently learn to know well that the Law and the Goſpel are two contrary things, inſomuch that the one cannot poſſibly endure the other, neither can they agree. When and where Chriſt is preſent and at hand, then and there muſt not the Law rule and govern in the conſcience, but muſt yield and give place, as Iſaiah ſaith. Therefore Chriſt only ſhall rule in righteouſneſs, in ſafety, and in life, to the end the conſcience in ſuch ſort may reſt and ſleep with all joy in him, and may not be ſo much as once ſenſible of any Law, ſin, nor death.

Of the Law.

I (ſaid *Luther*) will have none of Moſes with his Law, for he is an enemy to my Lord and Saviour Chriſt. If Moſes will go to law with me, I will give him his diſpatch (not in God's name), but will ſay, Here ſtandeth Chriſt.

At the day of judgment Moſes will doubtleſs look upon me, and ſay, Thou didſt underſtand me rightly, and haſt well diſtinguiſhed between me and the Law of Faith, therefore we are now friends.

We muſt expel the diſputations of the Law at ſuch time when it intendeth to affright the conſcience, and when we feel God's anger againſt our ſins; then we muſt eat, drink, ſleep, and be cheerful, on purpoſe to ſpite the devil. But human wiſdom is more inclinable to underſtand the Law of Moſes, than the Law of the Goſpel. Old Adam will not out.

Together with the Law Satan tormenteth the conſcience, by picturing Chriſt before our eyes as an angry and a ſtern Judge, and ſaith, God is an enemy to ſinners, for he is a juſt God; Thou art a ſinner, therefore God is thy enemy. Hereat is the conſcience dejected, beaten down, and taken captive. Now he that can make a true difference in this caſe, and ſay, Devil! thou art deceived, it is not ſo as thou pretendeſt; for God is not an enemy to all ſinners, but only to the ungodly and impenitent ſinners and perſecutors of his Word. For even as ſin is two-fold, even ſo is righteouſneſs two-fold alſo.

That Human Wiſdom cannot diſtinguiſh aright between the Law and the Goſpel.

NEVER yet was that man found on earth that could make a right difference between the Law and the Goſpel. We flatter ourſelves that ſo ſoon as we have heard a ſermon upon that ſubject, we underſtand it thoroughly; but therein we deceive ourſelves, the Holy Ghoſt only can teach this art.

I (ſaid *Luther*) thought ſo myſelf, that I had it at my finger's end, ſeeing I had written ſo much concerning the ſame; but truly I found I had far to ſeek therein, even at ſuch times when I ſtood moſt in need, and when the devil began to lecture me. But when by his many aſſaults I gained better experience touching his devices and temptations, then (thanks be to God) I jeered him with his own arguments, even to his teeth, with unſpeakable joy and comfort to my troubled conſcience.

The Law and the Goſpel are the chief articles in the Church of God: through the Law, God will keep off and affright the ungodly, the rude people and ſinners from blaſpheming; he will alſo thereby teach the proud hypocrites, and the invocators of ſaints, in that they have written ſuperfluouſly of the *overplus* of Works, &c. But the Goſpel comforteth the ſad and ſorrowful conſcience, &c. It comforteth all thoſe of whom the Prophet Iſaiah ſpeaketh, where he ſaith, *Be of good comfort, for I do forgive you your ſins.* What could God do more for us?

That we muſt pray againſt the Devil, and muſt well know how to make a Difference between the Law and Goſpel.

WHEN we lie in the field and do fight againſt the devil, as then it is enough for us to ſay, This is God's Word. For it is one of the devil's arts to bereave us of our weapons, eſpecially when unaware he terrifieth and affrighteth us; ſuch tricks he hath oftentimes played with me (ſaid *Luther*). He knoweth that without ceaſing my heart prayeth the Lord's Prayer, yet he frequently plagueth me as though I neg-

lected to pray. The devil is ſuch an enemy that would wreſt the ſword out of our hands; therefore we ought continually to pray, and ſay, Ah, heavenly Father, help! No Chriſtian creature, by my advice (ſaid *Luther*), ſhall go out to combat with the devil, till he hath firſt prayed the Lord's Prayer. It is a matter of great weight, for the devil is wiſe and crafty; we know not the ſeven hundreth part of that which he knoweth. He plagued and tempted Adam, Abraham, David, and many others; he knew alſo how to take hold of them where they were ſoft and tender, and where he might get advantage over them.

The Apoſtle Judas, that betrayed Chriſt, was not very much tempted of the devil in all his life; but when the hour came, then he went on ſecurely, and knew not which way to wind himſelf. But we that do lie with him in the field (by God's grace), do know how to encounter and to reſiſt him.

The devil's higheſt art is, to make the Law out of the Goſpel. If at all times I well knew how to make a right difference of both doctrines, I would not care a fig for all his devices and temptations.

There was a great Doctor who, in the year 1572, was Chaplain to a Popiſh Biſhop; he was at firſt a friend to the Goſpel, inſomuch that, contrary to his Biſhop's command, he received the Holy Communion in both kinds, according to Chriſt's inſtitution: but when he was ſenſible of his lord's diſpleaſure, and ſaw that many other Proteſtants in that place were driven away and baniſhed, then he recanted and forſook the Goſpel. Now afterwards when he ſaw that the Proteſtants willingly ſuffered themſelves to be exiled into miſery, and with great joy contemned the ſaid Biſhop's tyranny, then his conſcience pricked him, that he had not ſuffered with the reſt, and becauſe he had forſaken and denied the truth. Whereupon he fell into great agony, inſomuch, that all comfortable admonitions and inſtructions concerning God's promiſes prevailed nothing at all with him; and in that manner he fell into deſpair, and uttered theſe words, Chriſt ſtandeth by his heavenly Father, accuſeth me, and ſaith, O Father! be not merciful unto him, neither do thou pardon nor forgive his ſins of blaſphemy; for he hath not confeſſed, but denied me and my Goſpel before his Biſhop: So, ending this ſpeech, he lamentably departed this life. Here (ſaid *Luther*) was the *facere*, but not the *credere*; for if we remain only by the *facere*, then we are loſt. Therefore be not too bold, but learn to make a right difference between the Law and Goſpel, for thereon dependeth all, and that only doth the deed.

This great Doctor at that time ſhould have called to mind that which St. Paul to the Romans ſaith, *Abundat gratia ſuper peccatum, Sic quoque major eſt vita quàm mors*, Grace did ſuperabound ſin, as alſo life is above death. For God deſireth not the death of a ſinner, &c. God, through St. Paul, hath given unto us a comfortable promiſe; namely, that he is faithful, and will not ſuffer us to be tempted more than we are able to bear, and will give a happy iſſue to our troubles; yet, notwithſtanding, God permitteth it to come ſo near and hard upon ſome that oftentimes they are able to hold out no longer.

Of certain Queſtions touching the Law.

TWO learned men came lately to me (ſaid *Luther*) and demanded, Whether the Law of God revealed ſin to people without the particular motion of the Holy Ghoſt? The one of them affirmed that it was ſo, the other denied it. The firſt would prove his opinion out of St. Paul's ſentence, where he ſaith, *By the Law is the knowledge of ſin:* But the other alledged, that the ſame was the work and office of the Holy Ghoſt through the Law; for many did hear the preaching of the Law, and yet did not acknowledge their ſins.

I anſwered

I anſwered them, and ſaid, Ye are both in the right, if ye well underſtood one another; your difference conſiſteth only in words; for the Law muſt be underſtood two manner of ways; Firſt, as a Law deſcribed and heard, in that manner it revealeth not the ſtrength or the ſting of ſin, it goeth only in at one ear (as we uſed to ſay) and out at the other; it neither toucheth nor ſtriketh the heart at all.

Secondly, when the Law it taught, and the Holy Ghoſt cometh thereunto, toucheth the heart, and giveth ſtrength to the Word, and the heart confeſſeth ſin, it feeleth God's wrath, and ſaith, Ah! this concerneth me, I have ſinned againſt God, and have offended, &c. Then (ſaid *Luther*) the Law hath well and rightly finiſhed his work and office.

After theſe came a third, and ſaid, It were another matter to be ſimply a Law, and to be God's Law; for the Law of God muſt always have its operation and ſtrength, which the Law of man hath not. To him (ſaid *Luther*) I made this anſwer:

The Law muſt be diſtinguiſhed, underſtood, and divided threefold: Firſt, a written Law; ſecond, a verbal; third, a ſpiritual Law. The written Law which is written in the book is like a block, which without motion remaineth lying; that Law doth nothing except we read therein. The verbal Law revealeth and ſheweth ſin; yea, in the ungodly; for when adulterers do hear the Seventh Commandment, *Thou ſhalt not commit adultery*, then they well underſtand that the ſame reproveth them; but they either do contemn it, or elſe they perſecute thoſe by whom they are reproved. But the ſpiritual Law cannot be without the motion of the Holy Ghoſt, which toucheth the heart, and moveth the ſame; ſo that a man doth not only ceaſe to perſecute; but hath ſorrow for ſins committed, and doth deſire to be better

But as the ſame perſon alledged St. Paul's ſpeech, where he ſaith, *That the Word worketh in the hearers*; I anſwered him thereupon, and ſaid, The Word, which in that place St. Paul ſpeaketh of, muſt be underſtood of the Goſpel; for even the ſame Word (whether it be written or verbal, taught or preached) doth nothing without the Holy Ghoſt; he muſt kindle it in the hearts, muſt revive and ſtrengthen.

Of what is contained in the Law.

EVERY Law or Commandment (ſaid *Luther*) containeth two profitable points; firſt, a promiſe; ſecond, a threatening; for every Law is, or ſhould be, good, upright, and holy, Rom. vii. It commandeth that which is good, and forbiddeth that which is evil: it rewardeth and defendeth the good and godly, but puniſheth and reſiſteth the wicked, as St. Paul ſaith, *Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, &c.* And St. Peter ſaith, *For the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.* And the Imperial laws do teach alſo the ſame.

Now ſeeing there are promiſes and threatenings in temporal laws, how much more in God's Laws, which require upright Faith in the heart.

Indeed the Emperor's laws alſo do require faith, whether upright or feigned; for thoſe that do not fear nor believe that the Emperor will puniſh or protect, they obſerve not his laws (as we ſee), but thoſe obſerve them that fear and believe, whether it go from the heart or not.

Now, where in Scripture there is a promiſe without the Law, there Faith only is neceſſary: As when Abraham was promiſed that his ſeed ſhould multiply as the ſtars of heaven; he was not commanded at that time to accompliſh any work, but he heard of a work which God would accompliſh, and which Abraham was not able to do. In that ſort (ſaid *Luther*) is Chriſt promiſed unto us, and is deſcribed to have done

done a work which we cannot do, therefore in this caſe, faith is needful for us, becauſe by works we cannot take hold thereof.

That at the firſt the Law and the Goſpel were briefly deſcribed, but afterwards more fully declared.

AS at the firſt the Law was briefly given on Mount Sinai in the Ten Commandments, to thoſe which were brought out of Egypt, but afterwards was more fully enlarged and explained (in the fifth book of Moſes), what was the ſtrength thereof.

Even ſo (ſaid *Luther*) was the Goſpel preached at the firſt by Chriſt, in a little corner, to thoſe that then lived in the land of the Jews, but afterwards, the right uſe and profit thereof was further declared and explained by the Apoſtles St. Peter, St. Paul, and others.

That we are not ſaved by the Righteouſneſs of the Law.

THE Law and the righteouſneſs thereof (ſaid *Luther*) is like a cloud without rain, which promiſeth rain but giveth none; even ſo doth the Law promiſe ſalvation but giveth it not, for the Law was not given to that end, as St. Paul ſaith. Gal. iii.

The the Goſpel requireth no Works of ours in order to Juſtication.

THE Goſpel (ſaid *Luther*) is a comfortable meſſenger, it bringeth good news; namely, That the Son of God is made man; that he died for us, aroſe again from the dead, &c. the Goſpel preacheth nothing of the merit of works. Therefore he that ſaith, That the Goſpel requireth works neceſſary to ſalvation, I ſay flat and plain, he is a liar.

Nothing that is properly good proceedeth out of the works of the Law (except grace be preſent); for what we are forced to do, the ſame goeth not from the heart, neither is it acceptable. The people under Moſes were always in a murmuring ſtate and condition, they would needs ſtone him, they were rather his enemies than his friends.

Of the Cauſe why the Curſe of the Law was aboliſhed.

THE cauſe why the curſe of the Law was taken away, was, that the faithful no more might be condemned, and that we might certainly know, that Chriſt is now come touching whom Moſes himſelf ſaid, that they ſhould hear him.

That we muſt not diſpute with the Devil out of the Law, but out of the Goſpel.

HE (ſaid *Luther*) that will diſpute with the devil out of the Law, the ſame is beaten down and taken captive; but he that diſputeth with him out of the Goſpel, overcometh him. The devil hath the written bond againſt us, therefore let no man preſume to diſpute with him of the Law, or of ſin.

When the devil ſaith to me, Behold, much evil proceedeth from thy doctrine, then I ſay unto him, Much good and profit cometh alſo thereby: O! ſaith the devil, That is nothing to the purpoſe. The devil is an artificial orator, he can make out of a moat a beam, and can falſify that which is good: he was never in all his life ſo angry and vexed as he is now, I feel him well, ſaid *Luther*.

If Baptiſm, if the Sacrament, if the Goſpel be falſe, and if Chriſt be not in heaven, and

and governeth not; then indeed I am in the wrong: otherwiſe, if theſe be of God's inſtituting and ordaining, and if Chriſt be in heaven and ruleth; then (ſaid *Luther*) I am ſufficiently ſecured and aſſured, that the cauſe which I have in hand is good: For what I teach and do openly in the church, is altogether of the Goſpel, of Baptiſm, of the Lord's Supper, of Prayer, &c. Chriſt and his Goſpel is here preſent, therein I muſt and will continue. The Goſpel ſolveth all the devils arguments, and whatſoever he propoſeth is thereby beaten down.

Of the Allegations of the Antinomians, that the Law ſhould not be preached.

ANNO 1541, certain propoſitions were brought to *Luther* as he ſat at dinner, importing, that the Law might not be preached in the Church, becauſe we were not juſtified thereby. At the ſight whereof, he was moved to anger, and ſaid, Such ſeducers do come already among our people while we yet live, what will be done when we are gone.

Let us (ſaid he) give Philip Melancthon the honour due unto him; for he teacheth exceeding well and plainly of the right difference, uſe, and profit of the Law and Goſpel, and I teach directly alſo the ſame, and have thoroughly handled that point in the Epiſtle to the Galatians. I doubt his propheſy will prove true which lately he wrote unto me, namely, that there did lurk and lie hid in the Church a Muntzer. For, he that taketh away the doctrine of the Law, doth rend and tear away *Politiam & Oeconomiam*, and when the Law is caſt out of the Church, then there is no more acknowledging of ſin in the world. For the Goſpel reproveth not ſin, that being the office of the Law, which ſpiritually deſcribeth and revealeth ſin as the tranſgreſſion of the Law.

Now he that alledgeth, *Tranſgreſſeres non peccare contra Legem, ſed violare Filium Dei*, That tranſgreſſors do not ſin againſt the Law, but offer violence to the Son of God: the ſame we ought not to hear: For ſuch divine ſpeculators are *Peſtes Eccleſiarum*, The plagues of the Church; they have no certain nor true knowledge of the divine Word, they teach *contra Dialecticam*, againſt logick; they caſt and mingle all together: They do even like thoſe that argue in this ſort, *Plenitudo Legis eſt dilectio*, the fulfilling of the Law is love; therefore we have no Law. But theſe poor ignorant people (ſaid *Luther*) have no regard to the imperfection of this grace, that it is altogether weak in this our fleſh, and that we muſt daily fight againſt this weakneſs, through the Holy Spirit, and that this weakneſs (while we live) muſt be under the Law.

The Cauſe why the Goſpel is now preached ſo clearly.

THIS light of the Goſpel, now in our time (ſaid *Luther*), is a certain ſign of the glorious appearing of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt. And is like the morning redneſs that appeareth before the everlaſting day and riſing of the ſun of righteouſneſs.

How we ought to carry ourſelves towards the Law's Accuſations.

THE hypocrites (ſaid *Luther*) and the ſeeming workers of holineſs do ſlightly regard the doctrine of Faith; they think it an eaſy matter to believe; they are ſtrangers to the feelings of the broken and contrite in heart, therefore they go on in all carnal ſecurity. But when death and terror ſuddenly overtaketh them, then they fall into ſwift deſpair; then they ſee and find what it is to believe; namely, not the

bare word of the tongue, nor an empty or a lazy notion, but to liſt up the head, to pluck up a good courage, and to boaſt of Chriſt againſt ſin, death, hell, the Law, and an evil conſcience, this is Faith.

If the Law will accuſe thee, then ſay thou in this manner, Good miſtreſs Law, diſpute with whom you will, for my part I cannot attend to you; at this time I intend to know nothing of my ſins; if you talk to me, and ſay, *Fiat juſtitia*, Let juſtice be done; then, I turn to you my back, and ſay, Let juſtice be where it will; I at this time will have no dealing therewith, but I will rather turn myſelf to Chriſt, and will hearken what he preacheth; Namely, *Whoſo believeth and is baptized ſhall be ſaved.* This (ſaid *Luther*) is called believing.

Objection.

But here thy conſcience will ſay, God hath given his Law, and hath commanded us to keep it upon pain of everlaſting damnation.

Anſwer.

That I know very well, but on the contrary, He hath alſo given his Goſpel through his Son, which ſoundeth in this manner, *Go into the whole world, and preach the Goſpel to all people, who ſo believeth and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved.* The ſame Goſpel is far greater then the whole Law: For the Law is earthly, and was given by a man (Moſes), but the Goſpel is heavenly, and is commanded to be preached by the Son of God throughout the whole world; therefore I will not now meddle with the Law-Preachers; but I will harken to the chief good of my ſalvation, which is delivered and offered unto me, as is aforeſaid. I know that I have ſinned and tranſgreſſed God's commandments; but here I have the Goſpel which releaſeth me from my ſins and tranſgreſſions, and which promiſeth ſalvation unto me, becauſe I believe in Chriſt; the ſame Goſpel beareth me as high above the Law, as heaven is above the earth; therefore let the aſs remain upon the ground and carry his burthen, that is, Let this our terreſtrial body, and the members thereof, be ſubject to the Law. But the conſcience, with Iſaac, muſt climb up to the mountain, that is, it muſt take no notice at all of the Law nor of works, but muſt only depend upon the Goſpel, which promiſeth and offereth ſalvation to all that believe in Chriſt.

That the Goſpol bringeth Poverty, but falſe Doctrine Riches.

WHERE the Goſpel is truly preached (ſaid *Luther*), there is poverty; as it is written, *I am ſent to preach the Goſpel to the poor.* In former times more than ſufficient was given to Popiſh monaſteries, but now little or nothing is given to the Goſpel.

Superſtition, falſe doctrine, and hypocriſy have money and wealth enough, but truth goeth a begging.

Of the happy Time.

FOR the ſake of the Goſpel (ſaid *Luther*) which is come again to light and preached, God will reſtore every thing to the right ſtate, wherein it was at the firſt, and whereto God created it, namely, the Goſpel, Matrimony, and Magiſtracy, &c.

That we ought to beware of Sophiſtry.

IF (ſaid *Luther*) we diligently mark the world and the courſe thereof, we ſhall find that is governed merely by weenings or conceits, *Mundus regitur opinionibus.* Therefore ſophiſtry, hypocriſy, and tyranny do rule and have the government in the world.

The upright, pure, and clear divine Word muſt be their hand-maid, and be by them controuled, this the world will have. Therefore let us beware of ſophiſtry, which conſiſteth not only in a double tongue, in doubtful and ſcrewed words, which may be conſtrued any way; but alſo it bloſſometh, and flouriſheth in all arts and vocations, it will likewiſe have room and place in religion, it hath uſurped and gotton a fine painted colour, under the name of holy writ.

Nothing is more pernicious or hurtful then Sophiſtry, every one knoweth it not; moreover, we are by nature prone and willing to believe lies rather than the truth. Few people do know what an evil ſophiſtry is; Plato, the Heathen writer, made thereof a wonderful definition. For my part (ſaid *Luther*), I compare it with a lie, which is like to a ſnow-ball, the longer it is rolled, the greater it becomes.

Therefore I do not approve of ſuch perſons as do pervert every thing, do under-value and find fault with other men's opinions, although they be good and ſound; I like not ſuch brains which can diſpute on both ſides, and yet conclude nothing certain. Such ſophiſtications (ſaid *Luther*) are nothing but crafty and ſubtil inventions and contrivances to cozen and deceive people.

But I like and love an honeſt and a well-affected mind, that ſeeketh after truth ſimply and plainly, not to go about with fantaſies and cheating tricks.

Of the fulfilling of the Law.

ST. Paul ſaith, *What the Law could not do, in that it was weak through the fleſh, God ſending his own Son in the likeneſs of ſinful fleſh, and for ſin condemned ſin in fleſh: That the righteouſneſs of the Law might be fulfilled in us,* &c. That is (ſaid *Luther*), Chriſt is the ſum of all, He is the right, the pure meaning and contents of the Law. Whoſo hath Chriſt, the ſame hath rightly fulfilled the Law. But to take away the Law altogether (whereas it ſticketh in nature, and is written in our hearts, and born in us), the ſame is a thing impoſſible and againſt God. And whereas the Law of nature is ſomewhat darker, and ſpeaketh only of works; therefore Moſes and the Holy Ghoſt do more clearly declare and expound it, and, *in ſpecie*, do ſhew the ſame, by nominating thoſe works which God will have us to do, and to leave undone. From hence Chriſt alſo ſaith, *I am not come to deſtroy the Law.* Carnal people would willingly give that perſon royal entertainment which could bring that to paſs, and could make it good, that Moſes through Chriſt, is quite taken away. O then we ſhould quickly ſee what a fine kind of life there would be in the world! But, God forbid, and keep us from ſuch errors, and ſuffer us not to live to ſee the ſame.

The cauſe that I (ſaid *Luther*) at the firſt ſo harſhly ſpake and wrote againſt the Law was this; The Chriſtian church was grievouſly burdened with manyfold ſuperſtitions and falſe believings, and Chriſt was altogether darkened and buried.

Therefore I was deſirous (through the grace of God, and the Word of the Goſpel) to deliver good and godly hearts from ſuch tormenting of conſciences; but I never rejected the Law.

How the Law is fulfilled.

THROUGH God's gift and preſent (ſaid *Luther*), that is, through the Holy Ghoſt, true Chriſtians do begin to fulfil the Law. To conclude, the Law is fulfilled through grace and remiſſion of ſins.

That the Preaching of the Law and Goſpel is neceſſary.

WE muſt preach the Law (ſaid *Luther*) for the ſake of the evil and wicked, but for the moſt part it lighteth upon the good and godly, which, although they need it not, but only ſo far as may concern the old Adam, fleſh and blood, do notwithſtanding accept thereof.

The preaching of the Goſpel we muſt have for the ſake of the good and godly, yet it falleth among the wicked and ungodly, which take it to themſelves, whereas it profith them not; for they abuſe it, and thereby are made ſecure. It is even as when it raineth in the water, or in a wild wilderneſs, and in the mean time the good paſtures and grounds are parched and dried up.

Whether we ſhould preach only of God's Grace and Mercy, or not?

PHILIP Melancthon demanded of *Luther*, Whether the opinion of Calixtus were to be approved of, namely, that the Goſpel of God's Grace ought to be continually preached? For thereby, doubtleſs (ſaid Melancthon), people would grow worſe and worſe. *Luther* anſwered him, and ſaid, We muſt preach, *Gratiam*, notwithſtanding, becauſe Chriſt hath commanded it. And although we long, and often preach of grace, yet when people are at the point of death, they know but little thereof. Nevertheleſs we muſt alſo drive on with the Ten Commandments in due time and place.

The ungodly (ſaid *Luther*) out of the Goſpel do ſuck only a carnal freedom, and become worſe thereby; therefore not the Goſpel, but the Law belongeth to them. Even as when my little ſon John offendeth, if then I ſhould not whip him, but call him to the table unto me, and give him ſugar and plumbs; thereby indeed I ſhould make him worſe, yea, ſhould quite ſpoil him.

The Goſpel is like a freſh, mild, and cool air in the extreme heat of ſummer, that is, a ſolace and comfort in the anguiſh of the conſcience. But as this heat proceedeth from the rays of the ſun, ſo likewiſe the terrifying of the conſcience muſt proceed from the preaching of the Law, to the end we may know that we have offended againſt the Laws of God.

Now (ſaid *Luther*) when the mind is refreſhed and quickened again by the cool air of the Goſpel, then we muſt not be idle, lie down and ſleep; that is, when our conſciences are ſettled in peace, quieted and comforted through God's ſpirit, then we muſt ſhew alſo and prove our faith by ſuch good works which God hath commanded. But ſo long as we live in this vale of miſery, we ſhall be plagued and vexed with flies, with beetles, and with vermin, &c. that is, with the devil, with the world, and with our own fleſh; yet we muſt preſs through, and not ſuffer ourſelves to recoil.

That

That the Goſpel hath delivered us from the Pope's Idolatry, Superſtition, and from his innumerable Blaſphemies.

IN what great darkneſs, and in what unbelief, traditions, and ordinances of men have we lived, and how many conflicts in the conſcience have we been inſnared, confounded, and captivated in Popedom; the ſame is yet witneſſed by the books of the Papiſts, and many people now living. From all which ſnares and horrors we are now delivered and freed by Jeſus Chriſt and his Goſpel, and are called to the true righteouſneſs of faith; inſomuch that with good and peaceable conſciences we now believe in God the Father, we truſt in him, and have juſt cauſe to boaſt that we have ſure and certain remiſſion of our ſins through the death of Chriſt Jeſus, dearly bought and purchaſed. Who is able to extol and ſufficiently to praiſe theſe treaſures of the conſciences, which every where are ſounded out, ſpread abroad, offered and preſented merely by grace? We are now (ſaid *Luther*) conquerors of ſin, of the Law, of death, and of the devil, and alſo we are now freed and delivered from all human traditions. If we would but only conſider the tyranny of auricular confeſſion, which is but one of the leaſt freedoms, we could not ſhew ourſelves ſufficiently thankful to God for looſing us out of that one ſnare. In the time when Popedom ſtood and flouriſhed among us, then every King would willingly have given ten hundred thouſand guilders, a Prince one hundred thouſand, a Nobleman one thouſand, a Gentleman one hundred, a Citizen or Countryman twenty or ten, that they might have been freed from that tyranny. But now ſeeing ſuch freedom is obtained for nothing, by grace, it is not much regarded, neither give we thanks to God for the ſame. The Goſpel bringeth freedom alſo (ſaid *Luther*) both to the Papiſts, and to the Waldenſes, or the Huſſites (as they are called), in Bohemia and Moravia, but many of them abuſe the ſame, and are unthankful, as we are.

Of the Difference of the Law and Goſpel.

THE Old Teſtament (ſaid *Luther*) is chiefly a law-book, which teacheth what we ſhould do, or ſhould not do; and it ſheweth examples and acts how ſuch laws are obſerved and tranſgreſſed. But beſides the Law, there are certain promiſes and ſentences of grace, whereby the holy Patriarchs and Prophets were preſerved then, as we are now. But the New Teſtament is a book wherein is written the Goſpel of God's promiſes, and the acts of thoſe that believed, and thoſe that believed not. And it is an open and a publick preaching and a declaration of Chriſt, ſet down in the ſentences of the Old Teſtament, and accompliſhed by him. And like as the proper and chief doctrine of the New Teſtament is grace and peace, through the forgiveneſs of ſins declared in Chriſt; even ſo the proper and chief doctrine of the Old Teſtament is, through the Law, to diſcover ſin, and to require good works and obedience.

We muſt take good heed (ſaid *Luther*) that we make not a Moſes out of Chriſt, nor out of Chriſt a Moſes, as often hath been done. But whereas Chriſt and his Apoſtles do in the Goſpel give many commandments and doctrines, and do expound the Law, the ſame are as important as the other works and benefits of Chriſt. Yet to know only goſpel precepts, is not to know the Goſpel; but when the voice ſoundeth, which ſaith, Chriſt is thine own with life and works, with death and reſurrection, with all what he is, and all that he hath. By this we ſee that he forceth not, but teacheth friendly, and ſaith, *Bleſſed are the poor*, &c.

Come to me all ye that are weary and heavy laden, &c. And the Apoſtles uſe theſe words, *I admoniſh*, *I exhort*, *I pray*, &c. inſomuch as we ſee in every place, that the Goſpel is not a law-book, but a mild preaching of Chriſt's merits, ſhewed and given to be our own, if we believe. But on the contrary, Moſes in his law-books preſſeth, fretteth, threateneth, ſtriketh, and horribly reproveth; for he is a law-writer and a fierce driver thereof.

From hence it proceedeth (ſaid *Luther*) that no Law is given to the faithful, whereby they become juſtified before God, as St. Paul ſaith, becauſe they are already juſtified and ſaved by faith; but they ſhew and prove their faith by their works, they confeſs and teach the Goſpel before people freely and undauntedly, and thereupon do ſet up and venture their lives; and whatſoever they take in hand, the ſame they direct to the good and profit of their neighbour, and ſo follow Chriſt's example. For (ſaid *Luther*) where works and love do not break through and appear, there faith is not.

We muſt in this way make a true diſtinction; We muſt place the Goſpel in heaven, and leave the Law on earth; we muſt receive of the Goſpel, a heavenly and a divine righteouſneſs. On the contrary we muſt value the Law, as an earthly and an human righteouſneſs, and muſt ſo properly, directly, and diligently ſeparate and part the righteouſneſs of the Goſpel from the righteouſneſs of the Law, even as properly as God hath ſeparated and diſtinguiſhed heaven from earth, light from dark, and the day from the night, &c. in ſuch ſort that the righteouſneſs of the Goſpel be the light and the day; but the righteouſneſs of the Law darkneſs and night. Therefore every Chriſtian ſhould learn rightly to diſcern the law and grace in their hearts, and know how to keep one from the other, not only in words, as the Pope and other hereticks, but indeed and in truth, for they mingle them together, and (as it were) do make thereout a cake not fit to eat. For they will in no wiſe grant that only faith can juſtify without works. But if that were true, then is Chriſt not at all needful. From ſuch doctrine God of his mercy bleſs and preſerve me and every good Chriſtian.

Of the Nature of the Goſpel.

CASSIA is like Cinnamon, it hath ſtrength to purge and cleanſe the eyes; it is good alſo againſt the ſtinging of an adder. It is alſo a picture of the Goſpel, which expelleth darkneſs and bringeth light again; and is a general phyſic, which we ought to make uſe of againſt all the bitings and ſtingings of thoſe poiſoned worms, the devil, his miniſters and ſervants.

Againſt the Oppoſers of the Law.

I Do much condemn (ſaid *Luther*) the Antinomians, who, void of all ſhame, reject the doctrine of the Law, whereas the ſame is both neceſſary and profitable. But they ſee not the effect, the need, and the fruit thereof. St. Auſtin did picture the ſtrength, the office and operation of the Law, by a very fit ſimilitude, namely, that it diſcovereth our ſins, and God's wrath againſt ſin, and placeth them in our ſight; For the Law is not in fault, but our evil and wicked nature, even as a heap of lime is ſtill and quiet, until water be poured thereon, but then it beginneth to ſmoke and to burn, not that it is the fault of the water, but it is the nature and kind of the lime, which will not endure water; but if oil be poured upon it, then it lieth ſtill and burneth not: Even ſo it is with the Law and Goſpel. It is an exceeding fair ſimilitude.

That St. Paul had much Trouble with the Jews about the Law.

ABOUT this argument touching the righteouſneſs of the Law, St. Paul thoroughly beſtirred himſelf againſt God's profeſſing people, as in Rom. ix, x, xi, chapters; he ſtriveth with powerful arguments and well founded; it produced him much ſorrow of heart.

The Jews argument was this; Paul kept the Law at Jeruſalem, therefore (ſaid they) we muſt alſo keep it. Anſwer. True it is, Paul for a certain time kept the Law, by reaſon of the weak, to win them; but in this our time it is not ſo, neither agreeth it any way therewith: therefore the antient fathers ſaid well; *Diſtinque tempora & concordabis Scripturas*, Diſtinguiſh the times, then may we eaſily reconcile the Scriptures together.

Of the Diſturbance of the Jews touching the Law.

THE Jews were much offended at St. Paul's preaching, namely, that the Law was now aboliſhed by the coming of the promiſed Meſſiah, and touched them nearly. For indeed the Law, God's ſervice, ſacrifices, policy, the government and the Temple were precious jewels among that nation, which to be caſt off was, doubtleſs, a great grief and offence to the people.

I verily believe (ſaid *Luther*) the beloved St. Paul was much troubled about the ſame, yea after his converſion.

So ſoon as human wiſdom and the Law do concert together, ſo ſoon hath faith loſt her virginity and pureneſs. For, nothing is more contrary to faith, then the Law and human wiſdom, and theſe two, without the help of God, can never be overcome, yet, notwithſtanding, they muſt be overcome, if we intend to be ſaved.

Now to fall from the Goſpel to the Law, is as painful as to be thrown down from heaven into hell. Therefore truly (ſaid *Luther*) it is very needful that every Chriſtian do learn in the exacteſt manner, how to ſeparate and diſtinguiſh theſe two pieces (Law and Goſpel) the one from the other.

This thou mayeſt yield unto, that the Law rule and govern over thy body and members, over the old Adam which continually ſtirreth in thee, becauſe of the remainder of ſin, but in any caſe ſuffer not the Law to rule and govern thy conſcience: For that bride and queen muſt be preſerved pure and undeflowered of the Law, and muſt be brought and preſented a pure virgin to her true and only bridegroom Chriſt Jeſus, &c. As St. Paul ſpeaketh, *I have eſpouſed you to one huſband, that I may preſent you a chaſte virgin to Chriſt*, &c.

That all Laws without Chriſt are mortal.

WHEREAS Chriſt is now come and revealed (ſaid *Luther*), the Laws and ceremonies are become hurtful and deadly if Chriſt cometh not thereto.

Moreover, the conſcience of a believeing Chriſtian muſt not be ruled and governed by any Law, except only by the Law of the Spirit, which giveth life, by which we are freed and looſed from the Law of the letter and of death, and from the workings of ſin which it ſtirreth up; not that the Law is evil, but that it cannot help us to obtain the righteouſneſs which juſtifieth before God.

That the Law caſteth all Mankind (which are without Faith) under the Curſe.

ALL that are without Abraham's faith are curſed, for it is written, *Curſed is every one that continueth not in all things written in this Book of the Law to do the ſame.* Which ſentence St. Paul produceth out of Moſes, and ſtrongly concludeth, that all ſuch as deal with the works of the Law, meaning thereby to be juſtified and ſaved before God, are under the curſe.

Now, if thoſe be under the curſe that go in hand with that Law which was given through Moſes by God's command, how much more then are thoſe under the curſe that go in hand with other Laws, which are deviſed by human underſtanding, as the Pope's Law, and ſuch like? Therefore thoſe that intend to fly from that curſe, let them ſeek to obtain the promiſed bleſſing, or Abraham's faith, otherwiſe they muſt remain under the curſe everlaſtingly.

And likewiſe, he that is juſtified and ſaved by faith in Chriſt, who is the end of the Law, as St. Paul ſaith, the ſame doth good works, not out of neceſſity, but out of choice.

How we may be found Wiſe before God.

HE that will be wiſe in the ſight of God, let him begin to learn the Ten Commandments and God's Word, yea to learn Chriſt aright, as is written, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wiſdom.*

Of the Curſe of the Law.

CHRIST only did bear the curſe of the Law, there we ſhall find it. Likewiſe thoſe that have ſpiritual bleſſing, muſt bear the corporal curſe, for, the righteous muſt ſuffer much, as the 34th Pſalm ſaith.

When Satan ſaith in thy heart, God will not pardon thy ſins, nor be gracious unto thee, I pray (ſaid *Luther*) how wilt thou then, as a poor ſinner, raiſe up and comfort thyſelf, eſpecially when other ſigns of God's wrath do beat upon thee, as ſickneſs, poverty, &c. And when thy heart beginneth to preach and ſay, Behold, here thou lieſt in ſickneſs, thou art poor and forſaken of every one, &c. How canſt thou then know that God is gracious unto thee? then thou muſt turn thyſelf to the other ſide, and ſay, Well, let it outwardly ſeem as it will, yea, and although mine own heart felt abundance more, yet, I know for certain, that I am united and made one with my Lord and Saviour Chriſt; I have his Word to witneſs and to aſſure me of the ſame, which can neither fail nor deceive me, for God is true, and performeth what he promiſeth.

Thus a true Chriſtian, as ſtraight as a line, remaineth by Chriſt, and ſaith, Am I not good and godly? neither was St. Peter, yet ſure I am that Chriſt is both good and godly, whom I have put on; he only is my righteouſneſs, he ſtands in my ſtead before God, and pleads his merit, although I be a poor ſinner, &c.

What God's Righteouſneſs is, and why the Preaching of the Law is neceſſary againſt the Antinomians.

THIS word (God's righteouneſs) in former time, was a great thunder-clap to my heart (ſaid *Luther*), for when in Popedom I read theſe words, *Deliver me in thy righteouſneſs*, alſo, *in thy truth*, then I thought that righteouſneſs to be the fearfu'

fearful wrath of God, by which he puniſhed ſins; I was then an utter enemy to St. Paul, when I read, *the righteouſneſs of God is revealed through the Goſpel.*

But afterwards, when I ſaw farther into the Bible, and found it thus written, *The juſt liveth by his faith*, and when I had read St. Auſtin upon that place, then I was exceeding glad, for I then ſaw that God's righteouſneſs is his mercy, through which he holdeth us juſtified; in this way was I comforted.

But our Antinomians and aſſaulters of the Law, will flatter ſecure people, and make them good and godly through this word, Righteouſneſs; for the world is now grown to ſuch a paſs, that it will not be affrighted nor diſtreſſed, but we muſt thunder and lighten with the Law, by reaſon of this great ſecurity in which moſt of the world are drowned.

CHAP. XIII.

THAT ONLY FAITH IN CHRIST JUSTIFIETH BEFORE GOD.

Whether a Man be juſtified and accepted before God firſt, through Faith, but afterwards is accompliſhed by Works?

I (ſaid *Luther*) anſwer thereunto thus: A creature which already is created, it cannot be ſaid of the ſame that it ſhall be created, ſeeing it is created already. Even ſo, one that is juſtified already, of him it cannot be ſaid that he ſhall be juſtified, becauſe he is juſtified already.

It were ignorantly ſpoken to ſay, We are at the firſt juſtified by faith, but afterwards, juſtification muſt be finiſhed and ſettled by works. Theſe words, namely, *The righteous man is a new creature of God, and is called the firſt-born of his creatures*, do ſtop the mouths of all mankind. Therefore it followeth, that our works help nothing to juſtification. For *our*, or, the *works of the Law*, do not make us new creatures of God, but as God only hath begun to make us new creatures by faith, ſo doth he alſo continue and complete it.

We are created in Chriſt Jeſus to good works, therefore works neither make nor create us, otherwiſe we were not God's creatures, but (as they ſay concerning this point) we ſhould be the creatures of our works. And although our works make us not their creatures, yet, according to their meaning, they force God to do ſo.

If the beginning of a new creature be without the works of the Law, then alſo is both the middle and the end; otherwiſe theſe three, beginning, middle, and end, were not one manner of creature nor of one Creator, nor of one generation, but an ugly monſter, one part created without works, another part for the ſake of works; and God, who is moved without works to begin, ſhould be moved through works to finiſh. But the faithful, or the juſt, are born of God; works make no creature (but God only), therefore works juſtify not.

Of Philip Melanchthon's Diſputations held only with Luther, about the Article of Juſtification, Anno 1536.

PHILIP Melanchthon ſaid to *Luther*, The opinion of St. Auſtin of juſtification (as it ſeemeth) was more conſiſtant when he diſputed not, than it was when he

he uſed to diſpute; for thus he ſaith, We ought to hold that we are juſtified by faith, that is, by our regeneration, or by being made new creatures. Now if it be ſo, then we are not juſtified only by faith, but by all the gifts and virtues of God given unto us. That is St. Auſtin's opinion. From hence cometh alſo that *Gratia gratum faciens* of the ſchool-divines, grace which maketh accepted. They alledge alſo that love is the ſame grace that maketh us acceptable before God. Now what is your opinion, Sir, do you hold, that a man is juſtified by this regeneration, as is St. Auſtin's opinion?

Luther anſwered, and ſaid, I hold this, and am certain that the true meaning of the Goſpel, and of the Apoſtles is, that we are juſtified before God *gratis*, for nothing, only by God's mere mercy, wherewith and by reaſon whereof, he imputeth righteouſneſs unto us in Chriſt.

Of Melancthon's Firſt Queſtion to Luther by way of Diſputation.

I Hold not (ſaid Melancthon) that a human creature is juſtified only by God's mercy; our righteouſneſs, which is a good conſcience, is needful by reaſon of works: or, will you not allow me to ſay, Man is juſtified *principaliter*, principally, by faith; *minus principaliter* (in the leaſt meaſure) by works? yet, in ſuch a way that faith be in expectation, and the ſame expectation remaining, the fulfilling of the Law is not required, but faith ſupplieth that which is wanting in the Law. You will allow that there are two ſorts of righteouſneſſes needful before God, namely, faith, and a good conſcience, in which faith ſupplieth what is wanting in the Law, which is nothing elſe than to ſay, A man is juſtified not by faith only. For you never underſtood (as Auſtin) that juſtification is from the beginning of the regeneration; he holdeth not that a man is ſaved merely for nothing, but is ſaved by reaſon of the virtues which are given unto him. I deſire your grave opinion touching this of Auſtin: for his opinion of deſerts is directly oppoſite to your meaning, for he taketh not deſerts away, but only of the ungodly.

Luther's Anſwer by Way of Reply.

I hold (ſaid *Luther*) that man is, and remaineth juſtified only through God's mercy; for that is the compleat righteouſneſs which is placed againſt God's wrath, ſin, and death, and which devoureth all, which maketh a human creature directly holy and innocent, as though he were altogether without ſin. For in that God imputeth righteouſneſs to mankind *gratis*, for nothing, the ſame ſuffereth no ſin to remain in the new man: as John ſaith, *Whoſo is born of God ſinneth not:* for to be born of God, and to be a ſinner, the ſame is contrary the one to the other.

According to this righteouſneſs of faith, a man is ſaid to be juſtified, not in the behalf of his works or fruits which God requireth, recompenſeth, or rewardeth; the ſame I call an external or an outward righteouſneſs, a righteouſneſs of works, which in this fleſh and life neither can be pure nor holy.

Melancthon's Second Queſtion.

I aſk (ſaid Melancthon) touching St. Paul after he was regenerated, how he became juſtified in future, that is, accepted?

Luther's

Luther's Anſwer.

For no other cauſe, but only by reaſon of the ſame regeneration by faith through which he became juſtified, and remaineth juſtified everlaſtingly.

Of Melanćthon's Third Queſtion.

Was he juſtified only by reaſon of God's mercy? or (principally) by reaſon of the mercy, and (in the leaſt part) by reaſon of his works and virtues?

Luther's Anſwer.

No (ſaid *Luther*), but the virtues and works were valued by God to be good and upright for the ſake of St. Paul's perſon, who was juſtified. Like as a work is pleaſing or diſpleaſing, good or evil, for the perſon's ſake that performeth it. As alſo is ſpoken thereof in Terence. For (ſaid *Luther*) a good work done by an evil perſon, hath no reſpect by men, neither is it acceptable.

Of Melanćthon's Fourth Queſtion.

It ſeemeth (ſaid Melanćthon) that Paul was not juſtified only by mercy. For yourſelf teacheth, that the righteouſneſs of works is neceſſary, yea, and that before God. And Paul (who believed and did good works) pleaſed God; but if he had not done them, then he would not have pleaſed him. Therefore our righteouſneſs (if no more) is a little piece of the cauſe that we become juſtified before God.

Of Luther's Anſwer.

It is neceſſary (ſaid *Luther*) but not out of compulſion of the Law, but out of the neceſſity of a willing mind, which followeth without all let or hinderance. As the ſun of neceſſity ſhineth, if otherwiſe it be a ſun, not by reaſon of any Law, but by nature, or, as I may ſay, by reaſon of the immutability, for thereunto it was created, on purpoſe to ſhine.

Even ſo one that is juſtified and regenerated doth good works, not by reaſon of any Law, or by compulſion (for no Law is given to one that is juſtified) but out of unchangeable neceſſity. Moreover, St. Paul ſaith, *We are God's workmanſhip, created in Chriſt Jeſus to good works*, &c.

Melanćthon's Fifth Queſtion.

Sadoletus (ſaid Melanćthon) layeth the fault in us, in that our Doćtrine is againſt ourſelves in teaching, that we are juſtified only by faith, and yet we ſay, The righteouſneſs of works is neceſſary.

Luther's Anſwer.

Yea (ſaid *Luther*), for the hypocrites and falſe brethren do make a ſhew as if they believed, for which cauſe, works are required, to the end, they in their hypocriſy may be confounded. Like as Elias required works of Baal's Prieſts, and ſaid, *Call upon the name of your God*, &c. Whereas Baal thereby was confounded; For God

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in ſuch things doth nothing by reaſon of neceſſity, but goodneſs, and yet without the Law.

Melancthon's Sixth Queſtion.

When you ſay, We are juſtified only by faith, do you underſtand that only from the beginning, of the remiſſion of ſins? Or, is it your opinion that Paul was regenerated, and pleaſed God (alſo afterwards) not by reaſon of his own obedience or virtues yet in part, but only for the ſake of God's mercy.

Luther's Anſwer.

From the beginning, from the middle, and from the end. The obedience (as I ſaid before) pleaſed God for Paul's ſake who believed; for otherwiſe, his obedience had not been pleaſing. And foraſmuch as the perſon is juſtified, it is and remaineth juſtified ſo long as faith endureth. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) this dividing of parts is nothing worth when we bring in three ſeveral parts, the beginning, the middle, and the end of the perſons juſtification. The works therefore do ſhine through the glaſs of faith, and for the ſake of faith they are acceptable to God, not for the works ſake; otherwiſe the works following were better and more ſtong than faith which went before; as thoſe which ſhould make one juſtified longer, namely, in the midſt and end of one's life. Even ſo, faith would only juſtify in the beginning, but afterwards would go away or vaniſh, and ſo ſhould leave the honour to the works, in that it had left off and ceaſed.

Melancthon's Seventh Queſtion.

Sir! you ſay, Paul was juſtified, that is, was received to everlaſting life, only for mercy's ſake. Againſt which, I ſay, if the piece-meal or partial cauſe, namely, our obedience followeth not; then we are not ſaved, according to theſe words, *Woe is me, if I preach not the Goſpel*, 1 Cor. ix.

Luther's Anſwer.

No piecing or partial cauſe (ſaid *Luther*) approacheth thereunto; for faith is powerful continually without ceaſing; otherwiſe, it is no faith. Therefore of what value the works are, the ſame they are through the honour and power of faith, which undeniably is the ſun or ſun-beam of this ſhining.

Melancthon's Eighth Queſtion.

In Auſtin (ſaid Melancthon) theſe words *(Solâ fide)* directly excludeth works.

Luther's Anſwer.

Whether it be ſo or no, theſe words of Auſtin do ſufficiently ſhew, that he is of our opinion, where he ſaith, I may well be afraid, but I do not therefore deſpair: for I think upon and remember the wounds of the Lord. And further, *in Libro Confeſſionis*, he ſaith, Woe be to the life of that human creature (be it never ſo good and praiſe worthy) that diſregardeth God's mercy.

Hereby (ſaid *Luther*) he ſheweth plainly, that faith is active and powerful in the beginning, middle, and end, that is, continually. As alſo the Pſalm ſaith, *By Thee is forgiveneſs*, &c. Alſo, *Enter not into judgment with thy ſervant*, &c.

Melancthon's

Melanæthon's Ninth Queſtion.

Is it proper to ſay that the righteouſneſs of works is neceſſary to ſalvation.

Luther's Anſwer.

No (ſaid *Luther*), works do not procure nor obtain ſalvation, but they are preſent by and with faith, which obtaineth righteouſneſs; as I of neceſſity muſt be preſent at my ſalvation. The opinion of Sadoletus may be this, that faith is a work required by God's Law, as love, obedience, chaſtity, &c. Therefore, he that believeth hath fulfilled the firſt part of the Law, and ſo hath a beginning to righteouſneſs; but when this beginning is preſent, the other works are required which are commanded in the Law, which muſt be done after and beſides faith.

Hereby we ſee (ſaid *Luther*) that Sadoletus underſtandeth nothing in this caſe: for if faith were a commanded work, then his opinion were right, and faith in that ſort would regenerate one in the beginning, as other good works would alſo renew one afterwards.

But we ſay, that faith is a work of God's promiſe, or a gift of the Holy Spirit, which indeed is neceſſary to the fulfilling of the Law, but it is not obtained by the Law nor by works. But this preſented gift, Faith, regenerateth one continually, ſo that the regenerated perſon doth new works, but new works do not make a new perſon. As we ſee that the works of St. Paul were not pleaſing to God, becauſe they were good works, but becauſe they were done by Paul, who pleaſed God, which works had not been pleaſing to God, if in caſe Paul's perſon had not firſt pleaſed him.

Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) we can attribute to works in themſelves no righteouſneſs before God, although they adorn the perſon accidentally, and make illuſtrious by certain and ſure recompence, but they juſtify not the perſon: for we are all juſtified one way in and by one Chriſt; we are altogether acceptable and pleaſing according to the ſtate of the perſon; yet one ſtar excelleth another in brightneſs, but God loveth no leſs the ſtar *Saturnus*, than he loveth the ſun and moon.

To conclude: a faithful perſon is a new creature, a new tree. Therefore all theſe ſpeeches which in the Law are uſual, belong not to this caſe: as to ſay, *a faithful perſon muſt do good works:* neither were it rightly ſpoken to ſay, *The ſun ſhall ſhine: A good tree ſhall bring forth good fruit:* or, *Three and ſeven ſhall be ten*, &c. For the ſun ſhall not ſhine, but it doth ſhine by nature unbidden, it is thereunto created. Likewiſe, a good tree bringeth forth good fruit without bidding: three and ſeven are ten already, and ſhall not be, &c. Inſomuch that we ſpeak not of what ſhall be done, but of what is already done.

Whether thoſe that are juſtified by Faith, do good Works of neceſſity?

LUTHER anſwered and ſaid, No; firſt, becauſe *no Law* was or is *made for the righteous*, 1 Tim. i. whereby it followeth not that the righteous muſt or ſhall do good works.

Secondly, they do err which ſpeak in this manner, The righteous muſt do good works, *Fallacia conſequentiæ & conſequentis*; for they make out the neceſſity of the cauſe, or neceſſity of the Law, out of the neceſſity of the conſequence, which already is included; they make a neceſſity of that which in future ſhall and muſt be, out of the neceſſity which is immutable; they make a neceſſity of compelling and forcing.

And therefore it is as improperly ſpoken, as when they ſay, *The righteous ſhall do good works*; *God ſhall do good*; *the Sun ſhall ſhine*, &c. whereas all theſe do follow by neceſſity of the cauſe, and by conſequence of that which is concluded; or, that I may deliver it more plainly, all theſe follow by nature and willingly without the commanding of any Law, uncompelled and unforced.

Now in that we do not know how and what we ought to do according to the firſt creation when Adam and Eve were created in righteouſneſs. Therefore God gave the Law, thereby to ſhew unto us that both our ſtate and nature are changed, and that we are not now the children of God, but the children of the devil.

Moreover, God alſo ſent Chriſt, who hath delivered and ſanctified all that believe in him, from the curſe, inſomuch that now they are juſtified and ſaved by faith, &c.

But thoſe ſins and offences which ſtill remain in them, over which they ſigh and complain all their life-time, the ſame are not imputed unto them for Chriſt's ſake in whom they believe; according to this article, *I believe the remiſſion of ſins.*

Of a Writing ſent by Philip Melanæthon to John Brentius touching Juſtification.

I HAVE received thy long letter with joy and gladneſs; I pray thee write often and largely unto me. I well diſcern and mark what it is that moveth and vexeth thee concerning faith, by reaſon St. Auſtin's opinion is yet in thy mind, which is come ſo far, as that he meaneth the righteouſneſs of human nature, be it never ſo good, is before God not valued for righteouſneſs. This his opinion is upright and good. Further, his opinion is, that we are held for righteous, by reaſon of the fulfilling of the Law, which the Holy Spirit worketh in us; thou alſo believeſt the ſame.

This opinion of our pureneſs or perfection is laying the Law for a foundation. The regeneration which the Holy Spirit worketh in us, muſt indeed follow after faith, but we are not thereby juſtified before God; therefore, my advice is, that thou look not at all upon the regeneration, nor upon the Law, but have thou regard to the promiſes, and hold for certain that we are juſtified for Chriſt's ſake, that is, we are acceptable before God, and do find peace of conſcience through him only, let our regeneration be as it may, and although of neceſſity it muſt follow, yet it is not able to ſettle the conſcience in peace. Neither doth love (which is the fulfilling of the Law) juſtify, but faith only, not that faith is complete in us, but that it taketh hold on Chriſt who is our protection. Auſtin (ſaid Melanæthon) obtained not the opinion of St. Paul, although he ſhot nearer thereat than the ſchool-divines; but he doth not ſufficiently declare the righteouſneſs of Faith.

Believe me, loving Brentius, about the righteouſneſs of faith there is a great darkneſs, diſſention, and hatred, which thou wilt rightly underſtand, when in every particular thou removeſt the Law out of thy ſight and the fulfilling of the ſame (which Auſtin highly exalteth), and directeſt thy mind only to the bare promiſe, and holdeſt ſure and certain that we are juſtified for Chriſt's ſake; that is, we are accepted, and do find peace.

This is the right meaning, which declareth Chriſt's honour and highly extolleth the ſame, and which unmeaſurably raiſeth up and comforteth the conſciences. Indeed I undertook to ſhew and make the ſame clear in the Apology, but it was to little purpoſe, by reaſon of the adverſaries, which conſtrue and expound every thing in the worſt ſenſe; however I ſhewed this my opinion plainly, as I now write to thee. I would fain know how it is likely the conſcience ſhould be ſettled in peace and hope, ſo long as it holds that we are juſtified before God at the firſt, or when regeneration is complete in us? What were this but to be juſtified by the Law, and not through the promiſe merely gratis?

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As I ſaid above, If righteouſneſs (as we are righteous before God) be attributed to love, then it is attributed to our works (I mean here the works which the Holy Spirit doth, or worketh); but on the other hand faith only juſtifieth, not becauſe it is a new work of the Holy Spirit in us, but becauſe it taketh hold on God's mercy given and offered unto us in Chriſt, and with joy and gladneſs we receive the ſame, for whoſe ſake we are accepted, and not for the ſake of the gifts of the Spirit in us. Thou wilt eaſily underſtand this caſe, when thou departeſt from the opinion and meaning of Auſtin; and I hope alſo that our Apology will help thee therein, although as yet I ſpeak weakly and in fear, touching ſo weighty a buſineſs, which cannot be rightly underſtood without combat in the conſcience. People in every particular muſt hear the preaching of the Law and of repentance, yet, notwithſtanding, in the mean time the Goſpel muſt not be ſhut up in ſilence: I pray thee write again unto me what thou holdeſt of this my writing, and alſo of my Apology, and ſhew me if at this time thou art ſufficiently anſwered upon thy queſtions: farewel.

PHILIP MELANCTHON.

Of Luther's Addition to the aforeſaid Writings of Melancthon.

AND I, my loving Brentius, to the end I may the better undeſtand this caſe, do uſe to think in this manner, namely, as if in my heart were no quality or virtue at all, which is called faith and love (as the ſophiſts do ſpeak and dream thereof); but I ſet all on Chriſt, and ſay, My *Formalis Juſtitia*, that is, my ſure, my conſtant and complete righteouſneſs (in which is no want nor failing, but is before God as it ought to be) is Chriſt my Lord and Saviour. To the end I may make myſelf free, and work myſelf out of the ſight of the Law and of works, yea, alſo, out of the ſight of that Chriſt who ſeemeth to be, as it were, either a teacher, or a giver; I ſay, I will not know ſuch a Chriſt, but I will have that Chriſt himſelf is my gift and doctrine, and that in him I have all, as he ſaith, *I am the way, the truth, and the life.* He ſaith not, I ſhew or give the way, the truth, and the life, as if he wrought in me, and nevertheleſs were out of me elſewhere. No, I will none of that, but he ſhall be in me, in me he ſhall remain, ſpeak, &c. To the end there be in him (in Chriſt) the righteouſneſs which is acceptable before God. Farewel.

MARTIN LUTHER.

Of the Nature of Faith.

IT is impoſſible (ſaid *Luther*) that a Papiſt ſhould underſtand this article, *I believe the forgiveneſs of ſins.* For the Papiſts are drowned in their opinions (as I alſo was when among them) of the cleaving to, or inherent righteouſneſs.

The Scripture nameth the faithful ſaints, and the people of God. It is a ſin and a ſhame that we ſhould forget this glorious and comfortable name and title. But the Papiſts are ſuch upright ſinners, that they will not be reckoned ſinners; and again, they will neither be holy, nor held ſo to be. And in this ſort it goeth on with them untoward and croſſway; inſomuch that they neither believe the Goſpel which comforteth, nor the Law which puniſheth.

But here one may ſay, the ſins which we daily commit do offend and anger God; How then can we be holy? Anſwer. A mother's love to her child is much ſtronger than the diſagreeableneſs of the ſcurf upon the child's head. Even ſo, God's love towards us is far ſtronger than our filthineſs and uncleanneſs. Therefore although we be ſinners, yet we loſe not thereby the childhood, neither do we fall from grace by reaſon of our ſins.

Yea,

Yea, another may ſay, We ſin without ceaſing, and where ſin is, there the Holy Spirit is not: therefore we are not holy, becauſe the Holy Spirit is not in us, who maketh holy. Anſwer. The text ſaith plainly, *The Holy Ghoſt ſhall glorify me*, &c. Now where Chriſt is, there is the Holy Spirit. Now Chriſt is in the faithful (although they have and feel ſins, do confeſs the ſame, and with ſorrow of heart do complain thereof), therefore ſins do not ſeparate Chriſt from thoſe that believe.

The God of the Turks helpeth no longer nor further (as they think) than when they are good and godly people; in like manner alſo the God of the Papiſts. But when Turk and Papiſt begin to feel their ſins and unworthineſs (as in times of trials and temptations, or in death), than they tremble and deſpair. This is the faith of the Pope and of the Turk.

But a true Chriſtian faith, *I believe in Jeſus Chriſt my Lord and Saviour*, who gave himſelf for my ſins, and is at God's right hand, and intercedeth for me: fall I into ſin (as, alas! oftentimes I do), ſo am I ſorry for it, I riſe again, and am an enemy unto ſin, &c.

Inſomuch now that we plainly ſee that the true Chriſtian faith is far different from the faith and religion of the Pope and Turk.

Human ſtrength and nature is not able to accompliſh this true Chriſtian faith without the Holy Spirit. It can foot it no further than to take its refuge in its own deſerts and good works.

But he that can ſay, I am a child of God through Chriſt, who is my righteouſneſs, and deſpaireth not, although he be deficient in good works (as it always faileth us therein), he believeth rightly. But grace is ſo great that it amazeth an human creature, and is very difficult to be believed. Inſomuch that faith giveth the honour to God, that he can and will perform what he promiſeth, namely, that he maketh ſinners righteous. Rom. iv.

It is an exceeding hard matter to believe that God is merciful unto us for the ſake of Chriſt. O! man's heart is too ſtraight and narrow to entertain the ſame, neither can it eaſily take hold thereof.

When I was a young man (ſaid *Luther*), and at Eiſleben, I went with the reſt in proceſſion on the day of *Corpus Chriſti*, and had on me my prieſt's attire; it happened that I was in ſuch ſort affrighted before the ſacrament, which Dr. Staupitz carried, that my ſweat brake out, being in ſo great an anguiſh that I thought I ſhould have fallen down dead. Now when the proceſſion was ended, I confeſſed and opened my grief to Dr. Staupitz; he ſaid, O, your thoughts are not Chriſt's. Theſe words I received with joy, and they were very comfortable unto me.

But is it not to be lamented that we are ſo wavering and weak in faith? Chriſt giveth himſelf unto us with all that he is and hath; he offereth unto us his celeſtial everlaſting wealth, as his grace, remiſſion of ſins, eternal righteouſneſs, life and ſalvation; he nameth us his brethren and co-heirs; yet, nevertheleſs, we are in time of neceſſity affrighted and do fly from him, when we have moſt need of his help and comfort.

Of the Children's Faith.

THE little children (ſaid *Luther*) do ſtand on the beſt terms with God Almighty concerning their lives and faith. We old doting fools do torment ourſelves and have ſorrow of heart with our diſputings touching the word, whether it be true or not: How can it be poſſible? &c. But the children with ſimple pure faith do hold the ſame to be certain and true, without all doubting.

Now if we intend to be ſaved, we muſt, according to their example give ourſelves, only to the Word. But the wicked and crafty ſpirit, before we be aware, can, maſterlike,

like draw the ſame away from us, by preſenting new dealings and buſineſs to keep us in action. Therefore beſt it were for us ſoon to die, and to be covered over with ſhovels.

The loving children do live innocently, they know of no ſins, they are without malice, wrath, covetouſneſs, and unbelief, &c. Therefore they are merry and poſſeſs a good conſcience; they fear no danger, whether wars, peſtilence, or death.

They will take an apple rather than a crown: what they hear concerning Chriſt, of the life to come, &c. the ſame do they belive ſimply and plainly, and prattle joyfully thereof. From whence Chriſt ſpeaketh unto us old ones earneſtly to follow their examples, where he ſaith, *Whoſoever ſhall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child ſhall in no wiſe enter therein.* For the children believe aright, and Chriſt loveth them with their childiſh ſports. On the contrary, he is an enemy to the wiſdom of the world. Matth. xi.

Of the Nature of a right Faith.

THE nature of an upright and true faith, (which holdeth only to Chriſt) is, not to diſpute, whether thou haſt done many good works whereby thou mighteſt be ſaved? Or, whether thou haſt committed many ſins whereby thou mayeſt be damned? But it concludeth in a moſt ſimple and plain way; that although thou haſt done many good works, yet thereby thou art not righteous before God. And again, although thou haſt committed great ſins, yet thereby thou art not damned.

But (ſaid *Luther*) I will not therewith diſhonour nor blaſpheme good works, much leſs will I applaud ſin. But this I ſay, he that will ſtand before the judgment ſeat of God, and will be found a child of grace, he ſhall and muſt only and diligently have regard how he may keep and take hold on Chriſt through faith, leſt Chriſt be made unprofitable unto him, in that he relieth upon the Law, to be juſtified and ſaved thereby.

Who are upright Saints?

UPRIGHT and true ſaints are all the ſervants of the church, temporal princes and magiſtrates, parents, children, maſters and miſtreſſes of families, houſe-ſervants, and what ſtate and calling elſe, which of God is inſtituted and ordained, who firſt of all do hold and believe that Chriſt is their wiſdom, their righteouſneſs, ſanctification, and redemption, and who afterwards do perform in their vocations what God commandeth and layeth upon them, and do abſtain from the luſts and ſins of the fleſh.

But inaſmuch as all are not alike ſtrong, and that in ſome ſtill many faults, weakneſſes and offences are ſeen and found, the ſame doth neither hurt nor hinder them of their ſanctification, ſo that they ſin not of evil purpoſe and pre-meditation, but only out of weakneſs. For a Chriſtian indeed doth feel the luſts of the fleſh, but he reſiſteth them, neither have they dominion over him; and although now and then he doth ſtumble and fall into ſin, yet it is forgiven him, when he riſeth again, and holdeth himſelf on Chriſt, who will not, *That the loſt ſheep be hunted away, but muſt be ſought after.* Luke xv. Ezek. xxxiv.

Of Queſtions anſwered by Luther.

WHY do Chriſtians make uſe of their natural wiſdom and underſtanding, ſeeing it muſt be ſet aſide in matters concerning faith, as being ſuch, which not only underſtandeth not the ſame, but alſo ſtriveth againſt it; therefore it is in an upright, godly Chriſtian nothing worth; nay, it rather hindereth.

Anſwer. The natural wiſdom of an human creature (ſaid *Luther*) in matters of faith (until he be regenerated and born anew) is altogether darkneſs, it knoweth and underſtandeth nothing in divine cauſes. But in a faithful perſon (which is regenerated and enlightened by the Holy Spirit through the Word) it is a fair and glorious inſtrument and workmanſhip of God: for even as all God's gifts, natural inſtruments, and expert faculties are hurtful to the ungodly, even ſo are they wholeſome and ſaving to the good and godly. Natural wiſdom, eloquence, languages, &c. do further and ſerve faith, whereas before they hindered faith.

The enlightened underſtanding, through faith, receiveth life from faith; for it was dead, and now is made alive again: like as our bodies in the light of the day, when it is clear and bright, are better diſpoſed and more ſafe, alſo do riſe more readily, do move, walk, &c. than they do in the dark night; even ſo it is with human reaſon which now reſiſteth and ſtriveth no more ſo hardly againſt faith as it did before it was enlightened, but now it rather furthereth and advanceth faith.

Likewiſe alſo the tongue, which before blaſphemed God, now laudeth, extolleth, and praiſeth God and his grace; like as my tongue (ſaid *Luther*) is now another manner of tongue than it was before in Popedom, now it is enlightened. This is the regeneration which is done by the Holy Ghoſt through the Word, I being now of another mind.

Natural reaſon and underſtanding is ſubject to vanity, as alſo other creatures of God are, but faith ſeparateth vanity from the eſſence or ſubſtance.

David made uſe of bows, ſwords, and other weapons, and ſaith, *I rely not upon my bow*, &c. yet he caſteth them not away.

A ſanctified and an upright Chriſtian likewiſe ſaith, My wife, my children, my art, wiſdom, my money and wealth do help and avail me nothing in heaven; yet I caſt them not away nor reject them, when God beſtoweth ſuch benefits upon me, but I part and ſeparate the ſubſtance from the vanity and foolery which cleaveth thereunto. Gold (ſaid *Luther*) is and remaineth gold as well when a whore carrieth it about her, as an honeſt, good and godly woman. The body of a ſtrumpet is even as well God's creature, as the body of an honeſt matron, &c. In this manner ought we to part, to put away, and to ſeparate vanity and foolery from the thing and ſubſtance, or from the creature given and of God who created it.

Job knew how to make this ſeparation, when he only did reprove his wife. *Thou* (ſaid he) *ſpeakeſt like one of the fooliſh women*, &c. He ſaith not, Thou ſpeakeſt as a woman which uſeth to fool. He ſpared the kind or the generation. But this the common people and greateſt ſort cannot do; for they find fault with and reject the ſubſtance of the creature, together with the abuſe or vanity thereof, wherein they do not well; for if the good were not (ſay they), then neither would the evil be. Of this Ariſtotle, the heathen, ſaith, What is evil cannot be abuſed, becauſe God hath forbidden the ſame; but that which is good is abuſed to ſin and wickedneſs againſt God's will and command, who created it good and to be uſed.

Of the Nature of true Faith.

UPRIGHT and faithful Chriſtians do always think they are not faithful, nor do believe as they ought; and therefore they conſtantly ſtrive, wreſtle, and are diligent to keep and to encreaſe faith. Like as good workmen do always ſee that ſomething (yea much) is wanting in their workmanſhip. But the palterers and botchers do think that nothing is wanting in what they do and make, but that every thing is well and complete. Like as the Jews think they have the Ten Commandments at their finger's end, whereas, in truth, they neither learn nor regard them.

That

That Faith in Chriſt is a Chriſtian's only Comfort.

GOD permitteth us (ſaid *Luther*) to dally and play with apples, pears, with nuts, &c. Alſo he gives us leave to ſport with our children, wives, and with all his creatures. But we muſt not accuſtom ourſelves to do ſo with God and with his Majeſty; (as we uſe to ſay) *It is not good to play with edge tools.* Our only comfort is, I believe in Chriſt; let us but only keep to that, ſo ſhall we remain well ſecured againſt all enemies.

Of God's Juſtice and Righteouſneſs.

THESE words (ſaid *Luther*), God's juſtice and righteouſneſs, heretofore were like horrible thunder-claps in my conſcience; I was ſorely affrighted at hearing of them, and thought, If God be juſt, then ſurely he will puniſh, &c. But when I began more diligently to conſider of the words, then came to my mind this ſentence of Habak. ii. *The juſt liveth by his faith.* Alſo, *The righteouſneſs which is acceptable before God, is revealed without the Law.* Then I preſently thought, if the juſt ſhould live by faith, and that the righteouſneſs which is acceptable before God ſhall ſave all thoſe that believe, than ſurely thoſe words will not terrify poor ſinners and ſorrowful conſciences, but rather will comfort them. In ſuch wiſe was I refreſhed and ſtrengthened, and was aſſured that God's righteouſneſs is not that wherewith he puniſheth as a ſtern judge, but wherewith he juſtifieth and ſaveth ſinners which do repent. This I received only of the Holy Ghoſt.

That no Man can teach rightly of Faith, nor can undervalue the Righteouſneſs of Works, except he be well experienced.

TRULY (ſaid *Luther*) it is held for preſumption in an human creature that he dareth to boaſt of his own proper righteouſneſs of faith: it is a very hard matter that a man ſhould dare to ſay, I am the child of God, and am comforted and ſolaced through the unmeaſurable grace and mercy of my heavenly Father. I ſay to do this from the heart, is not in every man's power. Therefore no man is able to teach pure and rightly touching faith, nor can reject the righteouſneſs of works, without ſound practice and experience. St. Paul was well exerciſed in this art; he ſpeaketh more baſely and vilely of the Law, than any arch-heretick can ſpeak of the Sacrament of the Altar, of Baptiſm, or than the Jews have ſpoken thereof; for he nameth the Law the miniſtration of death, the miniſtration of ſin, and the miniſtration of condemnation; yea, he holdeth all the works of the Law (and what the Law requireth, without Chriſt) to be dangerous and hurtful, which Moſes (if he had then lived) would doubtleſs have taken very ill at Paul's hands. It was, according to human reaſon, ſpoken too ſcornfully and baſely.

That Faith is underſtood only in Trials and Temptations.

WITHOUT trials and temptations (ſaid *Luther*) no man knoweth what faith and the ſtrength thereof is; it is underſtood only in times of trouble and adverſity. But I mean and ſpeak not here of carnal ſins, which according to their nature do try and vex the ſanctified, but I mean ſpiritual trials and temptations, which only ſuch underſtand as have found and felt the ſame.

Of

Of a Chriſtian's Righteouſneſs.

THE righteouſneſs of a true Chriſtian (which completely and fully juſtifieth before God) is only faith in Chriſt. Like as the white colour whiteth a wall, and fire or heat maketh water hot.

That Faith ſcorneth Adverſities.

GOD comtemneth and ſcorneth the angry Princes, as is written in the ſecond Pſalm. In like manner (ſaid *Luther*) ſtout and couragious Chriſtian preachers, which have faith, regard nothing at all the anger and raging of the world; for where faith is, there is alſo contemning and deriding; although Satan alſo mocked and derided, when he ſaid to Chriſt, *Art thou the Son of God?* ſo *command that theſe ſtones be made bread*, &c. And, as the Jews ſaid, *He calleth for Elias*, &c. The jeering and ſcorning of a true and an upright Chriſtian muſt exceed the ſcorning and jeering of the devil and the Jews, and in deſpite of them muſt keep the field. Therefore as the devil hath ſworn our death, and to caſt us down to hell, even ſo again inſtead thereof, muſt we climb over him up into heaven, and with our feet ſpurn him into hell.

That Faith is tried by the Croſs.

THE faith of the croſs (ſaid *Luther*) doth the deed; for faith cannot ſubſiſt without the croſs. But when the water (as we uſe to ſay) runneth above the chin, as then we ſee what faith's ſtrength is, and what it is able to do. It is not a ſpeculation or an imaginary fancy, but a ſure and certain confidence of the heart in God, and a work of the Holy Ghoſt.

Of the Strength of Faith.

IF I (ſaid *Luther*) had as much faith as I ſhould have, I would long ſince have beaten and overcome the Great Turk, and made other tyrants to crouch. I have been well plagued with them, but it faileth me of faith; yet a weak faith is alſo a faith; for God ſaith, *My grace is ſufficient for thee; when I am weak, then am I ſtrong.*

Of what Joſeph of Arimathea did believe touching Chriſt.

JOSEPH of Arimathea (ſaid *Luther*), at Jeruſalem, had a faith in Chriſt like as the Apoſtles had; they thought Chriſt would have been a worldly and a temporal Potentate, therefore he (Joſeph) took care of him as of a good friend, and buried him honourably. He believed not that Chriſt ſhould riſe again from death, and become a ſpiritual and everlaſting King. The ſame faith had alſo the Apoſtles.

Of Abraham's Faith.

WHEN Abraham (ſaid *Luther*) ſhall riſe again at the laſt day, then he will chide us by reaſon of our unbelief, and will ſay, I had not the hundredth part of the promiſes which ye have, and yet I believed. This example of Abraham exceedeth all human natural reaſon, in that he overcame the paternal love which

which he bare towards his only ſon Iſaac (in whom the promiſes were, that his ſeed ſhould multiply as the ſtars of heaven, and as the ſand on the ſea-ſhore), and diſregarding all, was more obedient to God, and againſt the law of nature would have ſacrificed and ſlaughtered his ſon. What for the ſpace of three days he felt in his breaſt; how his heart yearned and panted; what pauſes and trials he had, the ſame is not to be expreſſed.

Likewiſe the example of Jacob is remarkable, when, in his old age, he had loſt his beloved ſon Joſeph, knew not otherwiſe but that he had been ſlain and devoured of wild beaſts. *I will now* (ſaid he) *go down to my ſon into the grave*; which ſheweth how great the ſorrow of his heart was.

In ſuch ſort God exerciſed them with trials and temptations through their children.

Of the Certainty of Faith in the Word through the Holy Ghoſt.

WE do not ſeparate faith from the Holy Ghoſt, which is the certainty itſelf in the Word, and not without the Word, but is given through the Word, and not without it.

I certainly do believe (ſaid *Luther*) that John Prince, Elector of Saxony (a good and godly Prince) was indued with the Holy Ghoſt at Auſpurge; where, at the Imperial Diet, he would not ſuffer the preaching of the Goſpel to be neglected nor intermitted, notwithſtanding the Emperor's ſtrict command to the contrary. For his Highneſs told the Emperor plainly, that he no leſs wanted the Word of God, than his meat and drink. And when, at the laſt, the Emperor Charles by force cauſed the preaching of the Goſpel to be ſilenced, then the Prince Elector rather would have departed from the Diet, than be without hearing the Word of God. Inſomuch as I held it fitting to write unto his Highneſs, humbly entreating him (for a time) to yield in that reſpect to the Emperor's pleaſure, and to remain by the Diet, eſpecially ſeeing that city pertained to the Emperor; which upon the reading my letter, his Highneſs ſaid, I know not whether I, or my *Martin* playeth the fool. His Highneſs took my advice, and remained by the Diet. This letter is printed in the fifth tome, publiſhed at Fena.

Of the Holineſs and Sanctity of Friars.

IN Popedom (ſaid *Luther*) I was alſo a preſumptuous worker of ſeeming holineſs; when I celebrated that abominable idol the Maſs, then I preſumptuouſly truſted and relied thereupon. But at that time I ſaw not the knave which lay hid underneath; I did not put my confidence in God, but in my own righteouſneſs and good works; I rendered no thanks for the Sacrament, but God muſt be glad to give me thanks, in that I would vouchſafe to ſacrifice and offer up his Son unto him. This may rightly be ſaid to blaſpheme, to ſcorn, and deride God. And when one went to ſay Maſs, he uſed this proverb, *I will go and will lift up a child to a Virgin.*

How Faith and Hope are diſtinguiſhed.

FAITH and Hope (ſaid *Luther*) are divers ways diſtinguiſhed: firſt, in regard of the ſubject, wherein every thing ſubſiſteth. For faith is, and conſiſteth in a perſon's underſtanding, but hope conſiſteth in the will; theſe two cannot be ſeparated, they are like the two cherubims over the mercy ſeat.

Secondly, in regard of the office, for Faith inditeth, diſtinguiſheth, and teacheth, and it is the knowledge and acknowledgment. But Hope admoniſheth, awakeneth, heareth, expecteth, and ſuffereth.

Thirdly, in regard of the object, Faith looketh to the Word or promiſe, which is Truth; but Hope looketh on that which the Word promiſeth; that is, to the good, or benefits.

Fourthly, in regard of order in degree, Faith is firſt, and before all adverſities and troubles, and is the beginning of life. Heb. xi. But Hope followeth after, and ſpringeth up in trouble. Rom. v.

Fifthly, *ex contrariis*, by reaſon of the contrariety, Faith fighteth againſt errors and hereſies; it proveth, cenſureth, and judgeth the ſpirits and doctrines. But Hope ſtriveth againſt troubles and vexations, and among the evil it expecteth good.

Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) Faith, in divinity, is the wiſdom and providence, and belongeth to the doctrine. But Hope is the courage and joyfulneſs in divinity, and pertaineth to admonition. Faith is the *Dialectica*, for it is altogether wit and wiſdom. But Hope is the *Rhetorica*; for it is altogether a joyful heart which it comforted and raiſed up.

Now like as wiſdom or underſtanding is unprofitable and atchieveth nothing without courage and joyfulneſs; even ſo, Faith without Hope is nothing worth; for Hope endureth and overcometh misfortune and evil. And like as a joyful heart (without underſtanding and prudence) is unſkilful, bold, and inſolent, even ſo, Hope without Faith is ſpiritual preſumption. Faith is the key to the ſacred Scriptures, and is the right *Cabala*, or expounding, which one receiveth and learneth of another; like as the Prophets delivered the doctrine to their diſciples, and always communicated the ſame one to another. In like manner (ſaid *Luther*) do we teach and ſpeak touching faith, and other articles of faith, inſomuch (as it may be rightly ſaid), that it is ſuch a doctrine which is given from one to another, and remaineth continually in one ſchool. Faith is not a quality (as the ſchoolmen ſay), but it is a gift of God.

The Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, by human reaſon, are held to be mere fooliſhneſs, it taketh them to be ſuch ſtrange things; they go about to make one believe the very reverſe to truth. Therefore it is neceſſary to hold ſtedfaſt by the Word; what God therein ſheweth and ſaith unto us, the ſame cannot lie nor deceive, let human wit and wiſdom ſay what it pleaſeth.

Three years paſt (ſaid *Luther*) a Friar out of the Morians country was here with us at Wittemberg; we diſputed with him, by an interpreter, and when he was ſatisfied in the Articles of Faith by God's Word, he then ſaid, This is a good *Credo*, meaning a good Faith.

Every thing that is done in the world (ſaid *Luther*) is done in hope. No huſbandman would ſow one grain of corn if he hoped not that it would grow up and become ſeed. No batchelor would marry a wife, if he hoped not to have children. No merchant or tradeſman would labour and take pains, if he did not hope and expect to reap benefit thereby, &c.

How much more, then, doth Hope advance and further us to everlaſting life and ſalvation?

Of Faith, and the Cauſe thereof.

FAITH's ſubſtance is our will (ſaid *Luther*), the manner or kind thereof is, that we take hold on Chriſt by divine inſtinct. But the final cauſe and fruit of faith is, that it purifieth the heart, maketh children of God, and bringeth with it the remiſſion of ſins.

Hence the definition of faith is as followeth: namely, faith is a gift and a preſent of God in our hearts; it is that thereby we faſten and take hold on Chriſt, for whoſe ſake we obtain remiſſion of ſins, everlaſting life and ſalvation, by mere grace, without any of our deſerts and worthineſs.

Now foraſmuch as this upright faith in Chriſt produceth remiſſion of ſins, therefore it is undeniable that neither our works, our hoods, devotion, or vows do make us to be ſaved.

When *Dialectica* hath finiſhed her office, and briefly deſcribed faith, then cometh *Rhetorica* thereunto, adorneth and enlargeth it with words, and ſheweth that faith produceth remiſſion of ſins, and maketh children of God. Thoſe that are ſo, have the ſweet and loving angels for their friends and ſervants; they are lords over the devil, over death, and hell.

That Faith only juſtifieth and ſaveth.

ADAM (ſaid *Luther*) received the promiſe of the woman's ſeed before he had done any work or ſacrifice, to the end that God's truth might ſtand faſt, namely, that we are juſtified before God altogether without works, and do obtain forgiveneſs of ſins meerly by grace. Ah! (ſaid *Luther*) whoſo were able to believe this well and ſtedfaſtly, the ſame were a doctor above all the doctors in the world.

That Faith muſt be in every Particular.

FAITH is not only neceſſary, that thereby the ungodly do become juſtified and ſaved before God, and that through the ſame their hearts are ſettled in peace, but alſo it is neceſſary in every reſpect; to the end St. Paul's ſentence may ſtand firm and true, where he ſaith, *Now that we are juſtified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* For if a man hath a Son, and believeth not that the ſame is his own child, what reſtleſs anxieties will he feel in his heart? Soon after this diſcourſe, *Luther* ſaid, I did not think that my expoſitions (and what elſe I wrote upon the Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Galatians) had been ſo weak as my adverſaries eſteem them; Oh, they are naught for this world, my firſt fight and combat was againſt the confidence in works (of which the world ſo braggeth and boaſteth), asif the ſame were neceſſary to ſalvation.

How we may become Upright, Good and Godly.

WHEN we abſtain from lying, from deceiving, from ſtealing, murdering, and from adultery, then we think we ſhall be upright, good, and honeſt; that is, when we are covered over with earth; for St. Paul ſaith, *He that is dead is freed from ſin.* The ſentence of St. Paul, where he ſaith, *So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth,* &c. ſheweth that herein he dealt with predeſtination, but in that place he ſpeaketh only againſt the Jews and the righteouſneſs of the Law. As if he had ſaid, ye Jews, and all true Chriſtians, muſt deſpair of your own righteouſneſs, or of the works of the Law, and muſt give the honour only to God, and ſay, We have not begun our juſtification, but God is the right maſter-builder; he hath laid the firſt ſtone; he is the beginning, the middle, and the end of our ſalvation through his Word and Spirit.

In this manner (ſaid *Luther*) when I was in my monkery and monaſtery at Erffurt, I alſo was a woulder and a runner, but the longer I ran the further from the true righteouſneſs which availeth before God. Therefore what I now have was not gotten

by

by that race which I then ran, but of God's mercy. In ſuch ſort St. Paul in that place ſpeaketh againſt preſumption, to the end we may learn to ſay, Lord, what goodneſs ſoever is in and on us, the ſame is only of thy grace and mercy.

How (ſaid *Luther*) could God do more for us? He ſaith, Ye ſhall have my grace freely given unto you, but if ye ſeek and will have it by your own works and deſerts, or for the ſake of your virtues, the ſame I neither can nor will endure; I will rather tear and rend it all in pieces, and will deſtroy prieſthood, kingdom, and Law.

That without Faith, God himſelf is unprofitable.

WHEN God ſpeaketh a Word, then we ought to believe it; for neither God himſelf, nor the Holy Spirit is any way profitable, but only in and by the Word. What availeth it the devil (ſaid *Luther*) that acknowledgeth God to be his Lord, whereas he believeth not that God is gracious unto him?

That the Article of the Juſtification, which is acceptable before God, perſerveth us from all Errors.

ALL hereticks (ſaid *Luther*) continually have failed in this one point, that they not rightly underſtand nor know the article of juſtification, how we are juſtified before God. For if that were loſt, then manifold errors of neceſſity muſt enſue. If we had not this article certainly and uprightly, then were it impoſſible that we could cenſure and judge the Pope's falſe doctrine of indulgences and other abominable errors, much leſs ſhould we be able to overcome greater ſpiritual errors and vexations. If we permit only Chriſt to be our Saviour, then we have won, for he is the only girdle which claſpeth the whole body together, as St. Paul excellently teacheth, and ſaith, That he might gather together in one all things in Chriſt, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in him.

If we intend to look to the ſpiritual birth and ſubſtance of a true Chriſtian, then we ſhall ſoon extinguiſh all deſerts of good works; for they ſerve us to no uſe, neither to purchaſe ſanctification, nor to deliver us from ſin, death, devil, or hell.

Little children are ſaved only by faith without any good works; therefore faith only juſtifieth. If God's power be able to effect that in one, then he is alſo able to accompliſh it in all; for the power of the child effecteth it not, but the power of faith; neither is it done through the child's weakneſs or diſability: For then, *eſſet impotentia illa per ſe meritum vel æquipollens merito:* for then that weakneſs would be merit by itſelf, or equivalent to merit. It is a miſchievous thing (ſaid *Luther*) that we miſerable ſinful wretches will upbraid God, and hit him in the teeth with our works, and think thereby to be juſtified before him; but God will not allow thereof: my own conſcience telleth me that I cannot be juſtified by works, yet the Papiſts will not beliet it. We ought (with Pſalm li.) to ſay, *Againſt thee only have I ſinned, and done this evil in thy ſight, that thou mighteſt be juſtified in thy ſaying:* We ſhould always carry in mind, that it is ſaid, *Forgive us our debts:* we ought directly to ſay, We neither will nor deſire to be righteous before the judgment-ſeat of God, but much rather willingly to confeſs ourſelves to be ſinners. What could we more eaſily ſay, then this, We poor creatures are ſinners, but thou (O God) art righteous! As then (ſaid *Luther*) the caſe with us were clear. But we are our own hangmen, and our own tormentors. The Spirit ought indeed to ſay, I am righteous and juſt; but the fleſh muſt ſay, I am a ſinner, Thou, O God! art righteous.

That

That the chief Article of the Chriſtian Doctrine is the Salvation of the Soul.

THIS Article (how we are ſaved) is the chief of the whole Chriſtian doctrine. All divine diſputations muſt have regard and be directed thereunto. All the Prophets were chiefly engaged upon this ſubject, and ſometimes much perplexed about the ſame. For when this article (concerning the ſalvation of our ſouls) is kept faſt and ſure by a conſtant faith, then all other articles do draw on ſoftly after, as that of the Holy Trinity, &c. God (ſaid *Luther*) hath declared no article ſo plainly and openly as this, namely, that we are ſaved only by Chriſt; and although he ſpake much of the Holy Trinity, yet he dwelleth continually upon this article of the ſalvation of our ſouls; other articles are of great weight, but this ſurpaſſeth all. For want of this, all the works of the Papiſts are inſtituted and ſet forward, that thereby they might obtain everlaſting ſalvation. But they are deceived, for without Chriſt there is no ſalvation.

Where this article remaineth pure and clean, there remaineth alſo the church pure; but if the ſame be falſified, then the church is made a whore, and is gone, as we have well ſeen in Popedom.

How we are made good before God.

A Capuchin Friar ſaith, Wear a grey coat and a hood, wear a halter about thee, and put clogs on thy feet. A preaching Friar ſaith, put on a black hood. A Papiſt ſaith, Do this or that work, hear maſs, pray, faſt, give alms, &c. But a true Chriſtian ſaith, I am made good, righteous, and ſaved only by faith in Chriſt, without any of my works or deſerts. Now (ſaid *Luther*) compare theſe together, and judge which may be the true righteouſneſs.

Of the Weakneſs of Faith.

CHRIST ſaith, *The ſpirit is willing, but the fleſh is weak*: St. Paul alſo ſaith, The ſpirit willingly would give himſelf wholly unto God, would truſt in him, and be obedient; but natural reaſon and underſtanding, fleſh and blood reſiſteth, it neither will nor can go forward. Therefore our Lord God muſt needs have patience and bear with us. God will not put out the glimmering flax, the faithful have as yet but only the firſt-fruits of the ſpirit, they have not the fulfilling, but the tenth.

Of St. Paul's Weakneſs in Faith.

NOW (ſaid *Luther*) do I well underſtand, that St. Paul was alſo weak in faith; from whence he boaſted, and ſaid, *I am a ſervant of God, and an apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt.* An angel ſtood by him at ſea, and comforted him, and when he came to Rome, he was comforted as he ſaw the brethren came out to meet him. Hereby we ſee (ſaid *Luther*) what the communion and company doth of ſuch as fear God. And the Lord commanded the diſciples to remain together in one place, before they received the Holy Ghoſt, and ſhould comfort one another; for Chriſt well knew that adverſaries would aſſault them.

Of an Example of Faith in the Time of Dearth.

AT Eiſſleben (ſaid *Luther*) I was well acquainted with a godly matron, who, in the time of the laſt dearth, with two children, had ſuffered extreme want and need. Now when ſhe had ſpent all her proviſion, and had nothing more to live upon, ſhe trimmed herſelf with her children, and went towards a well or fountain to drink: in her going ſhe prayed that God would be pleaſed to preſerve and keep her in that fierce time of dearth. Upon the way a man met her, queſtioned and diſputed with her, whether ſhe thought to get ſomething to eat at the fountain? She ſaid, Yea; why not? for all things are poſſible to God and eaſy to be done; he that fed the great multitude of the people of Iſrael forty years with manna in the wilderneſs, he can alſo preſerve me and mine with drinking of water. Now as ſhe remained ſtedfaſt in that mind, the man ſaid unto her, Behold, ſeeing thou art ſo confident in faith, go home, and thou ſhalt find three buſhels of meal, &c. And according to the man's word ſo ſhe found it.

That a Man muſt be certain of his Faith.

HE that is not certain of his faith (ſaid *Luther*) cannot ſtand. The foundation upon which the faith is built, is the Word of God; whoſo hath the ſame pure is able to ſtand ſtedfaſt, and to get the victory in the combat againſt the gates of hell. But whoſo is not certain of his doctrine and faith, and yet will diſpute thereof, the ſame hath loſt.

A preacher, yea, every Chriſtian, ſhould and muſt be certain and ſure of his religion and doctrine, and not build upon a weaning, or go about with human thinkings, but muſt be ſure of the cauſe. St. Paul calleth the ſame *Plerophoria*, to the end it may overcome all trials and vexations, and may alſo be able to anſwer the devil and all his angels (yea, alſo God himſelf) without wavering; for in divine cauſes we muſt not go upon uncertainties, but upon ſure grounds.

A Chriſtian muſt be well armed, grounded, and furniſhed with ſentences out of God's Word, that ſo he may ſtand and defend himſelf againſt the devil, if in caſe he ſhould be enticed to embrace another doctrine, and in that manner muſt help to defend and maintain religion.

That Peace and Unity will never be in the Church in Matters of Religion.

THERE will never be a general council (ſaid *Luther*) where people will agree together without the Holy Ghoſt. God permitteth the ſame to be done even for this cauſe: That he himſelf will be Judge, and not endure that men ſhall judge. Therefore he commandeth every one to know for certain what he believeth; it will not help that thou ſayeſt, Thou haſt heard ſo and preached ſo, the devil careth nothing for that. But when thou haſt God's Word, then thou mayeſt ſay, Here I have the Word, what need I enquire any further, or care what the council ſaith? Herewith the devil is beaten back.

Now ſeeing God will have it ſo, that his Word ſhall endure no Judge but himſelf, no man muſt preſume in this caſe to decide; therefore we can expect no reſt, peace, nor unity.

And (ſaid *Luther*) if in caſe there ſhould be reſt and quietneſs, then the goſpel hath an end; for whereſoever it cometh it raiſeth tumults, and if not, then it is no upright goſpel. Therefore Chriſt ſaith, *I am come to kindle a fire on earth, what would*

would I rather than that it were already kindled? Do you think that I am come to make peace? I tell you, Nay, but rather diviſion. This divinity and doctrine touching faith, is no where more richly declared than out of St. Paul and John.

That we ought juſtly to bewail our Weakneſs in Faith.

WHEN at the laſt day we ſhall live again (ſaid *Luther*) we ſhall then bluſh for ſhame, and ſay to ourſelves, Fie on thee, in that thou haſt not been more courageous, bold, and ſtrong to believe in Chriſt, and to have endured all manner of adverſities, croſſes, and perſecutions, ſeeing the glory is ſo great. If I were now in the world, I would not ſtick to ſuffer ten thouſand times more.

Of a Chriſtian's greateſt Art.

ALTHOUGH a man knew and were able to do as much as the angels in heaven, yet all this would not make him a Chriſtian, unleſs he knew Chriſt and believed in him. Therefore God ſaith, *Let not the wiſe man glory in his wiſdom, neither let the mighty man glory in might; let not the rich man glory in his riches: but let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he underſtandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord, which doth exerciſe loving kindneſs, judgment, and righteouſneſs,* &c.

That Faith is the moſt acceptable Service of God.

FAITH is a ſervice of God which pleaſeth him above all ſervices, therefore Chriſt extolleth highly the Canaanitiſh woman; he calleth her no more a dog, as where he ſaith, *It is not good to take the children's bread and throw it to the dogs*; for that which followeth ſheweth clearly that Chriſt did not mean from his heart what he ſaid, but only therewith to exerciſe the woman's faith.

That Faith is the only Rule in Divinity.

THERE is but one only rule and article in divinity; he that knoweth not well the ſame is no divine, namely, upright faith and confidence in Chriſt; out of this article all the other do flow and iſſue forth, and without this article the other are nothing. The devil (ſaid *Luther*) hath oppoſed this article from the beginning of the world, and would long ſince willingly have rooted it out, and inſtead thereof have laughed in his fiſt. Sorrowful, broken, tormented, and vexed hearts (ſaid *Luther*) do well reliſh this article, and they only underſtand the ſame.

That Regeneration only maketh Children of God.

THE article of our juſtification before God (ſaid *Luther*), is as with a ſon which is born an heir of all his father's goods, and cometh not thereunto by deſerts; he ſucceedeth (without any works or deſerts) in his father's wealth. But yet in the mean time his father admoniſheth him to do ſuch and ſuch buſineſs with diligence, promiſeth him alſo a gift to make his ſon the more willing to effect it with good courage. As when he ſaith to his ſon, If thou wilt be good, follow me, and be obedient, and ſtudy diligently; then I will buy thee a fine coat, &c. Or, Come hither to me, and I will give thee an apple, &c. In ſuch ſort doth he teach his ſon induſtry, nevertheleſs the whole inheritance belongeth unto him by nature; yet the father will make the child pliable and willing by promiſes, to do that which he pleaſeth to have done.

Even

Even ſo (ſaid *Luther*) God dealeth with us; he is loving unto us with friendly and ſweet words, promiſeth unto us ſpiritual and temporal bleſſings, whereas notwithſtanding everlaſting life is given and preſented unto thoſe that believe in Chriſt by mere grace and mercy, for nothing, without any deſerts, works, or worthineſſes.

And in this wiſe ought we to teach in the church and in the aſſembly of God; namely, that God will have upright and good works, which he hath commanded, not ſuch as we ourſelves do and take in hand, out of our own choice and devotion, or good meaning, as the friars and prieſts teach in Popedom, for ſuch works are not pleaſing to God, as Chriſt ſaith, *In vain do they worſhip me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men*, &c. We muſt teach of good works (ſaid *Luther*) yet always ſo that the article of juſtification remain pure and unfalſified, namely, that faith only in Chriſt juſtifieth and ſaveth. For Chriſt neither can nor will endure any beſide himſelf, he will have the bride alone, he is full of jealouſy.

If we ſhould teach thus, and ſay, If thou believeſt, thou ſhalt be ſaved, whatſoever thou doeſt; that (ſaid *Luther*) were ſtark naught; For faith is either falſe and feigned, or although it be upright, yet it is eclipſed, when people wittingly and wilfully ſin againſt God's command. And the Holy Spirit, which is given to the faithful, departeth through evil works done againſt the conſcience, as the example of David ſufficiently witneſſeth. 1 Reg. xii. and Pſalm li.

Therefore we muſt know, that ſuch promiſes and rewards are but only *Pedagogiæ*, or nurturing of children, whereby God draweth and enticeth us (like an honeſt and godly father), making us willing and prompt to do good, and to ſerve our neighbours, not thereby to deſerve everlaſting life: for he giveth and preſenteth the ſame unto us only and alone out of mere grace and mercy.

Of the Principal Article of Chriſtian Doctrine.

THE article of juſtification and of the remiſſion of ſins is the moſt principal and precious article, very comfortable, and to which Satan is an utter enemy. Therefore St. Paul very valiantly triumpheth in grace; he is continually ſpeaking of grace, grace upon grace, therewith to ſpite the devil; For the devil by no means would ſuffer Chriſt to rule and govern; But Chriſt will rule and govern (ſaid *Luther*), will maugre the devil in hell, and all his inſtruments on earth; as St. John in his Epiſtle ſaith, *He that is in you is greater than he which is in the world.*

The majeſty of the glory of the article of juſtification (ſaid *Luther*) is altogether unknown to human wit and wiſdom, ſeeing that by nature we are more inclined to attain to the righteouſneſs of works, than to the bare mercy of God, which is given for nothing, and preſented unto us by grace for the ſake of Chriſt. Therefore that ſimilitude of the labourers which the huſbandman hired into his vineyard, is a powerful thunder-clap againſt ſuch carnal reaſonings of human wiſdom.

Of the Conſequences of Faith.

BELIEVEST thou? then thou wilt ſpeak boldly. Speakeſt thou boldly? then thou muſt ſuffer. Suffereſt thou? then thou ſhalt be comforted. For (ſaid *Luther*) faith, the confeſſion thereof, and the croſs, do follow one after another.

That the Enemies of the Goſpel muſt bear Witneſs to the Doctrine of Faith, that thereby we only are juſtified before God.

JOHN Frederick, Prince Elector of Saxony, told me himſelf (ſaid *Luther*), that as Prince John (the eldeſt ſon of Prince George) was near the time of his death, he deſired

deſired to receive the communion under both kinds. But when his father was informed thereof, he cauſed an Auſtin Friar to be called to his ſon, to give him good inſtructions for his ſoul's health; and to adviſe him to receive the Sacrament *ſub una ſpecie*, or under one kind; and that he ſhould tell his ſon he was the ſame Friar who was privately acquainted with *Martin Luther*, and was very converſant with him; and the better to make the Prince believe him, the Friar ſaid, That *Luther* himſelf lately had adviſed certain perſons to receive the communion under one kind. Now when this good and godly Prince was thus pitifully induced to give credit to the Friar's falſe information, he then received the communion under one kind.

But when the Prince, his father, ſaw that his ſon drew near to his laſt gaſp, and muſt needs die, then he comforted his ſon with the article of juſtification by faith in Chriſt, and put him in mind to have regard only to the Saviour of the world, and utterly to forget all his own works and deſerts; and alſo that he ſhould baniſh out of his heart the invocating of the ſaints.

Now when the ſon in his conſcience felt great ſolace and comfort by theſe his father's admonitions, he aſked his father, Why he did not cauſe the ſame comfortable doctrine to be preached openly through all his countries? His father anſwered, and ſaid, Loving child, we muſt ſay thus only to thoſe that are dying, and not to the ſound and healthful.

Whereupon (ſaid *Luther*) I told the Prince Elector, that his Highneſs might perfectly diſcern how wilfully our adverſaries do oppoſe the known truth. Albert, Biſhop of Mentz, and Prince George do know and confeſs that our doctrine is according to God's Word, and yet, becauſe it proceedeth not from the Pope, they refuſe it; but their own conſciences do ſtrike them down to the ground, therefore (ſaid *Luther*) I fear them not.

CHAP. XIV.

OF GOOD WORKS.

De Juſtitia Activa & Paſſiva.

THE devil (ſaid *Luther*) will have in us only *Activam Juſtitiam*, righteouſneſs, which we ourſelves do act and accompliſh; whereas we have but only *Juſtitiam Paſſivam*, a ſuffering, or a ſtrange righteouſneſs, but this the devil will not afford us; and in *Juſtitia Activa* we are loſt, no human creature can ſubſiſt therein. But we give the devil his diſpatch, and ſay, Satan, I live in Chriſt's righteouſneſs, and not in mine own. Have I ſinned? Let Chriſt anſwer for it, &c. Then the devil muſt be packing and gone.

The righteous, which are juſtified and ſaved before God only by faith in Chriſt, do good works willingly of themſeves: As St. Paul ſaith, *Ye are ſaved by grace through faith, and that not of yourſelves, it is the gift of God: not of works, leſt any man ſhould boaſt; for we are his workmanſhip created in Chriſt Jeſus unto good works, &c.*

But the reaſon we do not live without ſin, according to the ſtate in which man was firſt created is, becauſe we have loſt the image of God, and are now become the ſervants of the devil through original ſin.

Of the Love towards the Neighbour.

THE love towards the neighbour (ſaid *Luther*) muſt be like a pure and chaſte love between bride and bridegroom, where all faults are connived at, covered, and borne with, and only their virtues regarded.

Reſpecting ceremonies and ordinances, the kingdom of love muſt have the precedency and govern, and not tyranny. It muſt be a willing love, and not a halter love; it muſt altogether be directed and conſtrued for the good and profit of the neighbour; and the greater he be that doth govern, the more (ſaid *Luther*) he ought to ſerve according to love.

Of the Works of Chriſtians.

EVEN the good works of upright Chriſtians are impure and foul, when we behold them in themſelves as ſeparated from faith, and when we truſt and rely thereupon.

For, according to the order of nature, faith muſt be before works; becauſe the work is not good without faith.

But faith is even felt by good works to be faith. Like as Chriſt and God is alſo Lord, whom we can neither ſee nor comprehend. But after he was made man, then he was both viſible and comprehenſible; as St. John ſaith, *The Word which our hands have handled*, &c. for ſo ſoon as we ſeparate and divide them, then there is no where any God, and fleſh ſuſtaineth a double hurt.

If (ſaid *Luther*) we ſhould be juſtified for the work's ſake which follow after faith, then we ſhould be juſtified neither by faith, nor for Chriſt's ſake, but through ourſelves; which were to deny Chriſt; for Chriſt is not taken hold on by works, but by faith in the heart. Therefore it doth and muſt of neceſſity follow that we are juſtified only by faith, works either going before or following after faith. But the works are praiſed for the ſake of faith; they are held for good and pleaſing to God; inſomuch that the righteouſneſs of works is alſo of faith, from whence they flow and proceed, and not faith out of works.

To do good Works.

MANY there are (ſaid *Luther*) which are not worthy to do ſo much as one good work; and truly, it is a great matter that a human creature ſhould be eſteemed worthy to do a good work.

What People they are whoſe Works are pleaſing to God.

TRUE it is (ſaid *Luther*) good works are well pleaſing to God, of thoſe which have remiſſion of their ſins through faith in Chriſt, the ſame alſo have their reward. But when the heart dependeth and truſteth thereupon, and thinketh thereby to have a gracious God, then, inſtead of good works, they are in the ſight of God ſtark naught; for confidence and truſting muſt look only on God's mercy in Chriſt. We muſt not balance our works with grace, O no! but they muſt be done, as in obedience; for we are bound to make this confeſſion to God (who is ſo good, ſo gracious, and ſo merciful a father): *When we have done all that we ought to do, yet we are unprofitable ſervants.*

Of

Of that Sentence, Give, and it ſhall be given unto you.

THIS is a true ſpeech which maketh people poor and rich, it is that which maintaineth my houſe; I ought not to boaſt (ſaid *Luther*) but I well know what I give in the year: If my gracious lord and maſter (the Prince Elector) ſhould give a gentleman two thouſand gilders, yet he ſhould harldly maintain my houſe keeping one year; and I have but three hundred gilders penſion *per Annum*; yet God giveth ſufficient and bleſſeth it.

There is in Auſtria a monaſtery, which in former time was very rich, and remained rich ſo long as it willingly gave to the poor; but when it ceaſed in giving, then it became poor, and is ſo to this day. It fell out that, not long ſince, a poor man came thither and deſired alms, which was denied; the poor man demanded the cauſe why they refuſed to give for God's ſake? The porter belonging to the monaſtery anſwered, and ſaid, We are become poor: whereupon the poor man ſaid, The cauſe of your poverty is this, Ye have had in this monaſtery two brethren, the one ye have thruſt out, and the other is gone ſecretly away of himſelf. For after the one brother, *Give (Date)* was put out and caſhiered, ſo hath the other brother, *So ſhall be given (Dabitur)*, alſo loſt himſelf.

And indeed the world is bound to help the neighbour three manner of ways, with giving, lending, and ſelling. But no man giveth, but robbeth, ſcrapeth, and draweth all to himſelf; would willingly take and ſteal, but give nothing; neither will any man lend, but upon uſury. No man ſelleth but he over-reacheth his neighbour, therefore *Dabitur* is gone, and our Lord God will bleſs no more ſo richly. Beloved (ſaid *Luther*), he that intendeth to have any thing, the ſame muſt alſo give: a liberal hand was never in want nor empty.

Of Merit.

DESERT (ſaid *Luther*) is a work no where to be found, for Chriſt giveth a reward by reaſon of the promiſe. Like as when the Prince Elector ſhould ſay to me, Come to the court, and I will give thee one hundred gilders, &c. Now I perform a work in going to the court; yet I receive not that gift by reaſon of my work in going thither, but by reaſon of the promiſe which the Prince made unto me.

That we ought highly to regard the Works of our Vocation and Calling.

I MUCH admire (ſaid *Luther*) the madneſs and bitterneſs of Witzell, in undertaking to write ſo much againſt the Proteſtants, whereas he neither had cauſe nor matter; but (as we uſe to ſay) break a cauſe from the hedge, and ſeek occaſion; as he did in defaming this ſpeech of ours, where we ſay, The works and labours of a farmer or huſbandman, or of any other good and godly Chriſtian (if they be done in faith) are far better, in the ſight of God, than is the works of all Monks, Friars, and Nuns, &c. Therefore this poor, ſimple, and ignorant fellow maketh himſelf very angry and buſy againſt us; he looketh not upon the works which God hath commanded and required of every one in his vocation, ſtate, and calling, the ſame he regardeth not, but gapeth only after ſuperſtitious, prancing, and ſhining works, which God neither commandeth nor regardeth.

St. Paul, in his Epiſtles, wrote more richly and naturally of good works and virtues, than all the philoſophers; for he extolleth highly, and glorioufly praiſeth the works of good and godly Chriſtians in their vocations and callings. Let Witzell know (ſaid *Luther*)

Luther) that David's wars and battles, which he fought, were more pleaſing to God, than the faſtings and prayings of the beſt, of the honeſteſt, and of the holieſt Monks and Friars; much more than the works of our now ridiculous and ſuperſtitious Friars.

That giving muſt be done with a free Heart, without expecting a Requital.

IN an evening, *Luther*, walking abroad to take the air, gave alms to the poor; Doctor Jonas being with him, gave alſo ſomething, and ſaid, Who knoweth whether God will give it me again, or no: whereat *Luther*, ſmiling, anſwered him, and ſaid, You ſpeak as if God had not given you this which you have now given to the poor. We muſt give freely and willingly.

Anno 1539, the 21ſt of January, an Engliſh Doctor, named Anthony Barnes, aſked *Luther* if an upright Chriſtian and fearer of God deſerved or merited any thing by reaſon of his works after his juſtification? for (ſaid he) this queſtion is very frequent in England. *Luther* anſwered him, and ſaid, Firſt, We muſt know that we are ſinners, after we be juſtified, as we believe and pray for the remiſſion of our ſins in this life, *Forgive us our treſpaſſes*, &c. And, *For this ſhall every one that is godly pray unto thee*, &c. Alſo, *Enter not into judgment with thy ſervants*, &c. This meaning and ſentence is ſure, that we are all ſinners, and do all live under grace, and the forgiveneſs of ſins.

Secondly, God promiſeth recompence and reward to thoſe that do good; therefore you may ſay we deſerve and merit ſomething. Well (ſaid *Luther*), be it ſo, that God recompenſeth and rewardeth people's good works; but notwithſtanding, ſeverally, as one ſtar differeth from another. And the ſame is altogether done under the forgiveneſs of ſins; for as heaven, that is righteouſneſs, is under grace, how much more are the ſtars under grace? For like as the ſtars make not heaven, but only decorate and adorn it; even ſo works do not merit heaven, but do adorn and decorate faith, which juſtifieth.

We ought ſimply and plainly to believe the word; and when we are juſtified, and do ſuch works as God hath commanded, then we are like the ſtars.

This one argument (*I believe in Jeſus Chriſt, ſuffered under Pontius Pilate*, &c.) ſolveth all, is all in all; our works are nothing.

To conclude, the article of juſtification in Chriſt ſolveth all; for if Chriſt hath merited my juſtification by his ſufferings and death (which is moſt ſure and certain), then (ſaid *Luther*) I can never merit it; in Chriſt are gifts, not deſerts. Now ſeeing that the head and principal righteouſneſs is nothing, therefore the accidental righteouſneſs can be nothing. *Juſtitia ſubſtantialis*, is the righteouſneſs of faith. *Accidentalis Juſtitia*, are the gifts; but God crowneth no gifts but only thoſe which are his gifts.

Of this Word Merit, or Deſert.

THIS word (Merit, or Deſert) is well explained and declared by St. Auſtin againſt the fallacies and deceits of the ſophiſts and ſchool-debaters, that ſay, The Virgin Mary, with her virginity, deſerved to be the mother of Chriſt the Son of God; that is, ſhe was fit and apt to bear in her virgin body. O (ſaid *Luther*), what a dainty merit was that! A fine deſert! Juſt as if I ſhould ſay, This or that tree deſerveth to bear fruit.

St. Auſtin with diligence looked upon this word, deſert, and concluded out of the Virgin Mary's words, (Behold, the hand-maid of the Lord! *He hath regarded the lowlineſs of his hand-maiden*) that it ſtood not upon our deſerts, but altogether upon God's grace; for our works or deſerts are nothing at all. But our juſtification

is

is merely of grace; otherwiſe, Chriſt died in vain, for without Chriſt we are *non facientes, ſed patientes*; we only ſuffer and work not; for in gifts muſt be a difference. This error (ſaid *Luther*) proceedeth from confounding the Law and Goſpel together; for when each doctrine remaineth not in his circle, as God hath ordained it, then we make of heaven a hell, and again of hell a heaven.

Of Hoſpitals.

IN Italy (ſaid *Luther*) the hoſpitals are very well provided for; fair buildings, good meat and drink; they have diligent attendance, and learned phyſicians; the bedding and furniture are clean and neat, the dwelling places fairly painted. So ſoon as a ſick perſon is brought in, they take off his clothes in the preſence of a public notary, who truly taketh notice thereof in writing; they are carefully laid up, and they put upon him a white coat, and lay him in a well prepared bed. Soon after they bring two phyſicians, and the ſervants bring meat and drink in pure glaſs veſſels and cups, which they touch only with one finger. Then alſo certain married matrons and women (whoſe faces are covered) do come and miniſter to the poor, as unknown, and afterwards go home again.

Now (ſaid *Luther*) theſe works are good and laudable, only the miſchief is, that thereby they think to merit heaven, and to be juſtified and ſaved, which ſpoileth all.

Whereto Anger and Jealouſy is good.

I HAVE no better work (ſaid *Luther*) than anger and jealouſy; for when I am angry, I can indite well, I can pray and preach, as then my whole diſpoſition is quickened, my underſtanding ſharpened, and all unpleaſant vexations do depart.

Dr. Juſtus Jonas aſked me if the words of the Prophet Jeremiah were Chriſtian-like, where he curſeth the day of his birth, Jer. xx. I anſwered him, and ſaid, We muſt now and then wake up our Lord God with ſuch words. It was indeed a right murmuring in Jeremiah. Our Saviour Chriſt ſpake alſo in that ſort, *O faithleſs and perverſe generation! How long ſhall I be with you, and ſuffer you?* Moſes alſo was diſpleaſed with God, where he ſaid, *Have I begotten this multitude of people? I am not their father*, &c.

It it not poſſible but a man muſt grieve very much when from his heart he meaneth good, and yet is not regarded. I (ſaid *Luther*) can never be rid of theſe cogitations, in wiſhing I had never begun this buſineſs with the Pope. Likewiſe, I wiſh myſelf rather dead than to hear or ſee God's Word and his ſervants contemned, but this is the frailty of our natures.

Thoſe that condemn ſuch paſſions are *Theologi in arte ſpeculativa*, who play with thoughts, and deal with ſpeculations; but when they themſelves come into that caſe, then they will feel it touch them ſenſibly. Such hiſtories are very great; we ought not to diſpute of them with ſpeculations.

Of Patience.

PATIENCE (ſaid *Luther*) is the beſt virtue, which in Holy Writ is highly praiſed and extolled by the Holy Ghoſt. And howſoever the philoſophers and learned heathen do alſo much exalt and applaud it; yet they cannot poſſeſs the ſame, nor attain to it without the will and aſſiſtance of God; for they neither know nor underſtand any thing certain thereof. Epictetus, the ſage and underſtanding Grecian heathen, ſaid very well, *Suffer and abſtain*; as alſo the Hebrews ſay with good words,

Believe not all thou heareſt.
Speak not all thou knoweſt.
Do not all thou canſt.

Of the expounding the Prophet Iſaiah's Speech; In Quietneſs and in Confidence ſhall be your Strength.

THIS ſentence was expounded by *Luther* in this way: If thou intendeſt to vanquiſh the greateſt, the moſt abominable and wickedeſt enemy, who is able to do thee miſchief both in body and ſoul, and againſt whom thou prepareſt all ſorts of weapons, but canſt not overcome; then know that there is a ſweet and loving phyſical herb which ſerveth for the ſame, and that herb is named *Patientia.*

But thou wilt ſay, How may I attain to this phyſick? Anſwer. Take unto thee faith, who ſaith, No creature can do me miſchief without the will of God. Now in caſe thou receiveſt hurt and miſchief by thine enemy, the ſame is done by the ſweet and gracious will of God, in ſuch ſort that the enemy hurteth himſelf a thouſand times more. From hence floweth unto me (a Chriſtian) the love, which ſaith, I will (inſtead of the evil which mine enemy doth unto me) do him all the good I can; I will heap coals of fire upon his head. This (ſaid *Luther*) is the Chriſtian armour and weapon, therewith to beat and overcome thoſe enemies that ſeem to be like huge mountains. In a word, love teacheth to ſuffer and endure all things.

Of Comfort againſt Envy.

A Certain honeſt and God-fearing man at Wittemberg, lately told me (ſaid *Luther*) he lived peaceably with every one, hurted no man, but was ſtill and quiet; yet, notwithſtanding (ſaid he), many people were enemies unto him. I comforted him in this manner, and ſaid, Arm yourſelf with patience, and give them no cauſe of envy. I pray, What cauſe do we give the devil? What aileth him to be ſo great an enemy unto us? but only becauſe he hath not that which God hath; I know none other cauſe of his vehement hatred towards us. Therefore when God giveth thee to eat, then eat; when he cauſeth thee to faſt, have patience; giveth he honour, take it; hurt or ſhame, endure it; caſteth he thee into priſon, murmur not; will he make thee a lord, follow him; caſteth he thee down again, ſo care thou not for it, nor regard it.

That Patience is neceſſary in every Particular.

I (ſaid *Luther*) muſt have patience with the Pope; I muſt have patience with hereticks and ſeducers; I muſt have patience with the roaring courtiers; I muſt have patience with my ſervants; I muſt have patience with Kate my wife; to conclude, the patiences are ſo many, that my whole life is nothing but patience. The Prophet Iſaiah ſaith, *In being ſilent and hoping, conſiſteth our ſtrength,* that is, Have patience under ſufferings, hope, and deſpair not.

Of one of Luther's Sayings.

IN luctu gaudium: In mourning joy.
In gaudio luctus: In joy mourning.
Gaudendum in Domino: Joyful in the Lord.
Lugendum in nobis: Mourning in ourſelves.

That the Death of the Saints bringeth more Good than their Life.

I Could wiſh (ſaid *Luther*) that the adverſaries ſlew me, for my death would be more profitable to the church, than my life. Sampſon, at his death, ſlew more of the Philiſtines than when he lived. Therefore I would with a willing heart go to the wars with my lord and maſter (the Prince Elector) againſt the Turk and Pope.

What Works are pleaſing and unpleaſing to God.

IN all our works (ſaid *Luther*) we muſt have regard to God's Word and command. Thoſe works which are done by God's command, the ſame are not works of our will and chuſing; but we are only God's inſtruments wherewith he worketh; they are not ours, but God's works. Like as the works of the Law, are called the commands of the Law, not done willingly but by compulſion. Therefore all works which are not done out of God's command, are works of our hands, done without God's Word, they are works of ungodlineſs and are damned, eſpecially when people think thereby to be juſtified before God. A righteous perſon doth good works unforced and willingly to God's honour, who hath commanded them to be done, and to the good and profit of the neighbour; for ſuch a perſon cannot chuſe, but muſt do good works voluntarily; like as a good tree which by nature bringeth forth good fruit. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) the kingdoms of the Turk and Pope are drawing to an end; they are the two abominations, the one is of the Prieſts government, the other the governments of lies. Therefore they muſt come down.

Of three Sorts of giving of Alms.

THERE are three ſorts (ſaid *Luther*) of giving of alms: Firſt, That we give towards the maintenance of preaching. Secondly, That we give to our poor friends which are of our kindred, as to parents, to children, &c. Thirdly, That we give alſo to other poor people and ſtrangers which dwell among us, and cannot live without the help of others.

Of four chief and principal Virtues.

THE antients (ſaid *Luther*) have deſcribed four principal virtues: Moderation, which preſerveth the body: Juſtice, which maintaineth the ſtate and commonwealth: Courage or Manlineſs, which reſiſteth and defendeth: and Wiſdom, which governeth all.

That the Church Ceremonies muſt be voluntary and free.

IT was the cuſtom ſometimes (ſaid *Luther*), in burying of the dead, that they laid their faces or heads towards the ſun-riſing, by reaſon of a ſpiritual myſtery and ſignification which thereby was ſhewed; but the ſame was freely obſerved without law, and unforced. Even ſo all laws and ceremonies ſhould be free in the church, and not be done by compulſion, as ſuch things which neither juſtify nor condemn in the ſight of God, but to be obſerved for the ſake of honeſt and civil diſcipline.

Of the Righteouſneſs of Works.

THE righteouſneſs of works and hypocriſy are the moſt miſchievous diſeaſes born upon us, and not eaſily expelled, eſpecially when they are confirmed and ſettled upon us by uſe and practice; for all mankind will have dealings with Almighty God, and diſpute with him according to their human natural underſtanding, and will make ſatisfaction to God for their ſins with their own ſtrength and ſelf-choſen works. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) for my part, I have ſo often deceived our Lord God by promiſing to be upright and good, that I will promiſe no more, but will only pray for a happy hour, when it ſhall pleaſe God to make me good.

That good Works juſtify not before God.

NOT long ſince (ſaid *Luther*) a Popiſh Doctor argued with me in this manner; Evil works are damned, therefore good works do juſtify. I anſwered, and ſaid, This your argument is nothing worth, it concludeth not *Ratione contrariorum*, they are not placed aright the one againſt the other; for evil works are evil in a complete meaſure, becauſe they proceed from a heart that is altogether ſpoiled and evil. But good works, yea, even in an upright Chriſtian, are incompletely good; for they proceed out of a weak obedience which is but a little recovered and reſtored. Whoſo can ſay from his heart, I am a ſinner, but God is righteous; and whoſo at the point of death from his heart can ſay, Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I commit my ſpirit into thy hands, the ſame may aſſure himſelf of true righteouſneſs, and that he is not in the number of thoſe that blaſpheme God, in relying upon their own works and righteouſneſs.

That works deſerve not grace, life, and ſalvation, the ſame is plain and apparent alſo by this; works are not of the ſpiritual birth, but they are only the fruits thereof; we are not God's children and heirs of glory by works. But when we are regenerated or created anew in Chriſt, then we begin to do good works. Therefore before we can do good works, we muſt have grace, life, and ſalvation.

Now we are created, begotten, and born righteous by the Word, and are not ſcrewed nor prepared to the ſame by the Law, or by works.

Of the glorious Boaſtings and precious Virtues of the Works of our own Righteouſneſs and of the Law, taken out of the Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Galatians.

HE (ſaid *Luther*) that will be juſtified before God by the Law, and by his own works, the ſame,

1. Turneth himſelf from the grace of Chriſt, whereunto he is called.
2. He departeth from the true Goſpel, and receiveth another.
3. He confuſeth the hearts of the faithful.
4. He perverteth the Goſpel of Chriſt.
5. He is accurſed.
6. His preaching tendeth to pleaſe men.
7. He ſeeketh the praiſe of men, not of God.
8. He is not the ſervant of Chriſt.
9. He preacheth human things, not by Jeſus Chriſt's revelation.
10. He is nothing profited by the higheſt and beſt righteouſneſs of the Law.
11. He diſturbeth God's aſſembly, and the Chriſtian Church.
12. He undertaketh to be juſtified by impoſſible means, namely, by the Law.

13. He

13. He holdeth them to be ſinners which are juſtified in Chriſt.
14. He maketh Chriſt again an offering for ſins.
15. He buildeth up ſin again, which before was broken down.
16. He maketh himſelf a malefactor.
17. He rejecteth the grace of God.
18. He holdeth that Chriſt died in vain.
19. He is a fooliſh Galathian.
20. He is bewitched.
21. He hearkeneth not to the truth.
22. He crucifieth Chriſt.
23. He holdeth the Holy Ghoſt is received by Works.
24. He forſaketh the Spirit, and cleaveth to the fleſh.
25. He is under the curſe.
26. He maketh an addition to God's Teſtament, and rejecteth God's ordinances.
27. He maketh ſins greater.
28. He remaineth included under ſin.
29. He ſerveth the weak laws.
30. The Goſpel to him is preached in vain.
31. His actions and ſufferings are all in vain.
32. He is a ſervant and a ſon of the bond-woman.
33. He is thruſt out with the bond-woman from the inheritance.
34. He maketh Chriſt unprofitable unto him.
35. He is bound to fulfil the whole Law.
36. He hath forſaken Chriſt.
37. He is fallen from grace.
38. He ſuffereth himſelf to be ſeduced from the truth.
39. He is induced to believe that which is not divine and godly.
40. He permitteth himſelf to be leavened with the leaven of deſtruction.
41. He is damned in teaching the ſame.
42. He biteth others, and by them will be devoured.
43. His doings are altogether works of the fleſh.
44. He valueth himſelf much, whereas there is nothing in him.
45. He boaſteth himſelf without God.
46. He maketh himſelf acceptable, according to the fleſh, to thoſe which are carnally minded.
47. He is an enemy to the croſs of Chriſt, and to perſecution.
48. He fulfilleth nothing leſs than the Law.
49. He only extolleth the doctrine of the fleſh.
50. All is loſt in him and on him, what he is, hath, or knoweth is nothing worth, &c.

CHAP. XV.

OF PRAYER.

What Power Prayer hath.

NO human creature can believe (ſaid *Luther*) how powerful prayer is, and what it is able to effect, but only thoſe that have learned it by experience.

It is a great matter when in extreme need, as then one can take hold on prayer. I know, as often as I have earneſtly prayed, that I have been richly heard, and have obtained more than I prayed for; indeed, God ſometimes deferred, but notwithſtanding he came.

Eccleſiaſticus ſaith, *The prayer of a good and godly Chriſtian availeth more to health, than the phyſician's phyſick.*

O how great an upright and godly Chriſtian's prayer is! how powerful with God; that a poor human creature ſhould ſpeak with God's high Majeſty in heaven, and not be affrighted? but, on the contrary, knoweth that God ſmileth upon him for Chriſt's ſake, his dearly beloved Son. The heart and conſcience (in this act of praying) muſt not fly and recoil backwards by reaſon of our ſins and unworthineſs, and muſt not ſtand in doubt, nor be ſcared away. We muſt not do (ſaid *Luther*) as the Bavarian did, who with great devotion called upon St. Leonard, an idol, ſet up in a church in Bavaria, behind which idol ſtood one who anſwered the Bavarian and ſaid, Fie on thee, Bavarian; and in that ſort oftentimes was repulſed and could not be heard: at laſt, the Bavarian went away, and ſaid, Fie on thee, Leonard.

But when we pray, we muſt not let it come to, Fie upon thee; but muſt certainly hold, conclude, and believe, that we are already heard in that for which we pray with faith in Chriſt. Therefore the ancients finely deſcribed prayer, namely, that it is, *Aſcenſus mentis ad Deum*, a climbing up of the heart unto God, that is, lifteth itſelf up, crieth and ſigheth to God: neither I myſelf (ſaid *Luther*), nor any other that I know, have rightly underſtood the definition of this *Aſcenſus*. Indeed we have boaſted and talked much of the climbing up of the heart; but we failed in *Syntaxi*, we could not bring thereunto the word *Deum*; nay, we flew from God, we were afraid to draw near unto him, and to pray through Chriſt, in whom the ſtrength of prayer wholly conſiſteth; we always prayed in Popedom *Conditionaliter*, conditionally, and therefore uncertainly.

But let us pray in heart, and alſo with our lips; for prayer (by our loving God) ſupporteth the world, otherwiſe, without prayer, it would ſtand in a far more lamentable ſtate.

Of the Power of Prayer, and of the Lord's Prayer.

OUR Saviour Chriſt (ſaid *Luther*) moſt excellently, and with very few words, comprehended, in the Lord's Prayer, all things both needful and neceſſary; but without trouble, trials, and vexations, prayer cannot rightly be made. Therefore God ſaith, *Call on me in the time of trouble*, &c. without trouble it is only a cold prattling, and goeth not from the heart; the common ſaying is, *Need teacheth*

to

to pray. And although the Papiſts ſay that God well underſtandeth all the words of thoſe that pray, yet St. Bernard is far of another opinion, where he ſaith, God heareth not the words of one that prayeth, unleſs he that prayeth heareth them firſt himſelf. The Pope is a mere tormentor of the conſcience. The aſſembly of his greaſed and religious crew in praying was altogether like the croaking of frogs, which edified nothing at all. It was mere ſophiſtry and deceiving, fruitleſs and unprofitable.

Prayer is a ſtrong wall and a fort of the church; it is a godly Chriſtian's weapon, which no man knoweth nor findeth, but only he who hath the ſpirit of grace and of prayer.

The three firſt petitions in our Lord's prayer do comprehend ſuch great and celeſtial things, that no heart is able to ſearch them out. The fourth petition containeth the whole policy and œconomy, or the temporal and houſe-government, and all things neceſſary for this life. The fifth prayer ſtriveth and fighteth againſt our own evil conſciences, againſt original and actual ſins, which trouble the ſame, &c. Truly they were penned by wiſdom itſelf; none but God could have done the like.

We cannot pray without faith in Chriſt the Mediator. The Turks, the Jews, and the ungodly may rehearſe and ſpeak the words of prayer after one, but they cannot pray. And although the Apoſtles were taught this prayer by Chriſt, and prayed often, yet they prayed not as they ſhould have prayed: for Chriſt ſaith, *Hitherto ye have not prayed in my name*; whereas, doubtleſs, they had prayed much, and ſpoken the words. But when the Holy Ghoſt came, then they prayed aright in the name of Chriſt. If praying and reading of prayer be but only a bare work (as the Papiſts hold it to be), then the righteouſneſs of the Law is nothing worth. The upright prayer of a godly Chriſtian is a ſtrong hedge, as God himſelf ſaith, *And I ſought for a man among them that ſhould make up the hedge, and ſtand in the gap before me for the land, that I ſhould not deſtroy it, but I found none*, &c. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) when others do blaſpheme, let us pray. David ſaith, *He doth the will of them that fear him, and heareth their prayers.*

That we muſt daily go on in Praying.

I (ſaid *Luther*) have every day enough to do to pray. And when I lay me down to reſt, I pray the Lord's Prayer, and afterwards take hold on two or three ſentences out of the Bible, and ſo betake myſelf to ſleep, then I am well ſatisfied.

That Preachers ought to join their Prayers together.

DR. Aepinus, Superintendent of Hamborough, coming to Wittemberg to ſpeak with *Luther*, who (after his diſpatch, and at his taking leave) ſaid, I commend myſelf and our church at Hamborough to your prayers. *Luther* anſwered him, and ſaid, Loving Aepine, the cauſe is not ours, but God's: let us join our prayers together, as then the cauſe will be holpen. I will pray againſt the Pope and the Turk as long as I live: and I like it well that you take ſuch courſe at Hamborough, earneſtly to pray againſt Mahomet and the Pope.

Of the Power of Prayer.

GOD always giveth more than we pray for; when we truly pray for a piece of bread, ſo giveth God a whole acre of land. When my wife (ſaid *Luther*) was

was ſick, I prayed to God that ſhe might live, ſo he not only granted that requeſt, but alſo therewith he hath given us a goodly farm at Zolſdorf, and hath bleſſed us with a fruitful year. At that time my wife ſaid unto me, Sir! how is it, that in Popedom they pray ſo often with great vehemence, but we are very cold and careleſs in praying? I anſwered her, The devil driveth on his ſervants continually; they are diligent and take great pains in their falſe worſhipping, but we, indeed, are ice cold therein, and negligent.

Of Luther's Prayer for a gracious Rain.

IN the year 1532, in all Germany was a great drought, the corn in the fields in a lamentable way began to wither. On the ninth of June the ſame year, *Luther* called together the whole aſſembly into the church, and directed his prayer (with deep ſighs) to God in the manner following:

O Lord, behold our prayers for thy promiſe ſake; we have prayed, and our hearts have ſighed, but the covetouſneſs of the rich farmers doth hinder and hem in thy bleſſing; for ſeeing that through thy goſpel they are unbribled, they think it free for them to live and do what they pleaſe; they now fear neither death nor hell, but ſay, I believe therefore I ſhall be ſaved; they become haughty ſpiteful Mammoniſts, and accurſed covetous cut-throats, that ſuck out land and people. Moreover, alſo, the uſurers among the gentry in every place deal wickedly, inſomuch (as it ſeemeth) thou, O God, wilt now viſit us (together with them) with the rod; yet, nevertheleſs, thou haſt ſtill means whereby to maintain thoſe that are thine, although thou ſuffereſt no rain to fall among the ungodly.

After he had ſaid thus, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven, and ſaid, Lord God, thou haſt through the mouth of thy ſervant David ſaid, *The Lord is nigh unto all that call upon him faithfully*; *He doth the will of thoſe that fear him, and heareth their prayers, and helpeth them in their diſtreſs.* How is it, Lord, that thou giveſt no rain, ſeeing we have cried and prayed ſo long unto thee? *Thy will be done*, O Lord! we know that although thou giveſt not rain, yet, notwithſtanding, thou wilt give us ſomething better, a ſtill, a quiet, and a peaceable life. Now we pray, O Lord, from the bottom of our hearts. If thou, O Lord, wilt not be pleaſed to hear and give us rain, then the ungodly will ſay, Chriſt thy only Son is a liar. For he ſaith, *Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, whatſoever ye pray the Father in my name, the ſame he will give unto you*, &c. Inſomuch that they will give thy Son the lie. I know, O Lord, that we do cry unto thee from our hearts, with yearning and ſighing, why then doſt thou not hear us? Now, even the ſame day, and within the ſpace of half an hour after the people went from church, it began to rain ſo ſweet and mildly (which continued for a whole fortnight) ſo that the grounds thereby were changed and refreſhed in a moſt miraculous manner. This happened June 9, 1532.

Of Papiſtical Prayers.

THE praying in Popedom, is a mere tormenting of the conſciences, it is only a prating and tongue-threſhing, no praying, but a work of obedience. From thence proceeded a confuſed ſea-full of *Horas Canonicas*, the howling and babbling in cells and monaſteries, where they read and ſang the pſalms and collects without all ſpiritual devotion, inſomuch that they neither underſtood the words, ſentences, nor the meaning.

In what manner, and how I tormented myſelf (ſaid *Luther*) with thoſe *Hortis Canconicis*

Canonicis before the Goſpel came (which by reaſon of many buſineſſes I often intermitted), I am not able to expreſs. On the Saturdays I uſed to lock myſelf up in my cell, and accompliſh what the whole week I had neglected. But at laſt I was troubled with ſo many affairs, that I was fain oftentimes to omit alſo my Saturday's devotions. At length, when I ſaw that Amſdorff and others derided ſuch manner of devotion, then I quite left it off.

It was a great torment, from which we are now delivered by the Goſpel. Although (ſaid *Luther*) I had done no more but only freed people from that torment, yet they might well give me thanks for it. Innumerable laws and works were taught and impoſed upon people without the ſpirit, as in the book, *Rationale divinorum*, many abominable things are written.

Of Luther's Admonition to Pray.

ANNO 1539, on the ſixth of January and on the twelfth, *Luther* admoniſhed the people earneſtly to pray againſt the raging and ſwelling of the devil in thoſe blind Papiſts, which inſtigated the Emperor, and other Kings and Potentates, againſt the Goſpel. They are (ſaid he) altogether mad and fooliſh with their blaſpheming, and yet will maintain and defend the ſame in a moſt wilful and wicked way. And we alſo ourſelves do ſtir up God's wrath with our unthankfulneſs and ſinful lives. Therefore let us repent, amend ourſelves, and pray that God would direct, turn, and preſerve the Emperor's heart (which is in his hand) to the maintaining and propagating of the Goſpel; that he would not raiſe wars againſt the revealed truth, nor maintain the miſchievous horrors and errors of Popedom. For we (through grace) have the upright and pure Word of God, and do know how to live a Chriſtian-kind of life; he then concluded in the manner following:

Loving Lord God! govern me, that with ſpiritual eyes I may ſee, know, and acknowledge my original diſeaſe and weakneſs, and be led to the true knowledge of Chriſt, and through the Holy Spirit may be governed, cleanſed, and ſanctified. *Amen.*

To Pray for Peace.

LUTHER receiving a letter written unto him (from the Imperial Aſſembly) by Philip Melancthon, after the reading of which, he ſaid, What Philip Melancthon writeth hath hands and feet, hath authority and gravity, it is of weight, contained in a few words, as always I have found by his letters. But, I perceive, we muſt have wars; for the Papiſts would willingly go on, but they want a good ſtomach, neither may we endure the caſe to ſtand upon theſe terms. Let it therefore proceed *in nomine Domini*; I will commit all things to God, and will be *Crito* in the play. I will pray that God would convert our adverſaries; we have a good cauſe on our ſide; who would not fight and venture body and blood, *pro Sacris*, for the Holidom, which is God's Word? And, beſides, the temporal laws and ſtatutes of policy do alſo concur and agree with our proceedings; for we always have deſired and called for peace, but our Princes are provoked and drawn to defend themſelves and their ſubjects, and of neceſſity muſt reſiſt their power; our adverſaries will not ſuffer us to live in peace. This letter (ſaid *Luther*) was written ten days ſince; by this time it is concluded what ſhall be done. The everlaſting merciful God give his grace thereunto: let us watch and pray, for Satan ſleepeth not.

The eleventh of March 1539, *Luther* admoniſhed the people to give thanks to

God for preſerving them that year in peace; for (ſaid he) we ſee apparently that God watcheth and reſiſteth the blood-thirſty Papiſts, who out of a diabolical hatred do rage and ſwell againſt us, and every year do thirſt after our blood; but God oftentimes hath put them to ſhame, and will; in a wonderful way God hath this year afforded us peace, in taking away that ungodly man, Prince George, who lately was ſlain. Therefore we ought juſtly to give thanks for the ſame, pray and repent; for there is no hope of peace, ſeeing the Pope governeth, and the Goſpel ſhineth. God preſerve us from bloodſhed. Let us pray.

I (ſaid *Luther*) cannot imagine how there can be peace between us and the Papiſts, for neither part will yield to the other, and there is an everlaſting war between the woman's ſeed and the old ſerpent; they never are weary of wars. Temporal Kings and Potentates (when they are weary of warring) do agree upon ceſſation of arms; but in this caſe, there can be no ſuch conditions and means hoped for; for we neither can nor will depart from the confeſſion of true Chriſtian religion and God's Word, neither on the other ſide will they deſiſt from their idolatry and blaſpheming; the devil will not ſuffer his feet to be chopped off, neither will Chriſt have hindered the preaching of his Word; therefore I cannot ſee how any peace or truce may be between Chriſt and Belial.

Of Temporal Peace.

WORLDLY and outward peace is one of the higheſt gifts of God; but we abuſe it too much, every one liveth after his own will and pleaſure againſt God and the Magiſtrate. O, how ſoundly will our gentry and farmers, in Germany, pay for this before one hundred and fifty years come to an end (as already they have done in Hungary and in Auſtria; but afterwards God will reſtore them again, and beat down Popedom. Let us not ceaſe to pray.

Of Unity and Concord.

THROUGH concord ſmall things and wealth do increaſe (as the Heathen ſaid); but diſſention is dangerous and hurtful, eſpecially in ſchools, in profeſſions, high arts, and in the profeſſors thereof, wherein the one ought to reach the hand to the other, ſhould kiſs and embrace each other. But when we bite and devour one another, then let us take heed leſt we be ſwallowed up together. Therefore let us pray and ſtrive; for the word of faith, and the prayers of the juſt, are the moſt powerful weapons; moreover, God himſelf ſendeth his holy angels round about them that fear him. We ought valiantly to fight, for we are under a Lord of Hoſts, and a Prince of war; therefore with one hand we muſt build, and in the other hand take the ſword, that is, we muſt both teach and reſiſt.

It is now time to watch, for we are the mark they ſhoot at; our adverſaries intend to make a confederacy with the Turk; they aim at us, we muſt venture it; for Antichriſt will war and get the victory againſt the ſaints of God, as Daniel ſaith. We (ſaid *Luther*) ſtand outwardly in the greateſt danger, by reaſon of treachery and treaſon; the Papiſts endeavour with money to greaſe and corrupt our captains and officers. An aſs laden with money may do any thing, as Cornelius Tacitus writeth of us Germans; we have taught them to take money; there is neither fidelity nor truth on earth.

Of Diſcord among the Officers of the Church.

A Miniſter of the church at the ſame time exhibited a petition to *Luther*, wherein he complained of the diſobedience of his Curate; whereat *Luther* ſighed, and ſaid, Ah, Lord God! what an enemy is the devil unto us, in ſowing diſcord among the ſervants of the Word? He always kindleth one fire after another. O let us quench them by prayer, by reconciliation, and by forbearing one another, ſeeing God hath made an union among us, touching the pure and upright doctrine; therefore we muſt not ſuffer nor permit the leaſt mite of uncleanneſs, but all muſt be gathered pure and unfalſified: therein we muſt abound in all patience, forbearance, and love; *for a little leaven* (ſaith St. Paul) *leaveneth the whole lump.*

Of the Power of Prayer.

THE prayer of the heart (ſaid *Luther*), and the ſighs of the poor and oppreſſed, do make ſuch an alarum and cry in heaven, that God and all the angels muſt hear the ſame. O, our Lord God hath a ſharp liſtening ear,

Of Luther's Admonition to pray againſt the Devil and the Pope.

ON the twenty-fifth of December *Luther* earneſtly admoniſhed the people to pray, that God would always preſerve his Word pure and unfalſified among us, that the courſe thereof might not be hindered, but have proſperous fruit and ſucceſs againſt the raging and aſſaults of Satan, eſpecially againſt the blood-thirſty Papiſts, who are the moſt bitter enemies to God's Word: for we have nothing elſe to expect from them, than that they take counſel againſt the Word of the Goſpel, and to prepare for us (that profeſs the ſame) a bath of blood. Therefore, loving Chriſtian brethren (ſaid *Luther*), let our prayers be poured out from our hearts, and let us repent; let us be not only hearers of the Word, but live according thereunto; and ſeeing the whole world, Papiſts, ſectaries, epicures, &c. have raiſed ſo great a ſtench in the noſtrils of God, let us therefore by hearty prayer kindle before him an incenſe of ſweet frankincenſe.

Of the Sighing of the Heart.

WHEN Moſes, with the children of Iſrael, came to the Red Sea then he cried with trembling and quaking, yet he opened not his mouth, neither was his voice heard on earth by the people: doubtleſs (ſaid *Luther*) he cried and ſighed in his heart, and ſaid, Ah, Lord God! what courſe ſhall I now take? Which way ſhall I now turn myſelf? How am I come to this ſtreight? No help or counſel can ſave us: before us is the ſea; behind us are our enemies the Egyptians; on both ſides high and huge Mountains; I am the cauſe that all this people ſhall now be deſtroyed, &c. Then anſwered God, and ſaid, *Wherefore crieſt thou unto me?* As if God ſhould ſay, What an alarum, a ſhrieking, and a loud crying doſt thou make, that the whole heavens muſt ring therewith, &c.? But, alas! (ſaid *Luther*) we read ſuch examples as dead letters; human reaſon, is not able to ſearch this paſſage out. The way through the Red Sea is full as broad, and wider far (if not further) than Wittemberg lieth from Coburgk, that is thirty Dutch miles, 120 Engliſh at leaſt: doubtleſs the people were conſtrained in the night ſeaſon to reſt, to bait and eat therein; for ſix hundred thouſand men, beſides women and children, would require

require a good time to paſs through, although they went one hundred and fifty in rank and file.

God's hearing Prayer.

IT is impoſſible that God ſhould not hear the prayers which with faith are made in Chriſt, although God giveth not according to the meaſure, manner, and time which we dictate unto him; he will not be tied. In ſuch ſort dealt God with the mother of St. Auſtin, ſhe prayed to God that her ſon Auſtin might be converted, but, as yet, it would not be; then ſhe ran to the learned, intreating them to perſuade and adviſe him thereunto. At laſt, ſhe propounded unto him a marriage with a Chriſtian virgin, that thereby he might be drawn back, and brought to the Chriſtian faith, but all would not do as yet. But when our Lord God came thereto, he came to purpoſe, and made of him ſuch an Auſtin, that he became a great light to the Church. St. James ſaith, *Pray one for another, for the prayer of the righteous availeth much*, &c. Prayer (ſaid *Luther*) is a powerful thing; for God hath bound and tied himſelf thereunto. Chriſt taught the Lord's Prayer according to the manner of the Jews, that is, he directed it only to the Father; whereas they that pray in the ſame manner, are heard for the Son's ſake. This was done becauſe Chriſt would not be praiſed before his death.

Of certain Sentences in Scripture.

JUSTUS Jonas aſked *Luther* if theſe ſentences in Scripture did not contradict each other; where God ſaith to Abraham, *If I find ten* (in Sodom) *I will not deſtroy it.* And where Ezekiel ſaith, *Though theſe three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, yet would I not hear*, &c. And where Jeremiah ſaith, *Therefore pray not thou for this people*, &c. *Luther* anſwered him, and ſaid, No, they are not againſt one another; for in Ezekiel it was forbidden them to pray, but it was not ſo with Abraham. Therefore we muſt have regard to the Word; when God ſaith, Thou ſhalt not pray, then we may well ceaſe.

That we muſt in Praying commit all Things to God.

GOD ſaith, *Hearken unto me, O houſe of Jacob, and all the remnant of the houſe of Iſrael, which are born by me, from the belly, which are carried from the womb; and even to your old age I am he, and even to hoary hairs will I carry and will deliver you*, &c. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) lay it upon him, commit it only to him. St. Peter alſo ſaith, *Caſt all your care upon him.* And Pſalm lv. *O caſt thy burthen upon the Lord, and he ſhall nouriſh thee, and ſhall not ſuffer the righteous to fall for ever.* O theſe are comfortable ſentences: but we will do and accompliſh all ourſelves, and thereby forget God, and make bad worſe. Yea, may one ſay, I have truly committed my prayer unto God; but he will not come, he delayeth ſo long. O (ſaid *Luther*), *Wait upon the Lord*; we muſt attend and hold out, for he cometh moſt certainly at laſt. It is far better that we wait upon the Lord, than to betake ourſelves to the Pope's ſide, or to the Biſhop of Mentz, by whom notwithſtanding we have no hope; for they cannot help themſelves, they are poor worms. I hear (ſaid *Luther*) that Eck is dead, I am ſorry for that unworthy man, I hoped, he would have acknowledged his blaſpheming of God, but he did not; he uſed boaſting, bragging, lechery, whoring, &c. wherein he grew old, and by continual practice they became natural unto him, inſomuch that he is now dead and loſt.

Of

Of the Power of Prayer.

AS the King of Perſia (ſaid *Luther*) laid ſiege to the city Naſili, the biſhop that was therein ſaw that he was to weak (by man's help) to defend the city againſt ſo mighty a King: wherefore he went upon the wall, lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed, in the ſight of his enemies. Whereupon immediately the eyes of the horſes in the whole army in ſuch ſort were peſtered with an innumerable multitude of flies ſtinging them, that with their riders they ran away, and ſo raiſed the ſiege, whereby the City was preſerved. In ſuch a manner could God divert the wicked enterpriſes of the Papiſts againſt us, if we would diligently pray.

Of Luther's earneſt Prayer for the coming of the laſt Day of Judgment.

AH, Lord God! grant that the joyful day of thy ſanctified appearance may ſoon approach, that we may be delivered out of this offenſive wicked world, the kingdom of the devil, and may be freed from the horrible plagues which outwardly and inwardly we muſt ſuffer, as well of wicked people as of our own conſciences. Deſtroy in us, O Lord! the old Adam, that is, our body full of ſin, and inclined to all wicked luſt, that we may be changed and delivered from all miſchief, corporal and ſpiritual, that ſo we may come at laſt to our glorious deliverance through our ſweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

That a true Chriſtian prayeth always.

THE prayers of upright Chriſtians are without ceaſing, though they pray not always with their mouth, yet their hearts do pray continually, ſleeping and waking; for the ſigh of a true Chriſtian is a prayer. As the Pſalm ſaith, *Becauſe of the deep ſighing of the poor, I will up, ſaith the Lord*, &c. In like manner a true Chriſtian always carrieth the croſs, though he feeleth it not always.

Of the Strength of the Lord's Prayer.

THE Lord's Prayer (ſaid *Luther*) bindeth the People together, and knitteth them one to another; inſomuch that one prayeth for another, and together one with another; and it is ſo ſtrong and powerful that it even driveth away the fear of death.

That we muſt hold on in Prayer.

PRAYER preſerveth the church, and hitherto it hath done the beſt for the church; therefore (ſaid *Luther*) we muſt continually pray. From whence Chriſt ſaith, *Aſk, and ye ſhall have; ſeek, and ye ſhall find; knock, and it ſhall be opened unto you.*

Firſt, when we are in trouble, he will have us to pray; for God oftentimes (as it were) hideth himſelf, and will not hear; yea, he will not ſuffer himſelf many times to be found. Then we muſt ſeek him; that is, we muſt continue in prayer. When we ſeek him, then he oftentimes locketh himſelf up (as it were) into a private chamber; now, if we intend to come in unto him, then we muſt knock, and when we have knocked once or twice, then he beginneth a little to hear.

At laſt, when we make too much knocking, then he openeth, and ſaith, What will ye have? Lord (ſay we) we would have this or that, then, ſaith he, Take it unto you. In ſuch ſort muſt we perſiſt in praying and waken God up. I am per-

ſuaded (ſaid *Luther*) that many good and godly people are ſtill among us which pray diligently. This ſentence, or word, Pray, will have nothing elſe but pray, call, cry, knock, rap, &c. And this we muſt do without ceaſing.

CHAP. XVI.

OF THE CONFESSION AND CONSTANCY OF THE DOCTRINE.

THE word and article of juſtification (how we are juſtified and ſaved before God) expelleth and overcometh all ſorrow, all perplexities, misfortunes, and adverſities; and without this article there is neither help nor advice.

We read in the hiſtories of the church (ſaid *Luther*), that Julian the Emperor forced his ſervants and ſoldiers to deny Chriſt; but when many of them refuſed to do the ſame, he cauſed them to be executed with the ſword, and they went joyfully to their deaths. Among them was a proper youth, for whom earneſt interceſſion was made, that he might be the firſt to die. But Julian commanded to releaſe him, in order to try whether he would remain conſtant or no; now when he kneeled down and offered his neck to the block, the executioner was charged not to ſtrike, but to let him riſe again. Then the youth ſtood up, and ſaid, Ah, ſweet Jeſu! am I not worthy to ſuffer for thy ſake? Theſe were words of a great faith, which overcometh the fear of death.

When governors and rulers are enemies to God's Word, then our duty is to depart, to ſell and forſake all we have, to fly from one place to another, as Chriſt commandeth. We muſt make and prepare no uproars nor tumults by reaſon of the Goſpel, but we muſt ſuffer all things.

What Chriſt requireth of us.

CHRIST requireth nothing more of us, than that we ſhould confeſs him, and ſpeak freely and undauntedly of him. But here thou wilt ſay, Yea, if I do ſo, then I ſhall be ſtruck on the lips. Chriſt anſwereth thereunto, and ſaith, *Call upon me in the time of trouble, ſo will I hear thee, and thou ſhalt praiſe me.* And, *He ſhall call upon me, and I will hear him, yea, I am with him in trouble, I will deliver him, and bring him to honour,* &c.

There is no lighter or more eaſy work on earth than the upright and true ſervice of God, to do what God commandeth in his Word; we ſhould only believe and ſpeak, but then certain it is, that we ſhall ſuffer and be humbled with perſecutions, but Chriſt hath promiſed to be with us, and to help us.

That every Chriſtian is bound to confeſs Chriſt.

EVERY Chriſtian, eſpecially thoſe in offices, ſhould always be ready (when need requireth) boldly to ſtand up and confeſs his Saviour Chriſt, to maintain his faith and always be armed againſt the world, the ſectaries, the devil, and what elſe he were able to produce. But no man will do this, except he be ſo ſure of his doctrine and religion, that, although I myſelf ſhould play the fool, and ſhould recant and deny this my doctrine and religion (which God forbid), he notwithſtanding would not yield, but ſay, If *Luther*, or an angel from heaven, ſhould teach otherwiſe, *Let him be accurſed.*

Of the Conſtancy of Johannes Prince Elector of Saxony, touching the Confeſſion of the Goſpel.

IN the year 1530, the Emperor Charles the Fifth ſummoned a Diet at Auſpurg, intending to bring the differences in religion to an agreement; he at that time tried all crafty means to draw the ſaid Prince Elector from the confeſſion of the goſpel; but the Prince (diſregarding all flattering friendſhips, malice, and threatenings) would not yield, no, not the breadth of an hair, from the true religion and Word of God, though he was compaſſed with many eminent dangers; but on the contrary, he cheered up and comforted his learned divines (which he brought with him to the Diet) as Philip Melanchon, Juſtus Jonas, George Spalatine, and John Agricola; and charged thoſe of his council to tell his divines, That they ſhould deal uprightly to the honour and praiſe of God, and that they ſhould regard neither his perſon, his countries, nor people.

Therefore this Prince Elector held conſtantly over God's Word, with an excelling princely courage; for, if he had wavered, then all his council would have let go hands and feet, and have forſaken the Goſpel: for, at that time, in order to appeaſe the Emperor's wrath, his counſellors were ready to mediate, to temper, and to qualify *Gratiam Dei & hominum.* But the Prince Elector ſent them word, and charged them once again, not to look after his welfare in this world, but to ſpeak and write that which is upright and juſt in the ſight of God. And he ſent for one of his chiefeſt Privy Counſellors, named Lord John von Minkwitz, and ſaid unto him, You have heard my father ſay (running with him at tilt) that to ſit upright on horſe-back maketh a good tilter. If therefore it be good and laudable in temporal tilting to ſit upright, now how much more is it praiſe-worthy in God's cauſe to ſit, to ſtand, and to go uprightly and juſt? But the ſame (ſaid *Luther*) is a work of the Holy Ghoſt.

Of the conſtant Confeſſion of Henry Prince of Saxony of the Goſpel.

WHEN God had laid hold on Prince Henry's elder brother, George, and puniſhed him, inſomuch that all his ſons died before himſelf, then he ſent to his brother Prince Henry (being at Friberg), and ſhewed him, that if he would forſake the Goſpel, he would make him heir of his countries and people; otherwiſe he intended (by his will) to convey them over to the Emperor, and others. Whereupon Prince Henry anſwered, and ſaid, By Mary (which was his uſual word), rather than I will do ſo, and deny my Saviour Chriſt, I and my Kate (each of us with a ſtaff in our hands) will beg our bread out of his countries. In ſuch ſort did he conſtantly remain by God's Word; and not long after, by the ſudden death of his brother, he became a great and powerful Prince. For moſt certain it is (ſaid *Luther*), God honoureth them that love and honour him and his Word.

That God careth for thoſe who confeſs the Goſpel.

IN the year 1539, the Papiſts ſecretly practiſed, by warlike preparations, utterly to deſtroy the Proteſtant ſtate in Germany. For Charles the Emperor (under colour to treat upon articles of peace) ordered an aſſembly to meet at Frankfurt on the Main. To which aſſembly came John Frederick, Prince Elector of Saxony; Frederick, Prince Elector Palatine; Joachim, Prince Elector Brandenburg; Philip, Landgrave of Heſſen, and other Princes. The Emperor ſent thither his counſellors, to lead the Proteſtants

Proteſtants by the noſe; for ſecretly he had fixed twenty-nine thouſand choice ſoldiers about Breme, and Luneburg, which on a ſudden ſhould have fallen upon the Proteſtants. But the Elector of Saxony, and Landgrave Philip (by God's care and providence) drew that army to their ſide, inſomuch that even thoſe which ſhould have been employed for the rooting out of the Goſpel, were ſent by God to fight for maintaining and eſtabliſhing of the ſame.

At that time (ſaid *Luther*) died at Franckfurt that arch-enemy to the Goſpel, George Prince of Saxony, which great link being by God torn from the chain, all preparations of war ceaſed. Thanks be to thee, everlaſting God, in that thou wakeſt, when we ſleep. Let us therefore pray, and ſay, *Domine, diſſipa Gentes, quæ bella volunt.*

CHAP. XVII.

OF BAPTISM.

Of the Holy Sacraments.

GOD hath often altered his ſacraments and ſigns in the world; for, from Adam's time to Abraham's, the church, for ſacraments, had offerings and ſacrifices, inſomuch that fire came down from heaven and conſumed their ſacrifices, which was a far more glorious ſign than thoſe which we have. Afterwards, Noah had for a ſign the rainbow. Abraham thereupon had the circumciſion. The circumciſion ſtood and remained until Chriſt came. From the time of Chriſt, to this preſent day, baptiſm hath continued. *Signa ſunt ſubinde facta minora, Res autem & facta ſubinde creverunt.*

But (ſaid *Luther*) we ſhould bind together the promiſe and the ſign, and not rend them aſunder. It were a great error for a man to leave and forſake the ſign, and to ſay, God is a God of the Gentiles, therefore I will not be baptized. Or, that a Jew ſhould ſay, I am the ſon of Abraham, therefore I will not be circumciſed. For the promiſe always ſtandeth ſo, as letters, or convenants and ſeals ought to ſtand and be joined together; for the ſeal which is ſet unto the letter or covenant, confirmeth, ſtrengtheneth, and ſecureth the covenant. *Neutrum ſine altero valet.* No credit is to be given to a ſeal that is ſet to a blank paper, whereon nothing is written; and again, A bare writing, without a ſeal, is of no force.

Even ſo it is with the ſacraments, therefore we ought to ſeek after baptiſm: for *Verba & Signa ſunt conjuncta:* Haſt thou the covenant? Then look alſo that it be ſealed, *Promiſſio addita Aquæ, facit Baptiſmum.* Abraham had God's Word, and therewith alſo he had the circumciſion: even ſo, baptiſm is fixed in God's Word; baptiſm giveth now ſo much to us, as circumciſion then gave to them. Abraham was circumciſed, and in that circumciſion the promiſe was ſealed unto him; the ſame promiſe we have alſo in the New Teſtament, where God ſaith, I will be your God, therefore be ye baptized.

But when the promiſe, or the Word, is gone, then circumciſion is nothing worth; for it availeth the Turks nothing at all to this day that they are circumciſed, ſeeing the promiſe is gone. And if the ſame were alſo gone from baptiſm, then would I nothing regard the water. From hence the fathers, which received the promiſe, ſaid, That God would be their God. After which, they were circumciſed. It is the promiſe that doth the deed.

Of

Of the Power and Operation of the Promiſe in Baptiſm.

LUTHER, on a time, asked his wife, If ſhe believed that ſhe was ſanctified? She much wondering thereat, ſaid, How can I be ſanctified that am a great ſinner? whereupon *Luther* ſaid, Behold, the popiſh errors, in what ſort they wound the hearts; they have taken poſſeſſion of marrow and bone, inſomuch that they are able to ſee but only the outward ſhew of godlineſs and ſanctity, which an human creature doth of himſelf.

And turning unto her, he ſaid, If thou believeſt that thou art a baptized Chriſtian, ſo thou muſt believe alſo that thou art ſanctified: for the promiſe hath ſuch power, that it altereth and changeth ſins; not that they are no more preſent in us, but that they do not condemn us. The operation and power is ſo great, that it taketh away all troubles and vexations. Whereupon his wife replied, and ſaid, I am ſanctified, in that I do believe; but I am a ſinner, in being an human creature. *Luther* ſaid, No; a Chriſtian is wholly and altogether ſanctified; for, if the devil ſhould fetch away the ſinner, where would then the ſanctified believing Chriſtian be? Therefore this difference and anſwer of thine is nothing worth. We muſt take ſure hold on the promiſe by faith, as then we ſhall be, yea, we are already ſanctified. Thus David calleth himſelf Holy.

Of the End of Circumciſion.

CIRCUMCISION is now no more of value, for it was to continue only until Chriſt. The eighth day was appointed in the Law, on which the children were to be circumciſed; but in baptizing there is no certain day appointed. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) I regard nothing at all the ſign or offering, but I look to the Word. The eighth day doth nothing thereunto, neither is the commandment nor the ſign any way pertinent. For Abraham was juſtified before he was circumciſed; we ought highly to regard the Word and promiſe. True it is, circumciſing was commanded and appointed on the eighth day; but (ſaid *Luther*) day here, day there, command here, command there, it is not the chiefeſt point; but the main buſineſs is this, *I will be thy God, and the God of thy ſeed*, upon this Abraham was to be circumciſed. Neither is it of any conſequence, whether they be old or young which are baptized; but this is to be regarded, which God the heavenly Father ſaith, *I am the God of the Gentiles*, and have given for them my Son, thereupon be ye baptized; otherwiſe, we, that are Gentiles, could not ſay, *God is our God*, except we had before heard the divine Word; for he that hath not the Word, the ſame hath not God.

Of three Sorts of Baptizing.

THE ancient teachers (ſaid *Luther*) ordained three ſorts of baptizing; firſt, of water; ſecond, of the ſpirit; and thirdly, of blood; theſe were obſerved in the church. The *Catechumens* were baptized in water; others, that could not get ſuch water-bathing (and nevertheleſs did believe) were ſaved in and through the holy ſpirit, as Cornelius was ſaved, before he was baptized. The third ſort were baptized in blood, that is, in martyrdom.

That upon Baptiſm the Croſs followeth.

FORASMUCH (ſaid *Luther*) as we are baptized, and do confeſs Chriſt; therefore we muſt ſtand as a mark, to be ſhot at by the world and the devil.

Of Luther's Admonition concerning the Sacraments, well to obſerve the ſame.

HEAVEN (ſaid *Luther*) is given unto me freely, and for nothing; I have aſſurance thereof confirmed unto me by ſealed covenants, that is, I am baptized, and do frequent the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Therefore I keep the bond ſafe and ſure, leſt the devil ſhould tear it in pieces, that is, I live and remain in God's fear, and pray daily unto him. God could not have given me better ſecurity of my ſalvation, and of the Goſpel, then by the death and paſſion of his only Son: when I believe that he hath overcome death, and died for me, and therewith do behold the promiſe of the Father, then I have the bond complete. And when I have the ſeal of Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper prefixed thereto, then am I well provided for.

Of the Uncertainty of being Baptized.

WHEN there is no certainty, whether one be baptized or not, then the ſame perſon may be baptized *ſub conditione*, under a condition; namely, If thou be not baptized, then I baptize thee, &c. Anſwer. We muſt (ſaid *Luther*) utterly exclude ſuch baptizing out of the church, and no way endure it. And though doubt be made of the baptizing of any perſon, yet notwithſtanding the ſame ſhall be baptized without any condition or difference, as if that perſon never had been baptized.

What is to be conſidered in Baptiſm.

FIRST, we muſt hold for certain that Baptiſm is God's ordinance, which he hath inſtituted; therefore when thy conſcience troubleth thee, and will make thee to deſpair, then thou haſt the promiſe, thou haſt Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper; hold thee faſt thereunto, and ſeek comfort. But take heed thou runneſt not to St. James, at Compoſtell in Spain, or to other ſaints, nor into a monaſtery to ſeek him; for after that manner God will not be found nor known.

CHAP. XVIII.

OF AURICULAR CONFESSION.

Of Auricular Confeſſion.

THE Papiſts (ſaid *Luther*), in private confeſſion, do only regard the work. There was ſuch a running to confeſſion, that they never could be ſatisfied with confeſſing: for in caſe one had forgotten to confeſs any thing (were it never ſo little) which haply afterwards came to his remembrance, then preſently he muſt return to his confeſſor, and muſt begin to confeſs again. For they muſt make confeſſion of every particular ſin, inſomuch that a Prieſt ſaid once to me (being tired with his clients innumerable confeſſions), God hath charged and commanded that we ſhould hope in his mercy. I knew a Doctor in Law (ſaid *Luther*) who was tormented with confeſſing in ſuch a manner, that before he could receive the Sacrament, he was conſtrained to go three times to his confeſſor to confeſs.

In my time (while in Popedom) we made our confeſſors weary, and they again much perplexed us with their conditional abſolutions: for they abſolved in this manner,

manner, *I abſolve, and ſpeak thee looſe, by reaſon of the merits of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, of the ſorrow of thy heart, by reaſon of thy mouth's confeſſion, and of the ſatisfaction of thy works*, &c. Theſe conditions, and what pertained thereunto, were the cauſe of all miſchief.

All this we did out of fear, that thereby we might be juſtified and ſaved before God, we were troubled and in ſuch ſort over-burthened with traditions of men, as that Gerſon was conſtrained through the ſame to ſlack the bridle of the conſcience, and to give eaſe thereunto; he was the firſt that began to break out of this priſon, for he wrote, that it was no mortal ſin to neglect the ordinances and commandments of the church, or to do contrary to the ſame, unleſs it be done out of contempt, wilfully, or out of a ſtubborn mind. Theſe words, although they were but weak and few, yet they raiſed up and comforted many conſciences. The Pope (ſaid *Luther*) laughed in his fiſt at theſe dark errors; he took pleaſure and delight in domineering, in vexing and tormenting of the poor conſciences.

Againſt ſuch bondage and ſlavery (ſaid *Luther*) I did write a book concerning Chriſtian freedom, ſhewing that ſuch ſtrict laws and ordinances of human inventions ought not to be obſerved. But there are now certain groſs ignorant and unexperienced fellows (who never felt ſuch captivity) that preſumptuouſly undertake utterly to contemn and reject all laws and ordinances.

To conclude: the conſciences in Popedom were in ſuch ſort plagued and tormented, that a man would ſcarce believe it, if we had not their books, and our own experience to witneſs the ſame, none would imagine that their blindneſs were ſo great.

Our people in theſe days (ſaid *Luther*) know nothing of that tormenting captivity of the conſciences, but they live in great freedom; they are now ſecure, being ſenſible neither of the Law nor of Chriſt.

Whether a Miniſter of the Word may give witneſs of that which in the Confeſſion he heareth.

IF in caſe a woman by me were abſolved (ſaid *Luther*) that had murdered her child, and that the ſame afterwards were publiſhed among the people, and that I were examined concerning the ſame before the Judge, yet I may not give witneſs thereof; for we muſt make a difference between the church and temporal government, conſidering ſhe confeſſed nothing to me as the Miniſter, but to Chriſt, and foraſmuch as Chriſt keepeth it ſecret, therefore it is my duty, as Chriſt's miniſter, to keep it ſecret alſo, and roundly to ſay, I will know nothing thereof; if Chriſt heard it, then may he ſpeak of it; yet, nevertheleſs, in the mean time, I would in ſecret ſay unto the woman, Thou wretch, do ſo no more: for (ſaid *Luther*) I am not the man to ſpeak or meddle before the ſeat of juſtice, and in temporal cauſes, but only in matters touching the conſciences, the ſame I ought to affright with God's wrath againſt ſin through the Law. But ſuch as acknowledge and confeſs their ſins, thoſe I muſt lift up and comfort again by the preaching of the Goſpel, &c. We will not be drawn to their ſeats of juſtice and markets of hatred and diſſention. We have hitherto protected and maintained the juriſdiction and rights of the church, and ſtill do: we will yield no more to the temporal juriſdiction in cauſes belonging to doctrine and conſciences, no (ſaid *Luther*), not in the leaſt kind. Let them attend their charge, wherewith they will find enough to do, and leave our affairs to us as Chriſt hath commanded, and not otherwiſe. But if in caſe I ſhould give a bill of confeſſion as a Friar did in Venice, who abſolved a woman that had murdered a young man, after he had lain with her, and threw him into the water; but the Friar, being corrupted

corrupted with money, betrayed her; the woman pleaded before the judge, that ſhe was abſolved, and thereupon ſhe produced the Friars bill of confeſſion under his own hand-writing; whereupon the Venetian Senate cenſured the Friar to be burned, and the woman was baniſhed out of the city, which was a good, laudable, and a juſt cenſure, the Friar as a traitor being rightly ſerved.

Of the Cauſe why Auricular Confeſſion was inſtituted.

AURICULAR confeſſion (ſaid *Luther*) was inſtituted only that people thereby were to give an account of their faith, and that from their hearts they confeſſed an earneſt deſire to receive the Holy Sacrament. We force no man thereunto.

Of the Abſolution.

THE power of God's Word is great, that one brother and Chriſtian cheereth up and comforteth another with God's Word. In Popedom (ſaid *Luther*) I was a poor perplexed Friar, I was continually in the greateſt labour and vexation. At laſt, I received comfort through a few words of a brother, who ſaid unto me, Brother Martin, you muſt cheer up yourſelf, and hope, our ſatisfaction and ſalvation is faith in God through Chriſt, why then ſhould we not put our truſt in God, who commandeth, and will have us to hope? with theſe words was I refreſhed in ſuch ſort, that I remained ſatisfied.

The Uſe of the Keys of the Church.

CHRIST gave the keys to the church for her comfort, and commanded the ſervants to deal therewith according to his direction, to bind the impenitent, and to abſolve them that did repent, that acknowledged and confeſſed their ſins, were heartily ſorry for them, and believed that God forgiveth their ſins for Chriſt's ſake.

CHAP. XIX.

OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD's SUPPER.

Concerning the Sacrament

THE blindneſs of the Papiſts (ſaid *Luther*) is great and miſchievous; for they will neither believe the Goſpel nor yield thereunto, but they boaſt of the church, and ſay, She hath power to alter and do what ſhe pleaſeth; for (ſay they) Chriſt gave his body to his diſciples in the evening after ſupper; but we receive it faſting, therefore, we may, according to the churches ordinance, detain the cup from the laity. The ignorant wretches (ſaid *Luther*) are not able to diſtinguiſh between the cup (which pertaineth to the ſubſtance of the ſacrament) and concerning faſting, which is an accidental thing held by chance, and of no weight at all. The one hath God's expreſs Word and Command, but the other conſiſteth in our will and choice. We preſs upon the one, becauſe God hath commanded it, the other we leave to the election of the will; howſoever we like it better to be received faſting, out of honour and reverence; and that we Germans may not receive it when we are glutted and drunken, as St. Paul ſaith they of Corinth did.

Touching

Touching one Kind in the Sacrament.

IT is a wonder how Satan brought into the church, and ordained but one kind of the Sacrament to be received. I cannot call to mind (ſaid *Luther*) that ever I read how, from whence, or for what cauſe and reaſon it was ſo altered; it was firſt ſo ordained in the council of *Coſtnitz*, nothing therein is pleaded by them, but only the laudable cuſtom.

Of the Altering of the Sacraments.

THE Papiſts do highly boaſt of their power and authority, which they willingly would confirm with this argument: The Apoſtles altered baptiſm; therefore (ſay they) the Biſhops have power to alter the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper. I (ſaid *Luther*) anſwer them thus, Be it ſo, that the Apoſtles altered ſomething; yet there is a great difference between an Apoſtle and a Biſhop; for an Apoſtle was called immediately by God with gifts of the Holy Ghoſt. But a Biſhop is a perſon ſelected by man to preach God's Word, and to ordain ſervants of the church in certain places.

Now although it were ſo, that the Apoſtles had that power and authority, yet the ſame power the Biſhops have not. Although Elijah ſlew Baal's prieſts, and the falſe prophets, yet it is not therefore permitted that every prieſt ſhall do the like. From hence St. Paul maketh this difference, and ſaith, *Some hath he given to be Apoſtles, ſome Teachers, ſome to be Paſtors and Miniſters*, &c. Among the Apoſtles was no ſupremacy nor ruling, but equality; none was greater or higher in office than another, they were all equal, the one as the other. To be an Apoſtle, is as much as a publick perſon above a Biſhop. But the definition concerning the majority and ruling of St. Peter above other Biſhops is falſe; for it reacheth further than they define it, becauſe they conclude thus: The Pope's power and authority is the higheſt, to ordain ſervants, to call others, to alter kingdoms and governments, to depoſe Emperors and Kings, and to enthrone others. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) we are in no wiſe to allow of theſe, and the like their definitions; for every definition muſt be direct and proper, ſet down plainly and clear; ſo that neither more nor leſs ought in the definition to be contained than that which is deſcribed and defined.

It was demanded, if ſuch were not excuſed that received the Sacrament in one Kind under a Tyrant, and when they could not have it under both Kinds?

THEY (ſaid *Luther*) that as yet are not well informed, but ſtand in doubt touching the inſtitution of the ſacrament, the ſame may receive it under one kind. But thoſe that are certain thereof, and yet do receive it under one kind, the ſame do unjuſtly, and ſin againſt their conſciences; for many under Prince George are ſcourged and plagued in that ſort, which tyrant will die alſo in his impenitency; for he lamentably hath troubled and tormented many conſciences; he would willingly recal himſelf, but he cannot.

Of Elevating and Lifting up of the Sacrament.

WHAT doth it ſignify to diſpute and wrangle about the abominable idolatry in elevating and lifting up of the ſacrament on high to ſhew it the people? whereas it hath no approbation of the fathers, introduced only to confirm the errors

touching the worſhiping thereof, as though bread and wine did loſe their ſubſtance, and remained but only the form, the ſmell, and taſte. This the Papiſts call Tranſubſtantiation, and darken the right uſe of the ſacrament; whereas, even in Popedom, at Milan, ſince St. Ambroſe time, to this preſent day, they never held nor obſerved in the maſs, neither canon nor elevating, nor the *Dominus vobiſcum.*

When I (ſaid *Luther*) with my brother went into the Palatinate on the Rhine, to celebrate maſs, my Prieſt forbade me, and ſaid, What do ye intend to do? ye cannot celebrate maſs here, for we are Ambroſians.

From whence the Elevating of the Sacrament came, and why it is not to be endured.

THE elevation of the ſacrament (ſaid *Luther*) was taken out of the Old Teſtament; for the Jews obſerved two vowels, the one called *Thruma*, the other *Trumpha*; *Thruma* was this, When they took an offering out of a baſket, and lifted it up above them (like as they now lift up the oblate), and ſhewed the ſame to our Lord God, after which they either burned, or ate it: *Trumpha* was an offering which they lifted not up above them, but ſhewed it towards the four corners of the world, like as the Papiſts in the maſs do make croſſes, and other apiſh toys, towards the four corners of the world.

When *Luther* firſt began to celebrate maſs in Popedom, and to make ſuch croſſings. *Mira Geſticulatione digitorum*, and could not rightly hit the old cuſtoms; he ſaid, Mary, God's mother, how am I plagued with the maſs, and eſpecially with the croſſings, which he never could hit right. Ah, Lord God! we were in thoſe times poor plagued people, and yet it was nothing but mere idolatry. They terrified ſome in ſuch ſort with the words of conſecration (eſpecially thoſe that were good and godly, and meant ſeriouſly), that they trembled and quaked at the pronouncing of theſe words, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, for they were to pronounce them, *ſine ulla hæſitatione:* he that ſtammered, or left out but one word, committed a great ſin. Moreover, the words were to be ſpoken without any ſtrange cogitations, in ſuch ſort, that only he muſt hear them that ſpake them, and none of the people ſtanding by. Such an honeſt Friar (ſaid *Luther*) was I fifteen years together; the Lord of his mercy forgive me. The elevation is utterly to be rejected, by reaſon of the adoring thereof. Some churches have ſeen that we have put down the elevation, and have followed us therein, which giveth us great ſatisfaction.

Of the Cauſe of the Sacrament.

THE operative cauſe (ſaid *Luther*) of this ſacrament, is the Word and inſtitution of Chriſt, who ordained it. The ſubſtance is bread and wine; they prefigure the true body and blood of Chriſt, which is ſpiritually received by faith; the final cauſe of inſtituting the ſame, is the benefit and the fruit, the ſtrengthening of our faith, not doubting that Chriſt's body and blood was given and ſhed for us, and that our ſins by Chriſt's death certainly are forgiven. Now theſe graces and benefits we have obtained, in that he is our Saviour, not a ſtern and angry Judge, our Redeemer and Deliverer; not an accuſer nor a bailiff that hath taken us priſoners. For though in Adam we are altogether ſinners and guilty of everlaſting death, and condemned; but now, by the blood of Chriſt, we are juſtified, redeemed, and ſanctified; therefore let us take hold of this by faith.

Of the Words (Given for you, &c.) in the Lord's Supper.

QUESTION was made touching the words (Given for you, &c.), whether they were to be underſtood of the preſent adminiſtering (when the ſacrament was held and diſtributed), or, when it was offered and accompliſhed on the croſs? *Luther* anſwered and ſaid, I like it beſt when they are underſtood of the preſent adminiſtering, although they may alſo be underſtood, as fulfilled on the croſs; it hindereth not, that Chriſt ſaith, *Which is given for you*; whereas he ſhould have ſaid, *Which ſhall be given for you:* for Chriſt is *Hodie & Heri*, to day and yeſterday. I am (ſaith Chriſt) he that doth it. Therefore I like it well that *(Datur)* be underſtood in ſuch manner, that it ſheweth the uſe of the work. It was likewiſe demanded, whether honour and reverence were to be ſhewn to the ſacrament? *Luther* anſwered and ſaid, When I am at the altar, and do receive the ſacrament, then I bow my knees in honour thereof; but in bed, I receive it lying.

Of the Pope's Proceeding touching the Sacrament.

THE Pope (ſaid *Luther*) denieth not the ſacrament, but he hath ſtolen from the laity the one part or kind thereof; neither doth he teach the true uſe of the ſacrament. The Pope rejecteth not the Bible, but he perſecuteth and killeth upright, good, and godly teachers. Like as the Jews perſecuted and ſlew the Prophets that truly expounded and taught the Scriptures. The Pope well permitteth the ſubſtance and eſſence of the ſacrament and Bible to remain; but yet he will compel and force us to uſe the ſame according as his will and pleaſure, and will conſtrain us to believe the falſely feigned and invented Tranſubſtantiation and the real preſence *corporaliter*. The Pope doth nothing elſe, but perverteth and abuſeth all that God hath ordained and commanded.

Of the Words, Drink ye all of it.

THESE words *(Drink ye all of it)* do concern (ſay the Papiſts) only the Prieſts. Then (ſaid *Luther*) theſe words muſt alſo concern only the Prieſts, where Chriſt ſaith, *Ye are clean, but not all*, that is, all the Prieſts.

Of Luther's Argument againſt the Papiſts

ALL thoſe (ſaid *Luther*) that do not hold the ſacrament as Chriſt did inſtitute it, have no ſacrament. Now all Papiſts do it not, therefore they have no ſacrament; for they receive not their ſacrament, but do offer it. Moreover, they adminiſter but only one kind contrary to Chriſt's inſtitution and command. The *major*, or firſt ſentence is true, for the ſacrament is God's work and ordinance, and not man's. The Papiſts do fall and err too much upon the left ſide, in attributing too much to the ſacrament, namely, that it juſtifieth, *ex opere operato*, when the work is fulfilled.

Of the Papiſts Clamouring againſt the Proteſtants, in forgetting all Love and Charity.

THE Papiſts (ſaid *Luther* to Melanchthon), in their books and writings, do overmuch charge us concerning charity, and ſay, The Proteſtants have neither

neither love nor charity. But when we aſk them, what charity is, then they ſay, *Ut conſentiamus in Doctrina, & omittamus rixas illas de Religione.* Whereupon Melanchon ſaid to *Luther*, Sir, under your correction, we ſhould anſwer them thus, and ſay, In the Ten Commandments are two tables, *Prima & Secunda.* Now *Charitas* is contained in the ſecond table; there, indeed, ſhe hath the pre-eminency over and above all works. But, *in prima tabula*, it is ſaid, *Time Deum, audi verbum ejus*; this (ſaid *Melanchon*) they regard not. But Chriſt ſaith, *Qui matrem & patrem plus diligit quàm me, non eſt me dignus*; indeed we muſt have love and charity, *erga parentes, erga liberos, conjugem & vicinum*; for in the ſecond table it is ſaid, *Ama, ama, ſis pius in patrem, matrem, & proximum.* But, in the firſt table, it is ſaid, *Si quis diligit plus patrem & matrem quam me.* Inſo-much that when *me* cometh, then *charitas* hath an end, and as then (ſaid *Melanchon*) will I for my part willingly be named *Pertinax, Superbus, capitoſus, & ſine charitate*, or what elſe they pleaſe to call me; only that I may be free from being partaker of and in their falſe doctrine. Then *Luther* ſaid, Let us inſtantly pray to God, to preſerve us from their wicked and idolatrous Religion. Chriſt ſaith, *And teach them to keep and obſerve all that I have commanded you.* Now he commanded and ſaid, *Take and eat*, &c. St. Paul likewiſe to the Corinthians giveth it alſo in that manner, and in another place he chargeth, that fit and expert men ſhould teach and adminiſter the ſacraments. And it is well to be noted, that where a true church is, and the Word purely taught and preached, there is not only a part of Chriſt, but the whole Chriſt fully and complete.

CHAP. XX.

OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Of the firſt Cauſe why Popedom was by the Goſpel aſſaulted.

THAT I fell out with the Pope the chief cauſe (ſaid *Luther*) was this: The Pope boaſted of himſelf that he was the head of the church, and condemned all that would not be under his power and authority; for he ſaid, Although Chriſt be the head of the church, yet, notwithſtanding, there muſt be a corporal head of the church upon earth. With this (ſaid *Luther*) I could have been contented, if in caſe he had but taught the Goſpel pure and clear, and had not introduced human inventions and lies in the ſtead thereof; nay, he took upon him power, rule, and authority over the Chriſtian church, and over the Holy Scriptures, which is the Word of God. No man muſt preſume to expound the Scriptures, but only he, and the ſame alſo according to his ridiculous conceits; inſomuch as therewith he made himſelf a lord over the church, and proclaimed the ſame to be a powerful mother, and an Empreſs over the Scriptures, to which we muſt yield and be obedient; the ſame was not to be endured.

Thoſe that againſt God's Word boaſt themſelves of the church's authority, are mere idiots and fools. The Pope attributeth more power to the church, which is begotten and born, than to the Word, which hath begotten, conceived, and born the church.

But we (through God's grace) have this teſtimony, that we are no heretics, but

but ſchiſmatics, which cauſe ſeparation and diviſion, wherein we are not faulty, but they our adverſaries, which give occaſion thereunto, by reaſon they remain not alone by God's Word, which we have, hear, and follow.

What the true Church is.

THE true church (ſaid *Luther*) is an aſſembly or congregation as depend on things which do not appear, neither may be comprehended in the mind; namely, on God's Word, what the ſame faith, they believe without addition; they give God the honour, and take that to be true which in the Word is delivered unto them.

That God himſelf muſt maintain his Church.

WE tell our Lord God plainly (ſaid *Luther*) if he will have his church, then he muſt look to maintain and defend it, for we can neither uphold nor protect it; and if in caſe we could, or were able to defend it, then we ſhould become the proudeſt aſſes under heaven. But God ſaith, I ſay it, I do it: it is God only that ſpeaketh, and doth what he pleaſeth; he doth nothing according to the fancies of the ungodly, nor which they hold for upright and good.

That the poor and ſimple Faſhion of the Church, offendeth the Wiſe of the World.

THE great and worldly-wiſe people (ſaid *Luther*) take offence at the poor and mean form of the church, which is ſubject to many infirmities, tranſgreſſions, and ſects, wherewith ſhe is plagued; for they dream and think that the church is altogether pure, holy, blameleſs, that ſhe is God's dove, &c. True it is, the church, in the eyes and ſight of God, hath ſuch an eſteem; but in the eyes and ſight of the world, ſhe is like unto her Bridegroom, Chriſt Jeſus; ſhe is hewn, torn, ſpit on, derided, and crucified.

The ſimilitude of the upright and true church, and of Chriſt, is a poor ſilly ſheep; but the ſimilitude of the falſe and hypocritical church, is a ſerpent, an adder, which now we find by experience; for how bitter is the hatred which the Popiſh adverſaries bear towards the upright, true, and pure religion? Cocleus wrote at the firſt unto me (ſaid *Luther*), and admoniſhed me to the Goſpel, but afterwards he became an adder.

Of the Difference between the true and falſe Church.

THE upright and true church is diſtinguiſhed from the falſe in this particular, The true church teacheth that ſins are forgiven merely out of God's grace and mercy, only for Chriſt's ſake, without our works or merits, to thoſe that from their hearts do confeſs and acknowledge their ſins, and with their hearts do ſtedfaſtly believe in Chriſt.

But the falſe church aſcribeeh all to the works and merits of people, and teacheth that they muſt always ſtand in doubt of the remiſſion of their ſins, and of their ſalvation. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) let us pray in the church, with the church, and for the church; for there are three things which do ſupport the church, and which properly do pertain to the church; firſt, to teach truly; ſecondly, to pray diligently; and thirdly, to ſuffer patiently.

Of Reformations in the Romiſh Church, and how it ought to be reformed.

ANNO 1538, the fourth of December, a written reformation of the Popiſh church, under Prince George of Saxony, was delivered to *Luther*, after the reading of which, he ſaid, Theſe people intend to reform the church according to their human wiſdom, whereas the ſame is too high a buſineſs for the enterpriſes and counſels of men. If our Lord God intended to have his church reformed, it muſt be undertaken by divine, and not by human authority, wiſdom, or counſel, as it was in the time of Joſhua, the Judges, Samuel, the Apoſtles, and in our time. I mark well (ſaid *Luther*) that the Papiſts are more afraid of Prince George, than of me; for if his reformation takes place, then the Pope muſt lay down his ſtate, and the Biſhop of Mentz muſt ride in his coach but with four horſes, and ſo on with the reſt. I long to ſee what a reformation the Papiſts with Prince George will prepare, whether according to the example of the firſt church in the Apoſtles time, or of the martyrs, or after the manner of the heretics church; for then they muſt read all the fathers, and imitate them. Our Proteſtant church, by God's grace, is neareſt and moſt like the Apoſtles church; for we have the doctrine pure, we have the catechiſm, the ſacraments uprightly according as Chriſt inſtituted them; alſo, how we ought to make uſe of temporal and houſe government; God's Word proceedeth and remainth pure among us, which only maketh a true church.

Where and which is the upright and true Chriſtian Church.

WHERE God's Word is purely taught, there is alſo the upright and true church; for (ſaid *Luther*) the true church is ſupported by the Holy Ghoſt, not by orderly ſucceſſion of inheritance. It neither followeth nor concludeth, though St. Peter had been Biſhop at Rome, and at the ſame time a Chriſtian communion was at Rome, that therefore the Pope and the Romiſh church is true; for if that ſhould be of value or concluſive, then they muſt needs confeſs that Caiaphas, Annas, and the Sadduces were alſo the true church; for they boaſted that they were deſcended from Aaron.

Prince George lived in hope that our church would vaniſh; but foraſmuch as he now ſeeth that ſhe groweth and encreaſeth, and that his pariſhes are confuſed and empty, therefore it is like he will turn over the leaf. But, alas! the Popiſh Biſhops are blind, they are careleſs of the church; they would rather ſee all pariſhes devaſted, than that the Goſpel ſhould be taught pure and uprightly. As for the Princes of the Empire, they have weighty affairs in hand, they contemn not God ſo vehemently as the Popiſh Biſhops do. Therefore St. Paul, merely out of pity and compaſſion to the Corinthians, ſaith, *Would to God that ye did reign.* Truly the ſame is a bitter irony, and a fierce ſtab againſt ſuch contemners, ſuch preſumptuous ſpirits.

That the Church ſheddeth her Blood.

IT is impoſſible that the Chriſtian and true church ſhould ſubſiſt and be ſupported without the ſhedding of blood; for her adverſary, the devil, is a liar and a murderer; but the church groweth and encreaſeth through blood, ſhe is ſprinkled with blood, ſhe is ſpoiled and bereaved of her blood; that is, when human creatures will reform the church, then it coſteth blood. Tertullian, the ancient

ancient teacher, ſaith exceeding well, *Cruore Sanctorum rigatur Eccleſia.* Therefore ſaith alſo the Pſalm, *We are as ſheep appointed to be ſlain*; that is, which daily are ſlaughtered for Chriſt's ſake. And truly (ſaid *Luther*) it would grieve me ſorely if I ſhould carry my blood into the grave.

How it ſtandeth with the Chriſtian Church.

IT ſtandeth with the Chriſtian church (ſaid *Luther*) no otherwiſe than with a ſilly ſheep, which the wolf already hath catched by the wool to devour it. Our nobility, our gentry, citizens, &c. will not hear aright, they think (when we preach the Goſpel, and reprove the Papiſts concerning their confidence in works) that as then we preach of good and eaſy days, and that they have leave now to live, and to do what and how they pleaſe. O, they ſin too highly, inſomuch that if we drive out one devil, then there come ſeven others in his ſtead. If we ſhould drive away all theſe Friars, then other, ſeven times worſe than theſe, would come.

Of the Form of the Church.

THE worldly-wiſe people do only look upon the deformity and contempt of the true Chriſtian church, and take offence that other ungodly and falſe churches are preferred and highly eſteemed of; they cenſure according to human reaſon, and altogether without God's Word, and they go on in ſuch a manner that the whole of religion is ſlighted and deſpiſed. Nay, they ſtick not to ſay, The article of the reſurrection of the dead is feigned, therewith to fright the common thinking people, and to keep them in awe. Inſomuch that Eraſmus Rotterdam, and other deep-learned and worldly-wiſe men, have already the epicure even in their boſoms.

But we, by God's grace, do know that the Divine word is confirmed and ſtrengthened by miracles, which no other doctrine is able to accompliſh or to work, as by raiſing the dead, by driving out devils, &c. From whence God earneſtly admoniſheth us to remain by the holy Scripture, and by his Word. I (ſaid *Luther*) have not learned my divinity at once, but was fain to ſearch deeper and deeper, whereunto my temptations, trials and vexations help me; for without uſe and practice, learning will not be obtained.

Of what value is a phyſician that always readeth in the ſchools? But the more he practiſeth and dealeth with nature, the more he ſeeth and knoweth that he hath not wholly devoured the heart: what ſhall be done then in and about the holy Scriptures, where God hath given other manner of adverſaries, namely, the devil and the Pope? The cruſhing of the church, and her lying in travail, endureth a long time. But (ſaid *Luther*) her year and time will come that ſhe ſhall be delivered and have a joyful ſight. The form and aſpect of the church is ill-favoured, ugly, full fraught with mourning and calamity in the ſight of the world; but in Chriſt ſhe is victorious, and triumpheth. St. Paul ſaith, *He hath ſet us with Chriſt in the heavenly being*. Like as a bride is *Domina*, and miſtreſs of her huſband's treaſure; even ſo a faithful Chriſtian is Lord of the wealth and treaſure of Chriſt his bridegroom; for he is raiſed with Chriſt, and is ſet in the celeſtial ſubſtance. Therefore pride is not to be imputed unto us in that we upbraid the devil, and boaſt of God's gifts, benefits, and preſents which Chriſt hath purchaſed for us, and which the devil hath loſt.

God beholdeth nothing in his church that is evil, or that hath a deformed aſpect, for he ſeeth therein only his dearly beloved Son, Chriſt, whom he loveth intirely; and by reaſon of ſuch love, he beholdeth in his bride that which is altogether amiable

and

and full of beauty; for he hath cleanſed her with the waſhing of water by the Word, Eph. v.

Nothing leſs is beheld or ſeen in the church than that which is written of her, namely, that ſhe is the ſpouſe of Chriſt. Therefore we muſt open the eyes of the heart, and muſt lift them up on high, and look not according to the outward view, or according to our natural ſight (for we are ſenſible of our ſins and of the devils affrightings); but touching theſe celeſtial bleſſings, we muſt judge and decide according to God's Word and promiſe.

Of the Aſpect of the World, and of the true Chriſtian Church.

THE form and aſpect of the world is like a Paradiſe; but the true Chriſtian church, in the eye of the world, is foul, deformed, and offenſive; yet, nevertheleſs, in the ſight of God, ſhe is precious, ſhe is beloved and highly eſteemed. Aaron, the high Prieſt, appeared gloriouſly in the Temple with his ornaments and rich attire, with odoriferous and ſweet ſmelling perfumes; but, on the contrary, Chriſt appeared moſt mean and contemptible.

Wherefore (ſaid *Luther*) I nothing at all regard, neither am I troubled that the world eſteemeth of the church ſo baſely; what care I, that the uſurers, the nobility, gentry, citizens, country-people, covetous, and drunkards, do contemn and eſteem me as dirt? in due time I will eſteem them as little. We muſt not ſuffer ourſelves to be deceived nor troubled at what the world holdeth of us. *Virtus eſt placuiſſe bonis.*

Why the Church is in Miſery on Earth.

FIRST (ſaid *Luther*), that thereby we may keep in mind that we are baniſhed ſervants and exiled out of Paradiſe for Adam's ſake. Secondly, that we may always bear in mind the miſery of the Son of God, who for our ſake was made man, walked in this vale of miſery, ſuffered for us, died, and roſe again from the dead, and ſo brought us again to our paternal home, from whence we were driven. Thirdly, that we may remember that our habitation is not in this world, but we are here only as ſtrangers and pilgrims; and that there is another life, which is everlaſting, prepared alſo for us.

Of the Churches Witneſs touching Faith.

THAT there is a holy Chriſtian church, the ſame is an article of our belief, which muſt be taken hold on, not with carnal reaſoning, but by faith. For God often hideth himſelf in a wonderful way; now with ſinning, then with debatings, ſometimes with errors, then again with weakneſs and frailty, with offences, as thieves, murderers, adulterers, &c. for which they, as well as the ungodly, ought to be puniſhed. In all theſe and the like offences committed among Chriſtians, God in a miraculous manner concealeth himſelf; yea, he hid himſelf in ſuch ſort, that even the Apoſtles of Chriſt went not free, who ſome times were at diſcord and debate one with another; as we ſee when St. Paul reſiſted St. Peter, and openly reproved him before the whole aſſembly. Likewiſe, when Paul and Barnabus encountered each other ſo ſharply for the ſake of Mark (who departed from them from the work) that they forſook and left one another. And (ſaid *Luther*) I am verily perſuaded Aſia (that fair and glorious country) fell from St. Paul's doctrine for no other cauſe than that God in the church hid himſelf, inſomuch as they were full of debate, of diſcord, and offences; nevertheleſs the Chriſtian church moſt certainly was in Aſia, although but in few.

Touching

Touching all Hypocrites boaſting of the Church.

THE very name of the church is the higheſt argument and proof of all Hypocrites. The Phariſees, the Scribes, yea, the whole ſenate of Jeruſalem cried out againſt Stephen, and ſaid, *This man ceaſeth not to ſpeak blaſphemous words againſt this holy place and the law.* Cain, Iſhmael, Saul, the Turks and Jews, carried and do carry the name and title of the church. But Moſes finely ſolveth this their argument, where it is ſaid, *They have moved me to jealouſy with that which is not God, they have provoked me to anger with their vanities: and I will move them to jealouſy with thoſe which are not a people: I will provoke them to anger with a fooliſh nation.* Here (ſaid *Luther*) was *Quid pro quo*; as if God ſhould ſay, could ye find in your hearts to forſake me? ſo can I again forſake you; for God and nation, the Word and the church, are *correlativa*; the one cannot be without the other.

In ſuch a manner the Papiſts are biſhops, and yet are not; we are not biſhops, and yet are, according to St. Paul's definition, as he deſcribeth a biſhop. The gaudy pomp of the Papiſts might in ſome meaſure be tolerated, but their idolatry is inſufferable.

That the Fruit in a Mother's Womb is a Picture and Similitude of the Church.

LIKE as a child in the mother's womb is compaſſed about with a little thin and tender caul, which the Greeks name *Chorion* (otherwiſe called the after-birth), and deſireth no more ſuſtenance than ſo much as the *Cotylidones* (from which the fruit receiveth nouriſhment) do bring with them; neither doth the after-birth break, except the fruit be ripe, and to be timely brought to the light of this world. Even ſo (ſaid *Luther*) the church alſo is incloſed in the Word and bound thereon, and ſhe ſeeketh none other doctrine concerning God's Will than that which is revealed in the ſame; therewith ſhe is content, and thereupon ſhe remaineth and dependeth by faith, until ſhe ſhall behold God's preſence, and ſhall hear God himſelf preach of the myſteries and hidden things which on earth we ſee by faith.

But if in caſe ſome vain-glorious profeſſors, by untimely motion do force and break the after-birth (as the Papiſts, and other ſeducers do, in contemning the office of preaching, and expect viſions and revelations from heaven), the ſame muſt be compared unto untimely births, and ſtill-born children, as *abortus et immaturæ maſſæ.*

Therefore when the church beholdeth this ſimilitude and likeneſs, then ſhe muſt know, that ſhe is bound to the Word which of God is given unto her, and from which ſhe muſt not ſhrink nor depart, no not a hair's breadth.

Of another Similitude and Picture of the Church.

AMARANTHUS is a flower that groweth in Auguſt; it is more a ſtalk than a flower, it is eaſily broken off, and groweth in joyful and pleaſant ſort; when all other flowers are gone and decayed, then this (being ſprinkled with water) becometh fair and green again; inſomuch that in winter they uſe to make garlands thereof. It is called Amaranthus from hence, that it neither withereth nor decayeth.

I know nothing (ſaid *Luther*), more like unto the church than this flower Amaranthus (called with us in Germany, Thouſand fair). For although the

church doth bathe her garment in the blood of the Lamb, and is coloured over with red; yet nevertheleſs ſhe is more fair, comely, and beautiful than any ſtate and aſſembly upon the face of the earth. She only is embraced and beloved of the Son of God, as his ſweet and amiable ſpouſe, in whom he only taketh joy and delight, and whereon his heart only dependeth; he doth utterly reject and loath all other that contemn or falſify his Goſpel, &c.

Moreover, the church ſuffereth herſelf willingly to be plucked and broken off, that is, ſhe is loving, patient, and obedient to Chriſt her bridegroom in the croſs; ſhe groweth and encreaſeth again fair, joyfully, and pleaſant, that is, ſhe gaineth the greateſt fruit and profit thereby; ſhe learneth to know God aright, to call upon him, freely and undauntedly, to confeſs his word and doctrine, and produceth many fair and glorious virtues.

At laſt, the body and ſtalk remaineth whole and ſound, and cannot be rooted out, although raging and ſwelling be made againſt ſome of her members, and the ſame torn away. For like as Amaranthus never withereth nor decayeth: even ſo, the church can never be deſtroyed nor rooted out. But what is moſt wonderful, Amaranthus hath this quality when it is ſprinkled with water, and dipped therein, then it becometh freſh and green again, as if it was raiſed and wakened from the dead. Even ſo likewiſe the church by God will be raiſed and wakened out of the grave, and will become living again, will everlaſtingly praiſe, extol, and laud the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, his Son and our Redeemer, together with the Holy Ghoſt. For howſoever temporal empires, kingdoms, and principalities have their changings, and like flowers do ſoon fall and fade away; yet, notwithſtanding, this kingdom (which is ſo deeply rooted) by no power can be deſtroyed nor devaſted, but remaineth eternally.

Of the Olive Tree.

AN olive tree (ſaid *Luther*) will ſtand, endure, and bear fruit the ſpace of two hundred years. It is a fair ſimilitude of the church; for oil ſignifieth the amity and love of the Goſpel, but wine ſignifieth the doctrine of the Law. There is ſuch a natural unity and affinity between the vine and the olive tree, that when the branch of the vine is grafted upon an olive tree, then it beareth both grapes and olives. In like manner, when the church (which is God's Word) is planted in people's hearts, then it ringeth, ſoundeth out, and teacheth both the Law and the Goſpel; it uſeth both doctrines, and from both bringeth fruit.

Of the vain boaſting of the Pope, concerning his Church at Rome.

I MUCH marvel (ſaid *Luther*) that the Pope boaſteth, and extolleth his church at Rome to be the chiefeſt, whereas the church at Jeruſalem is the mother; for there the doctrine was firſt revealed, and ſet forth by Chriſt the Son of God himſelf, and by his Apoſtles. After the ſame was the church at Antioch, from whence the Chriſtians have their name. Thirdly was the church at Alexandria; the Romiſh was the fourth; and the churches of the Galatians, of the Corinthians, Epheſians, of the Philippians, &c. were alſo before the Romiſh. Is it ſo great a matter that St. Peter was at Rome? (which hitherto never hath been, nor ever will, nor can be proved) whereas our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt himſelf was at Jeruſalem, where all the articles of our Chriſtian faith were made; where St. James received his orders, and was biſhop, and where the pillars of the church had their ſeat.

That

That the bragging of the Papiſts ſtandeth and dependeth on the name of the Church.

THE Papiſts rely upon this, the church cannot err; we are the church; *ergo*, we cannot err. To the *major*, I make this anſwer; True it is, the church cannot err, namely, in the doctrine; but in works and actions ſhe may eaſily err; yea, and oftentimes doth err; and therefore ſhe prayeth, *Forgive us our trepaſſes*, &c. The *minor* (ſaid *Luther*) I utterly deny.

Therefore when they argue, and ſay, What the church teacheth uprightly and pure, is true; the ſame we yield unto. But when they argue and ſay, What the church doth is upright and true; the ſame we deny, and ſay roundly, No. Wherefore we muſt always have an eye to the doctrine, for that doth the deed.

Wherein the true Church conſiſteth.

MANY there are that brag and boaſt of their title to the church, whereas they know not the true church; for the dear and holy prophets much oppoſed the falſe church. The prophet Iſaiah, in the beginning of his firſt chapter, deſcribeth two ſorts of churches. The upright and true church is a very ſmall heap and number; hath no eſteem, or very little; ſhe lieth under the croſs. But the falſe church is pompous, boaſting, and preſuming; ſhe flouriſheth, and is held in high repute, like Sodom, of which St. Paul complaineth, Romans viii, and ix. To conclude, the true church (ſaid *Luther*) conſiſteth in God's election and calling; ſhe is powerful and ſtrong in weakneſs.

Of the Sophiſts juggling Tricks. Fallaciæ Sophiſtarum.

ONE of the jugglings of the Sophiſts (wherewith the ungodly wretches deceive ſimple people) is this; a kingdom (ſay they) which is plagued and tormented, the ſame is a temporal kingdom. The Chriſtian church is plagued and tormented; *ergò*, Chriſt's kingdom is a temporal kingdom. But I anſwer them and ſay, No, not ſo; the kingdom of Chriſt is not plagued, but our bodies, by reaſon of our ſins, are plagued and tormented. As St. Paul ſaith, *We muſt through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God.* He ſaith not, that the kingdom of God ſuffereth externally.

It is equally falſe when they ſay, God is Love; God juſtifieth, therefore Love juſtifieth.

Such and the like fallacies (ſaid *Luther*) may ſometimes puzzle even underſtanding and pregnant wits, which are well exerciſed and practiſed. Therefore we muſt take time to anſwer them; for every one cannot ſo ſuddenly mark and diſcern ſuch deceits.

Occam, the teacher, wrote a book wherein with diligence he ſheweth ſuch ſophiſtical jugglings.

CHAP. XXI.

OF EXCOMMUNICATION, AND THE JURISDICTION OF THE CHURCH.

Concerning Excommunication.

THE ungodly (ſaid *Luther*) have great power, riches, and reſpect; on the contrary, we, the true and upright Chriſtians, have but only one poor, ſilly, and contemned Chriſt. Temporal things, money, wealth, reputation and power they have already in poſſeſſion: they care nothing for Chriſt. We ſay to them, Ye are great lords on earth; on the contrary, we are lords in heaven; ye have the power and riches on earth; on the contrary, we have the heavenly treaſure already, namely, we have God's Word and command; we have baptiſm, and the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, which is an office celeſtial. If any man among us, under the name of a Chriſtian, will exerciſe unjuſt power, inſolence, and wickedneſs, wilfully, as then we excommunicate ſuch a perſon, ſo that he ſhall not be preſent at the baptizing of children, nor ſhall be partaker of the holy communion, neither ſhall he have converſation with other Chriſtians.

But if he will abandon and forſake the name of a Chriſtian, and give up his profeſſion, then we are willing with patience to ſuffer his or their tyranny, inſolence, and uſurped power; we are content to let them go like Heathens, Jews, and Turks, and ſo to commit our cauſe to God.

From hence (ſaid *Luther*) proceeded excommunication by the ancient fathers in the church; as we read of St. Ambroſe, biſhop of Milan, who drove Theodoſius the Emperor out of the Choir, becauſe (after he with his ſoldiers had overcome a city) then he tyranized horribly, and commanded all therein, young and old, to be put to the ſword. And when St. Ambroſe was ſent for by the Emperor, to come out of the church, and to deliver up into the Emperors hands the church, the juriſdiction, and the livings thereof, then he ſtretched forth his neck, and offered the ſame to the block, ſtood ſtedfaſt like a ſtrong wall, and ſaid, If the Emperor deſireth of me that which is mine, as my houſe, my money and goods, &c. then I will not refuſe, but willingly will part therewith (although all that I have belongeth to the poor); but that which belongeth to God and to the church, is not ſubject to the Imperial power and majeſty; he hath neither right nor title thereunto; I neither can nor will ſuffer any thing to be drawn from the church, nor deliver over that which is hers, eſpecially ſeeing I have command to keep it, and not to ſurrender it up. Moreover (ſaid Ambroſe), I muſt have regard alſo to the Emperor's ſaving health, to his eternal welfare and ſalvation; for it were neither good for me to deliver it, nor for him to take it.

Therefore, loving Emperor (ſaid he), do not burthen thy conſcience therewith; think not that thou haſt Imperial power and right over that which pertaineth to God; do not exceed in exalting thyſelf; but in caſe thou intendeſt to remain Emperor, and to rule any longer, then have a care that thou be a ſubject to God; for it is written, *Reddite Cæſari quæ ſunt Cæſaris, & Deo quæ ſunt Dei.* People and countries belong to thee, but the church to the Prieſts, in which Chriſt only muſt rule and govern, and muſt not be ſubject to any other power, &c. He ſaid, moreover, Well, I muſt endure and ſuffer power; I may ſigh, weep, and lament, for thoſe are the weapons of

of a Chriſtian againſt God's enemies; I neither will nor muſt reſiſt or defend myſelf in any other ſort; behold, here I ſtand, here will I die.

Truly (ſaid *Luther*) he was a ſtedfaſt godly man, and one that was endued with a glorious Chriſtian courage and ſpirit.

What Excommunication is.

OUR dealing and proceeding againſt the Pope (ſaid *Luther*) is altogether excommunication. For a true and right excommunication is nothing elſe, then publicly to declare a perſon that is diſobedient to Chriſt's Word. For, *He that believeth and is baptized, ſhall be ſaved*, &c. Now we do affirm in public, that the Pope, with his retinue, believeth not; therefore we conclude, that he ſhall not be ſaved, that is, he will be damned. What is this, but to excommunicate him? To put Chriſt's Word in execution, and to accompliſh and execute his command, the ſame is excommunication, or to excommunicate.

The form of Excommunication propoſed by Luther.

I WOULD proceed with excommunication (as God willing I intend) after this manner (ſaid *Luther*); Firſt, when I myſelf have admoniſhed an obſtinate ſinner, then I ſend unto him two perſons (as two chaplains, or two of the aldermen of the town, two church-wardens, or two honeſt men out of the aſſembly); if as then he will not be reformed, but ſtill run on in ſtubbornneſs, and perſiſt in his ſinful life, then I will declare him openly to the church, and in this manner I will ſay, Loving friends, I declare unto you, how that *N. N.* hath been admoniſhed, firſt by myſelf in private; afterwards alſo by two chaplains, thirdly, by two aldermen and church-wardens, and thoſe of the aſſembly; yet, notwithſtanding, he will not deſiſt from his ſinful kind of life; wherefore, I earneſtly deſire you to aſſiſt, and adviſe you to kneel down with me, and let us pray againſt him, and deliver him over to the devil, &c.

Hereby (ſaid *Luther*) we ſhould doubtleſs prevail ſo far, that people would not live in ſuch public ſin and ſhame; for this would be a ſtrict excommunication (not like the Pope's money-bulls) and profitable to the church. But when ſuch a perſon were reformed and converted, then we might receive him into the church again.

That Excommunication is Two-fold.

EXCOMMUNICATION, as alſo the church, is two-fold. The one is temporal, external, or viſible, which the church uſeth againſt thoſe that lie in open ſin and ſhame, according to Chriſt's command. And this (ſaid *Luther*) above all things muſt be kept in the church; for excommunication is not a ſlight thing, which excludeth and ſeparateth from the church, detaineth ſins, without all hope of forgiveneſs, except by repentance.

Therefore Chriſt will have, that a ſinner be firſt warned and admoniſhed, not only once or twice by private and ſingle perſons that are not in office, but alſo by them which are in office of public preaching, before this ſevere ſentence of excommunication be publiſhed and declared.

Many there are at this time that lay the fault upon the ſervants of the church, as if excommunication were fallen through their negligence. Again, many do charge the magiſtrate, that they withſtand and hinder the ſame, and will not give way to have it put in execution. But the ſentence and command of Chriſt witneſſeth clearly

that ſinners in a private way ought to be admoniſhed, before the public miniſters do pronounce and declare the ſentence.

Of the cauſe why Excommunication is now fallen.

NOTHING hindereth excommunication more at this time, than that no man doth what pertaineth to a Chriſtian to do. Thou haſt a neighbour whoſe life and converſation is well known unto thee, but unknown to thy preacher or miniſter. Therefore when thou ſeeſt thy neighbour, by unlawful dealing, growing rich; thou ſeeſt that he liveth a laſcivious kind of life, in adultery, &c. thou ſeeſt that he governeth his houſe and family negligently, &c. as then thou oughteſt, Chriſtian-like, to warn and earneſtly to admoniſh him to deſiſt from his ſinful courſes, to have a care of his ſalvation, and to abſtain from giving offence, &c. Oh, (ſaid *Luther*) how holy a work haſt thou performed, when, in this way, thou winneſt thy neighbour? But I pray, who doth this? For firſt, Truth is a hateful thing: he that in theſe times of the world ſpeaketh the truth, procureth hatred. Therefore thou wilt rather keep thy neighbour's friendſhip and good-will, eſpecially when he is rich and powerful, by holding thy peace and keeping ſilence, or by conniving, than that thou wilt incur his diſpleaſure and make him thy adverſary.

Secondly, The cauſe that excommunication is fallen, is, foraſmuch as in ſome ſort we are all ſubject to blaſpheming alike, and therewith are ſtained; therefore we are afraid to pull out the mote which we ſee in our neighbour's eye, leſt we be hit in the teeth with the beam which appeareth in our own.

But (ſaid *Luther*) the chieſeſt cauſe why excommunication is fallen, is this, the number of upright and true Chriſtians in every place is very ſmall; for, if from our hearts we loved and practiſed true and upright godlineſs and God's Word, as we all ought, then we ſhould regard the command of Chriſt our bleſſed Saviour far more and greater than all the wealth, welfare, or favour of this temporal life. For this command of Chriſt, touching the admoniſhing and warning thy brother that ſinneth, is even as neceſſary as this, *Thou ſhalt do no murther, thou ſhalt not commit adultery, not ſteal*, &c. Seeing then, when, either out of fear, or for ſome other worldly reſpect thou omitteſt this admonition, there dependeth thereon, not thy neighbour's body and goods, but the ſalvation of his ſoul.

That we ought not to contemn Excommunication.

TAKE heed, I ſay, that in any caſe thou contemneſt not the excommunication of the church, which hath an orderly and upright proceeding; for the contemning thereof moſt certainly produceth the diſpleaſure of God, for Chriſt ſaith, *Verily I ſay unto you, what ye bind on earth, ſhall be alſo bound in heaven*, &c. Therefore the Pope's tyranny is ſo much the more to be condemned, in that he abuſeth excommunication in ſuch ſort, as when a poor man, at a certain appointed day, cannot make payment of that taxation which the Pope impoſeth upon him, then he is excommunicated. But his bulls and excommunication he now uſeth againſt us, becauſe we openly confeſs the all-ſaving doctrine of the Goſpel; yet our Saviour Chriſt comforteth us firſt, and ſaith, *Happy are ye when men revile and perſecute you for my ſake, and ſpeak all manner of evil againſt you*, &c. And again, *They will* (ſaith Chriſt) *excommunicate you, or put you out of the ſynagogue.*

Secondly, moſt certain it is, (ſaid *Luther*) that the Pope's bull is not Chriſt's excommunication, by reaſon it is not done nor taken in hand according to Chriſt's inſti-

tution,

tution, therefore it is of no value in heaven; but to him, who thus abuſes it againſt Chriſt's command, it bringeth moſt ſure and certain deſtruction, for it is a ſin wherewith God's name is blaſphemed.

Of the hidden and inviſible Excommunication.

LIKE as this external and viſible excommunication is uſed againſt thoſe only that live in public ſins, even ſo the hidden and inviſible excommunication (which is not of men, nor done by men viſibly, but is of God himſelf, and done by him only, excludeth oftentimes ſuch perſons from the kingdom of Chriſt inviſibly, which we take and hold to be fair, upright, good, and honeſt Chriſtians. For God judgeth not according to outward works or kind of life, as we men do, but he beholdeth the heart; he judgeth ſuch hypocrites which the church can neither judge nor puniſh, according to the common proverb, *De occultis non judicat Eccleſia*, the church judgeth not what is hidden and inviſible.

But (ſaid *Luther*) all people among us are not ſtained and fouled ſo groſs lywith open offences, that we may or can tax and accuſe them in public (as were fitting) of any one particular ſin and tranſgreſſion. For although many covetous perſons, whoremongers, adulterers, &c. are among us, yet they proceed ſo craftily, and in ſuch ſort do act their ſins, that we cannot detect them. Therefore although they be with us in the church among the Chriſtian aſſembly, they hear ſermons and God's Word, and with upright and godly Chriſtians receive the holy ſacrament; yet nevertheleſs, *de facto*, they are in the act excommunicated by God, by reaſon they live in ſin againſt their own conſciences, neither do they amend their lives, according to St. Paul's ſentence, *The whoremongers, drunkards, adulterers*, &c. *ſhall not inherit the kingdom of God.* Indeed, ſuch ſinners may deceive men, but they cannot deceive God; he at the day of judgment will cauſe his angels to gather all offenders together, and will caſt them into unquenchable fire.

Of the Effect and final Cauſe of Excommunication, and how it is to be valued.

GOD will have (ſaid *Luther*) that excommunication ſhall be of value, and proceed in the church. It muſt ſtand in force and remain; for Chriſt ſaith, *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt, whoſe ſoever ſins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whoſe ſoever ſins ye retain, they are retained.* And, *If thy brother ſhall treſpaſs againſt thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he ſhall hear thee, thou haſt gained thy brother. But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more*, &c. and *if he ſhall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church. But if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man, and a publican.* And St. Paul ſaith, *If any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolator, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with ſuch an one, no not to eat*, &c.; *put away from you that wicked perſon.* Alſo, *If there come any to you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your houſe, neither bid him God ſpeed: for he that biddeth him God ſpeed, is partaker of his evil deeds.*

Theſe and ſuch like ſentences are the unchangeable will, decrees, and ordinances of the high Majeſty of God; we have no power to alter or to omit the ſame, much leſs to aboliſh them; but, on the contrary, we have earneſt command with true diligence to hold thereunto, diſregarding the power or repute of any perſon whatſoever. And although excommunication in Popedom hath been and is ſhamefully abuſed, and made a mere torment, yet muſt not we ſuffer it to fall, but make right uſe thereof, as Chriſt hath commanded, to the repairing and building of the church, not to exerciſe tyranny, as the Pope hath done.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

OF THE OFFICE OF PREACHING, AND MINISTERS OF THE CHURCH.

Concerning Preaching.

SOME there are that rail at the ſervants of God, and ſay, What although the Word and Sacraments be upright and the truth (as indeed they be), when God ſpeaketh of them; but it is not therefore God's Word when a man talketh thereof.

In this ſort (ſaid *Luther*) do ſuch people under-value and ſlight the office of preaching.

Wherein Divinity conſiſteth.

DIVINITY (ſaid *Luther*) conſiſteth in uſe and practice, not in ſpeculating and meditating of God's works after human wiſdom. Every one that dealeth with ſpeculations, either in houſehold affairs or temporal government, without practice, is loſt and nothing worth. When a tradeſman only maketh his accompt, how much profit he might reap in the year, and putteth nothing in practice, he is one that tradeth with ſpeculations, which conſiſt only in fooliſh exploits; but he findeth afterwards that his reckoning cometh far too ſhort. And thus it goeth alſo with ſpeculating divines, as is ſeen to this day, ſome of which I know by experience.

To preach Chriſt.

IT is an office exceeding dangerous to preach Chriſt; had I (ſaid *Luther*) known as much before as I know now, I ſhould never have been drawn thereunto, but with Moſes I would have ſaid, *Send whom thou wilt ſend.* The Biſhop of Brandenburg ſpake truly unto me at Worms, meaning to diſſuade me from writing againſt the Pope: Loving St. Martin! (ſaid he) I told you thus much before, and adviſed you to be ſilent, and not to enter in too far: ye will bring much trouble upon you; for it toucheth the whole Chriſtian church. Indeed (ſaid *Luther*) I have trouble enough thereby; I have brought upon me the hatred of the whole world, whereas fore I lived ſecurely and at eaſe.

To do nothing without Calling.

NO man ſhould undertake any thing, except he be called thereunto. Calling is two-fold; either divine, which is done by the higher power, ſuch as have authority, the ſame is of faith: or elſe it is a calling of love, which is done by one's equal, as when one is deſired by his good friend to preach a ſermon. Both vocations are greatly neceſſary to ſecure the conſcience.

Whether it be right to deſire the Office of Preaching?

Anſ. CERTAIN it is that young people muſt be brought up to learn the holy Scriptures; and ſuch of them who know they are deſigned for the miniſtry, afterwards preſent themſelves and offer their ſervice when a place or pariſh falleth void,

void, then they do not intrude themſelves, if they be ready to be invited, or called thereunto. Like as a maid is brought up to a woman's eſtate and age of matrimony; as when one maketh ſuit to marry her, then ſhe may do it with a good and ſafe conſcience towards God and the world. To thruſt out another is to intrude; but when in the church a place is void, and thou ſayeſt, I will willingly ſupply it, if they willingly pleaſe to make uſe of me; if as then thou art entertained and received: ſo is it an upright and a true vocation and orderly calling. Such was the manner of Iſaiah, who ſaid, *Here I am, ſend me.* He came of himſelf when he heard they ſtood in need of a Preacher; and ſo (ſaid *Luther*) it ought to be, we muſt look whether people have need of us or no; and afterwards, whether we be deſired or called.

Of the Calling of Moſes.

GOD was at Moſes, and bade him go ſix ſeveral times before he could get him forward, and at laſt, after many excuſes, he went but unwillingly. If I (ſaid *Luther*) had been as Moſes, I would (with the advice of ſome lawyer) *realiter* have framed a bill of complaint againſt our Lord God, for breaking his promiſe; for he ſaid to Moſes, *I will be with thee*, but he performed not what he promiſed. In like manner God comforteth and encourageth with ſuch and the like promiſes in the Goſpel, where he ſaith, *And ye ſhall find reſt for your ſouls.* But, alas! we ſee and find the contrary by John the Baptiſt, by his deareſt Son and our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, by all the ſaints and holy martyrs, and by all true Chriſtians, inſomuch that according to the lawyers ſentences and proceedings, our Lord God hath loſt the cauſe.

Chriſt ſpake not to me (ſaid *Luther*) as he ſpake to St. Paul, where he ſaith, *Ariſe and preach, and I will be with thee.* I have read that as an example.

Comfort for thoſe which are in the Miniſtry.

SUCH as are upright divines muſt remain ſtedfaſt in their office, and muſt not regard the world's unthankfulneſs. Dr. Anthony Staupitz complaining to *Luther*, how much tribulation and vexation he endured through his preaching, was by *Luther* anſwered as followeth: Loving friend! it hath gone even ſo with me likewiſe; I was as much afraid of the pulpit as you are, yet I was compelled to proceed; I was conſtrained to preach, and to begin at the grape-gate, where I preached to the brethren. But I mark your diſeaſe, you would fain be exquiſite at an inſtant, you will be more learned than I or others which are exerciſed therein; you perhaps ſeek after honour, and therewith you are vexed. But you ought to preach Chriſt, and not regard what people do hold and cenſure; ſuch wiſdom will exalt you beyond all human judgment; for the ſame is God's Word which is wiſer than men; do not expect from me any praiſe when I hear you preach. But you muſt know that you are called, Chriſt hath need of you for the praiſe of him and his name, thereupon ſtand ſtedfaſt. Your excuſes by me are of no value. When the Prince Elector of Saxony, through Dr. Staupitz, cauſed me to be called to the office of preaching, I had fifteen arguments with which I intended to refuſe my vocation, but they would not help. At laſt I ſaid, Loving Dr. Staupitz! you will be the cauſe of bringing me to my death; I ſhall not be able to ſubſiſt. Then ſaid he, Well, on in God's name, Our Lord God hath many buſineſſes: he hath need alſo in heaven above of wiſe people.

As this Dr. Staupitz was elected chief vicar in the whole province three years together; he intended to accompliſh every thing againſt the adverſaries with his own

counſel, head and brain, but it would not forward. The next three years following he was choſen again; then he made trial to fulfil the ſame through the aſſiſtance of the moſt antient fathers, but therein it failed him alſo. The third three years he committed that work to God's power, but then it went leſs forwards; wherefore he ſaid, *Mitte vadere ſicut vadit, quia vult vadere ut vadit.* Let it go as it goeth, for neither I nor the fathers can, nor God will, do any thing to alter it, there muſt come another *Triennium vicariatus.* Then came I (ſaid *Luther*) and began another game.

From whence it cometh that the Church-Officers are but ſcarcely maintained.

THERE came from Eyſenach to Wittemberg a miniſter, who complained to the profeſſors of his great poverty and miſery. Philip Melancthon ſaid unto him, Loving brother! have patince for a time: hitherto we have ſtrove concerning miniſters matrimony, and ſeeing we have obtained that, we intend now to ſtrive for the honour and dignity; and afterwards we will alſo ſtrive and labour for livings; whereupon *Luther* ſaid, To the poor is the Goſpel declared, for the rich regard it not. If the Pope maintained us not with that which he hath gotton (though much againſt his will), we might even ſtarve for want of food. The Pope hath ſwallowed up ſtolen goods, and muſt ſpew them all up again, as Job ſaith: he muſt give the ſame to thoſe to whom he wiſheth nothing that is good, although ſcarcely the fiftieth part is applied to the profit of the church, the reſt he laviſheth away; we obtain very nearly the fragments under the table. But we are aſſured of better wages after this life, and if our hope were not fixed thereon, then were we of all people the moſt miſerable.

That long and tedious Sermons ought not to be made.

I WOULD not have preachers (ſaid *Luther*) to torment their hearers, and detain them with long and tedious preaching; for the delight of hearing vaniſheth, alſo the preachers therewith do hurt themſelves. Dr. Pommer ought to be reproved by reaſon of his long ſermons; however I know he uſeth it not of purpoſe, but only out of an erroneous cuſtom.

Of Luther's Manner of Preaching.

LUTHER preached at Dreſden before the Prince Elector, the Prince of Anhault, and other Princes, out of the firſt of Timothy, Chap. i. which ſermon afterwards was printed. Philip Melancthon, being then preſent, demanded of *Luther*, If he had comprehended in his memory every point of that ſermon before he preached it? For (ſaid he) it was a moſt excellent exhortation to the higheſt ſervice of God, namely, the hearing of God's Word. Can they, in Popedom, find in their hearts daily to hear maſs? wherefore then ſhould not we much rather long and ſtrive to perform daily this true ſervice of God, from whence floweth the greateſt good? Behold, the Preface before that Sermon. Thereupon *Luther* anſwered and ſaid, I uſe not to collect and faſten every point in particular, but only the chief heads on which the contents of the whole ſermon depend, as namely, in this ſermon, I directed the exhortation to the chief ſervice of God, as the hearing of his Word. Afterwards, in ſpeaking, ſuch things came into my mind, of which before I never thought; for if I ſhould comprehend every word which I deliver, and in particular ſhould ſpeak of every point, then I ſhould not ſo briefly run through. I much commend the expertneſs of Dr. Caſparus Creutziger, who excellently comprehendeth and catcheth up his words: I hold (ſaid *Luther*) that he goeth far beyond me.

Of

Of a Queſtion.

ONE aſked *Luther*, Which were greater and better, to ſtrive againſt the adverſaries, or to admoniſh and lift up the weak? He anſwered and ſaid, Both are very good and neceſſary. But it is ſomewhat greater and better to comfort the faint-hearted; the weak, by ſtriving againſt the adverſaries, are alſo edified and bettered; both of them are God's gifts. He that teacheth, let him attend his teaching; if any man admoniſheth, let him attend his admoniſhing.

Of Preaching powerfully.

DR. Forſtemius aſked *Luther*, from whence ſuch art proceeded, in ſpeaking ſo powerfully that both God-fearing and ungodly people thereby were moved and took it to heart? He anſwered and ſaid, It proceedeth from the firſt commandment of God, *I am the Lord thy God*; againſt the ungodly I am a ſtrong and a jealous God; and towards the good and godly, I am a merciful God; I do well, and ſhew mercy to them, &c. For he will have us to preach hell fire to the proud and haughty, and Paradiſe to the good and godly, to reprove the wicked, and to comfort the good, &c. The inſtruments and work-tools of God are different, and not alike; even as one knife cutteth better than another. The ſermons of Dr. Cordatus and Dr. Creutziger are taken more to heart than the preaching of many others.

That the World cannot endure upright Preachers.

THE world can well endure all ſorts of preachers except us (ſaid *Luther*), us they will not hear: in former times they were forced, in Popedom, to hear the ungodly tyrants, and to carry thoſe on their ſhoulders that plagued them in body and ſoul, in wealth and honour. But us, who by God's command do reprove them, they will not hear; therefore the world muſt go to rack. We muſt vaniſh and conſume by reaſon of poverty; but the Papiſts by reaſon of misfortunes; for their things are not of proof, they ſee well that God reſiſteth them. It will ſhortly come to paſs, that the world willingly would give much for an upright preacher, but ſhall not get him; inſtead of whom they ſhall honour and worſhip liars and deceivers.

Of Luther's Manner in recommending Preachers that were called.

THE Senate of Nurenberg ſent to Wittemberg, called and elected Maſter John Cellarius to be their preacher. *Luther* by him wrote to the Senate letters of recommendation; and to Cellarius he ſaid, I will recommend and praiſe thee, although thou deſerveſt not ſo much as I purpoſe to write of thee; yet thou muſt uſe diligence to attain to that ſcope; for thou art now tied by my recommendations. In this manner God ſaid to Moſes (when Joſhua was called to ſupply his place), *Put ſome of thine honour upon him*, &c.

Of the Qualities and Virtues of a good Preacher.

A Good preacher (ſaid *Luther*) ſhould have theſe properties and virtues; Firſt, To teach orderly; Secondly, He ſhould have a ready wit; Thirdly, He ſhould be eloquent; Fourthly, He ſhould have a good voice; Fifthly, A good memory; Sixthly, He ſhould know when to make an end; Seventhly, He ſhould be ſure of his doctrine; Eighthly,

Eighthly, He ſhould venture and engage body and blood, wealth and honour by the Word; Ninthly, He ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be mocked and jeered of every one.

How a Preacher ſhould be qualified that intendeth to pleaſe the World.

FIRST, He muſt be learned.
Secondly, He muſt have a fine delivery.
Thirdly, He muſt have neat and polite words.
Fourthly, He muſt be a proper perſon, whom women and maids may love.
Fifthly, He muſt not take, but give money.
Sixthly, He muſt preach ſuch things as people willingly hear.

Of the World's Cenſuring of Preachers Defects.

THE defects in a preacher are ſoon ſpied; Let a preacher be endued with ten virtues, and have but one fault, yet the ſame one fault will eclipſe and darken all his virtues and gifts; ſo evil is the world in theſe times. Dr. Juſtus Jonas hath all the good virtues and qualities that a man may have; yet by reaſon that he only hummeth and ſpitteth, therefore the people cannot bear with that good and honeſt man.

That a Preacher ſhould remain in and by the Propoſition, and not produce ſtrange Things.

LUTHER's wife ſaid unto him, Sir! I heard your couſin John Palmer preach this afternoon in the pariſh church, whom I underſtood better than Dr. Pommer, that is held to be a very excellent preacher. Whereupon *Luther* made her this anſwer: John Palmer preacheth as ye women uſe to talk; for what cometh in your minds, the ſame ye alſo ſpeak. A preacher ought to remain by the propounded text, and ſhould deliver that which he hath before him, to the end people may well underſtand the ſame. But a preacher as will ſpeak every thing that cometh in his mind, is liken to a maid that goeth to market, when another maid meeteth her, then they make a ſtand, and hold together a gooſe-market, &c. Even ſo likewiſe do thoſe preachers, *Qui nimis procul diſcedunt à propoſito*, and think to ſpeak all at one time.

Of the Manner of Luther's Ordinations.

AS (on Sunday Jubilate, being the 22d of April, 1540) *Luther* gave orders to Benedict Caſelio, he read the ſentence, Acts xiii. how the hands were laid upon the two Apoſtles Paul and Barnabas. Alſo, Acts xx. how St. Paul warned the biſhops and miniſters at Miletus to take heed of wolves: likewiſe he read the third chapter of the firſt of Timothy, and Titus i. how a biſhop ſhould be called and qualified. After which, he ſaid,

My loving brother Benedict, thou art by God ordained to be a true ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt (at Torgaw), to further his holy name through the pure doctrine of the Goſpel, to which, through God's power, we call and ſend thee, as God hath called and ſent us. Therefore watch earneſtly, be diligent, pray to God to keep and preſerve thee in this high vocation, and that thou mayeſt not fall away, and be ſeduced by falſe doctrine, by hereſies, ſects, nor thy own cogitations, but to begin the ſame in God's fear, true diligence, and continual prayer, and to finiſh it aright in Chriſt. Afterwards he laid the hands upon him, and kneeling, he prayed aloud the Lord's Prayer. Then riſing up again, he lifted his eyes up to heaven, and ſaid, Lord God, heavenly, merciful Father, who haſt commanded to pray, to ſeek, and to knock,

alſo

alſo haſt promiſed to hear us when we call upon thee in the name of thy Son; upon theſe thy promiſes we depend, and pray thee to ſend this ſervant of thy Word (Benedict) into thy harveſt, to aſſiſt him, to bleſs his office and ſervice, to open the ears of the faithful to the bleſſed courſe of thy Word, to the end thy name may be praiſed, thy kingdom encreaſed, and that the church may grow. Amen. Therefore, my loving brother, I wiſh thee happineſs and bleſſing to walk in the fear of God, and in the confidence of faith. Then they ſang, Now pray we the Holy Ghoſt.

To what a Preacher ſhould have regard.

AS Dr. Eraſmus Albert was called into the Mark of Brandenburg, he deſired of *Luther* to ſet him down a manner and form how he ſhould preach before the Prince Elector. *Luther* ſaid, Let all your preaching be in the moſt plain manner; look not to the Prince, but to the plain, ſimple, and unlearned people, of which cloth the Prince himſelf is alſo made. If I in my preaching ſhould have regard to Philip Melancthon, and other learned doctors, then I ſhould work but little good. I preach in the ſimpleſt ſort to the unſkilful, and the ſame giveth content to all. Hebrew, Greek, and Latin I ſpare, until we learned ones come together, as then we make it ſo curled and finical that God himſelf wondereth at us.

Of the Office of an upright Paſtor.

AN upright ſhepherd and miniſter muſt improve his flock by edification, and alſo muſt reſiſt and defend; otherwiſe, if reſiſting be abſent, then the wolf devoureth the ſheep; the rather, where they be fat and well fed. Therefore St. Paul preſſeth it home upon Titus, that a biſhop by ſound doctrine ſhould be able both to exhort and to convince gainſayers; that is, to reſiſt falſe doctrine. A preacher muſt be both a ſoldier and a ſhepherd. He muſt nouriſh, defend, and teach; he muſt have teeth in his mouth, and be able to bite and to fight.

There are many talking preachers (ſaid *Luther*), but there is nothing in them ſave only words; they can talk much, but teach nothing uprightly. The world always hath had ſuch *Thraſones*, boaſting throat-criers.

That a Conſonance ought to be among Preachers.

I KNOW of no greater gift than that which we have; namely, harmony in doctrines, inſomuch that throughout the principalities, and Imperial cities in Germany, they teach conformable with us. Although I had the gift to raiſe the dead, yet what were it, if all other preachers taught againſt me? I (ſaid *Luther*) would not exchange this conſonancy for the Turkiſh empire.

Of the reproving of proud Preachers.

ANNO 1541, *Luther* diſcourſed much concerning the ambition of certain preachers, and ſaid, God often layeth upon the necks of ſuch haughty Divines all manner of croſſes and plagues, thereby to humble them, and therein they are well and rightly ſerved; for they will have honour, whereas the ſame only belongeth to our Lord God. When we are found true in our vocations and calling, then we have reaped honour ſufficient, though not in this life, yet in that to come; there we ſhall be crowned with the unchangeable crown of honour (as St. Paul ſaith), *which is laid up for us.* But here on earth we muſt ſeek for no honour, for it is

written, *Væ vobis cum benedixerint vobis homines:* we belong not to this life, but are called to another far better. The world loveth that which is their own, but we muſt content ourſelves with that which they beſtow upon us, namely, with ſcoffing, flouting, and contemning of us. I am ſometimes glad (ſaid *Luther*) that my ſcholars and friends are pleaſed to give me ſuch wages; I deſire neither honour nor crown here on earth, but I will have retribution from God the juſt Judge in heaven. It is ſaid to this day, concerning us preachers, *Retribuunt mihi mala pro bonis.*

From the year of our Lord 1518, to this preſent (ſaid *Luther*), every Maundy Thurſday, at Rome, I have been by the Pope excommunicated and caſt into hell, yet I ſtill live. For every year, on Maundy Thurſday *(Quando Chriſtus inſtituit Cœnam)*, all hereticks are excommunicated at Rome, among whom, I am always the firſt and chiefeſt. This do they on that bleſſed, ſanctified day; whereas they ought rather to render thanks to God for the great benefit of his holy ſupper, and for his bitter death and paſſion. This is the honour and crown which we muſt expect and have in this world. God ſometimes can endure honour in lawyers and phyſicians; but in divines he will no way ſuffer it: for a boaſting and an ambitious preacher ſoon contemneth Chriſt, who with his blood hath redeemed poor ſinners.

To preach diſcreetly according to the Condition of the Hearers.

A PREACHER (ſaid *Luther*) moſt neceſſarily muſt know how to make a right difference between ſinners; namely, the impenitent and ſecure, &c. and the ſorrowful and penitent; otherwiſe the whole ſcripture is locked up. As Amſdorfer began to preach before the Princes at Schmalcalden, with great earneſtneſs he ſaid, The Goſpel belongeth to the poor and ſorrowful, and not to you Princes, great perſons and courtiers that live in continual joy and delight, in ſecureneſs, void of all tribulation.

We ſhould make the hearers prone and willing to hear the ſequel of our ſermons; what a change will follow upon the regenerate. This ſpiritual doctrine of the Goſpel troubleth and tormenteth even the good and godly; and reſpecting old people, they have alſo need of the preaching of the law. As we ſee how diligently St. Paul in his Epiſtles treats of the law; he inſiſteth that they which are become children by grace and faith in Chriſt, ſhould ſhew themſelves thankful towards God, and be obedient unto him, and reſiſt the ſins which are yet ſtruggling within us: as where he ſaith, crucify the fleſh, and mortify the deeds of the body; And, *God forbid that ye ſhould now live in ſin.* For (ſaid *Luther*) we ſee that not only the law maketh hypocrites, but alſo the doctrine of grace. Therefore let us mark this difference well between penitent and impenitent ſinners.

Of the Cauſe, why Lay-people are Enemies to Preachers.

A CONTINUAL hatred (ſaid *Luther*) is between the clergy and laity, and not without cauſe; for the unbridled country-people, citizens, gentry, nobility; yea, and great Princes alſo, refuſe to be reproved. But the office of a preacher is to reprove ſuch ſinners as lie in open ſin, and offend againſt both the firſt and ſecond table of God's commandments, which is grievous for them to hear. Therefore they look upon the preachers with ſharp eyes. Therefore, loving brethren, let us ſtedfaſtly remain by the pure Word, that we ſit upon Moſes' ſeat, and teach what God hath commanded plainly and truly, and not what ſeemeth good to human wiſdom and underſtanding.

To ſpeak deliberately in Preaching.

TO ſpeak deliberately and ſlowly beſt becometh a preacher, and is moſt fitting; for thereby he may the more diligently and conſiderately deliver his ſermon. Seneca writeth of Cicero, that he ſpake deliberately from the heart, as we ſee George Brucken doth.

Of the Wickedneſs of ſuch People that contemn he pure Doctrine and Preachers.

SUCH people as ſet themſelves againſt the truth of the Goſpel, and inſtead thereof would rather have the Turkiſh Alcoran, are indeed wicked, deſpairing, hardened wretches. And truly (ſaid *Luther*) with grief we ſee already the great devaſtation, in that every where is poverty; we ſee that in Bohemia above nine hundred pariſhes lie empty and waſte. For where no preachers are, all will go to the ground; there muſt and will follow devaſtation, calamity, want, and all misfortunes, both in religion and policy, in church and ſtate.

In this ſort the Pope overcame the Bohemians, and made them tender, and brought them again to his bay when they had no miniſters and church-ſervants. Then the Popiſh biſhops forced thoſe that where new ordained by oath to hold in, and to ſubject themſelves under their command.

But we (by God's grace) ſtill hold the juriſdiction to ordain in our churches, ſo that they neither plague nor mock us in that ſort; yet we ought to take heed, that with our unthankfulneſs and contemning God's Word, we come not again into the claws of that devil's head, and his members, as we well deſerve. And although the Papiſts cry and complain againſt our ordinance, and rely upon their *poſſeſſorium*, yet they muſt endure it. Indeed their pomp and ſtate, in that they have good and eaſy days, much offendeth us; like as ſuch offences greatly tormented the loving David, and much grieved him. But he ſolved that argument, where he ſaith, *Thou prepareſt them for the ſlaughter*. In this manner uſeth our Lord God to feed the epicures in this life (like the fatted ſwine) to the ſlaughter.

How a preacher ought to Preach, and to whom he ſhould have regard.

WE ought to direct ourſelves in preaching according to the condition of the hearers, but moſt preachers commonly fail herein; they preach that which little edifieth the poor ſimple people, as Bucer and Zuinglius at Marpurg preached in all ſtate and curious manner, thereby to bear the bell, as if they ſhould ſay, Behold *Luther* and Melancthon, what learned fellows we are? To preach plain and ſimply is a great art: Chriſt himſelf preacheth of tilling ground, of muſtard-ſeed, &c. he uſed altogether mean and ſimple ſimilitudes.

That the firſt Preaching is moſt difficult.

WHEN one firſt cometh into the pulpit, he is much perplexed to ſee ſo many heads before him. When I ſtand there (ſaid *Luther*), I look upon none, but imagine they are all blocks that are before me. This he ſpake to encourage faint-hearted preachers, to the end they might not be diſcouraged and deſiſt.

That the Prieſts in the Old Teſtament were honourable, and well maintained.

GOD in the Old Teſtament made the prieſts rich; Hannas and Caiaphas had great revenues, they had ſuburbs, firſt fruits, tenths, &c. They had of every one a purſe, that is, as much as half a gilder. But now (ſaid *Luther*) the miniſters of the Word (in which is offered everlaſting life and ſalvation merely of grace) are ſuffered to die for hunger and poverty, yea, are driven and hunted away. I would not have preachers in their ſermons, uſe Hebrew, Greek, or ſtrange languages; for in the church we ought to ſpeak as we uſe to do at home, the plain mother tongue, which every one is acquainted with. It may be allowed in courtiers, lawyers, advocates, &c. to uſe and have quaint curious words, whom Oſiander and Matthefius do imitate. Although Doctor Staupitz be a very well learned man, yet he is a very irkſome preacher: and the people had rather hear a plain brother preach, that delivereth his words ſimply to their underſtanding, than he. In churches no praiſe or extolling ſhould be ſought after.

That Preachers are poor People.

PREACHERS (ſaid *Luther*) muſt needs be poor fellows, but we look after another life, therefore we muſt believe that which is to come. If we certainly did believe the treaſure of everlaſting life, then we ſhould be too haughty and proud. Therefore God hath covered this treaſure of his mercy with a broad cover which covereth it, the ſame is called *Fides*, therein muſt we wallow and delight ourſelves while we live in this world.

Of St. Paul's plain Manner of Preaching and Teaching.

ST. Paul (ſaid *Luther*) never uſed ſuch high and ſtately words as Demoſthenes and Cicero did, but he ſpake (properly and plainly) words which ſignified and ſhewed high and ſtately matters; he did well in not ſpeaking ſo trim and finically; otherwiſe every man would ſpeak wondrous highly.

That we ſhould direct our Preaching to the poor Lay People, Children, and Servants.

WHEN I am in the pulpit (ſaid *Luther*) then I reſolve to preach only to men and maid-ſervants; I would not make a ſtep into the pulpit for the ſakes of Philip Melancthon, Juſtus Jonas, or the whole univerſity; for they are well ſeen in Scripture already. But when preachers will direct their ſermons to the high learned and deep underſtanding, and will breathe out altogether *Rabinos* and maſter-pieces, then the poor unlearned people preſent do ſtand like a flock of kine.

Of the Burthen and Mind of an upright Preacher.

IF I ſhould write of the heavy burthen of a godly preacher, which he muſt carry and endure (as I know by mine own experience), I ſhould ſcare every man from the office of preaching; for an upright and a God-fearing preacher muſt be diſpoſed to believe, that nothing is more acceptable and precious unto him, than Chriſt his Lord and Saviour, and the life to come; ſo that although he loſt this life, and all therein, as he knoweth what Chriſt ſaith unto him, Come hither to me, thou haſt been my loving, true, and faithful ſervant.

Wherewith

Wherewith Luther *comforted himſelf in his Function.*

I ASSURE myſelf (ſaid *Luther*) that Chriſt at the laſt day will ſpeak friendly to me; for he ſpeaketh very unkindly to me; I bear upon me the envy of the whole world, the hatred of the Emperor, of the Pope, and of all their retinue. Well, on in God's name, ſeeing I am come into the liſt, ſo will I fight it out: I know my quarrel, and the cauſe is upright and juſt. The greateſt adverſary I have in this cauſe is the devil, and indeed he ſetteth upon me ſo fiercely oftentimes with this argument, (Thou art not rightly called) that long ſince he had ſlain me therewith if I had not been a doctor.

That an upright Preacher is only God's Work.

IT is a great thing to be an upright miniſter and preacher, and if our Lord God himſelf drove it not forward, ſo would there but little good enſue. That preachers muſt be endued with a great ſpirit which ſhall ſerve people in body and ſoul, in wealth and honor, and yet, nevertheleſs, muſt ſuffer and endure thereby the greateſt danger and unthankfulneſs. From hence Chriſt ſaid to Peter, *Peter, loveſt thou me?* And fetcheth it thrice. Afterwards he ſaid, *Then feed my ſheep*; as if our bleſſed Saviour ſhould ſay, Peter, if thou wilt be an upright ſhepherd, and careful of ſouls, then thou muſt love me; thou muſt add thereunto that *Amas me*, otherwiſe it is impoſſible for thee to be an upright and a careful ſhepherd; thy love to me muſt do the deed. For (ſaid *Luther*) who can or may endure people's unthankfulneſs, to ſtudy away one's health and wealth, and afterwards to thruſt himſelf into the greateſt danger.

That we muſt make a Difference between the Manner of Life, and the Doctrine.

WICKLIFF and Huſs oppoſed and aſſaulted the manner of life and converſation in Popedom. But I chiefly oppoſe and reſiſt their doctrine, I affirm roundly and plainly, that they teach not aright, thereunto am I called; I take the gooſe by the neck, (ſaid *Luther*) and ſet the knife to the throat; when I can maintain that the Pope's doctrine is falſe (which I have ſhewed), then I can eaſily prove that their manner of life is evil. For when the word remaineth pure, ſo the manner of life (though ſomething therein be amiſs) will be pure alſo. The Pope hath taken away the pure word and doctrine, and hath brought another word and doctrine, and hanged the ſame upon the church. I ſtartled whole Popedom only with this one point, in that I teach uprightly. We muſt preſs upon the doctrine, for that breaketh the neck of the Pope. Therefore the prophet Daniel rightly pictured out the Pope, that he will be ſuch a king, will have ſuch a kingdom and government, which ſhall do according to his own will, that is, he will regard neither ſpirituality nor temporality, but ſaith roundly, Thus and thus will I have it; for the Pope is ordained and inſtituted neither by divine nor humane right; but is a ſelf-choſen human creature, which of his own election and power hath intruded himſelf. Therefore the Pope muſt needs confeſs, that he governeth neither by divine nor human command. Daniel calleth him a God *Maoſim*, he had almoſt ſpoken it plainly out, and ſaid *Maſs*, which word is written, Deut. xxvi. St. Paul read Daniel thoroughly, and uſeth alſo his words, where he ſaith, And he will exalt himſelf above all that is called God, or that is worſhipped, &c. 2 Theſ. ii.

That Balaam is an Example of proud Preachers.

ALTHOUGH Balaam had great revelations no leſs than Daniel (ſaid *Luther*), yet (without all doubt) he is damned; for he taketh hold on all the four empires; it is a mighty example againſt pride, that we be not haughty, nor exalt ourſelves in God's gifts, as when by preaching uprightly we were ſanctified thereby, then few would be ſaved. But therein our Lord God in fearful wiſe rejected Balaam, Saul, and Caiaphas, that prophefied out of God's ſpirit. O let us humble ourſelves.

Of the Pride of Hypocrites.

THE humility of hypocrites (ſaid *Luther*) is the greateſt and moſt haughty pride, as that of the Phariſee who humbled himſelf; he gave God thanks, but ſoon ſpoiled all again, when he ſaid, *I am not like others, &c. nor as this publican.* There are people which flatter themſelves, and think they only are wiſe, they contemn and deride the opinions of all others, they will allow of nothing but only what pleaſeth them.

That the perſecuting of good and godly Preachers will be revenged.

THE Pope and Turk (ſaid *Luther*) have thoroughly revenged us, and have ſoundly paid the world, and therein have done right and well. Upright and true preachers the world cannot endure; nay, they hunt and murther them away; therefore they muſt have ſuch as bereave them of body, ſoul, wealth, and honor. O right, right!

That Pride, Preſumption, and Ambition do the greateſt hurt in the Church.

AMBITION and pride (ſaid *Luther*) are the rankeſt poiſon in the church when they are poſſeſſed by preachers. Zuinglius thereby was miſled, who did what pleaſed himſelf, as his interpreting of the Prophets ſheweth, which is ſtuffed with preſumption, pride, and ambition; he preſumed to contemn every man, yea, alſo the Potentates and Princes, for thus he wrote, Ye honourable and good princes muſt pardon me, in that I give you not your titles; for the glaſs-windows are as well illuſtrious as ye. In like manner Crickle and Jeckle behaved themſelves in the convocation at Muntzer. To conclude, ambition is a conſuming fire. The holy Scripture is given to deſtroy the deſires of the fleſh, therefore we muſt not therein ſeek after temporal honour. I much marvel why, or for what cauſe people may be proud and haughty; we are born in ſin, and every moment in danger of death. Are we proud of our ſcabs and ſcalds, and we are altogether as an unclean thing?

Where Honour ſhould be ſought for.

HONOUR might be ſought for (ſaid *Luther*) in Homer, Virgil, and in Terence, and not in the holy Scripture; for Chriſt ſaith, *Sanctificetur Nomen tuum, non noſtrum magnificetur vel celebretur.* Chriſt chargeth us to preach God's Word. We preachers ſhould of the world be held and eſteemed as *injuſti ſtulti*, to the end God be *juſtus, ſapiens & miſericors*; that is his title, which he will leave to none other.

other. When we leave to God his name, his kingdom, and will, then will he alſo give unto us our daily bread, and will remit our ſins, and deliver us from the devil and all evil. Only his honour he will have to himſelf.

When I firſt began to write againſt the Pope's indulgences (ſaid *Luther*) then we neither heard nor knew any thing of Crickle or of Jeckle, nor of any other; then they drew in their pipes. For the ſpace of three years I was utterly forſaken and left alone, no man offered unto me the helping hand, they all ſuffered me to wreſtle alone with the Papiſts. But now, when the buſineſs is finiſhed to their hands, they will all triumph and ſhew their nodheads in writing books. Therefore Solomon rightly ſaid, *Non eſt finis ſcribendo librorum.* When I once lie in the duſt, then there will be old writing of books.

It were but reaſonable (ſaid *Luther*) I ſhould now in my old age have ſome reſt and peace, but now thoſe that ſhould be with and for me, do fall upon me; I have plague enough with my adverſaries, therefore my brethren ſhould not vex me. But who is able to reſiſt all? They are freſh, luſty, young people, and have lived in idleneſs; I am now aged, have had much labour and pains. Nothing cauſeth Oſiander's pride more than his idle life; for he preacheth but twice in the week, and hath an yearly ſtipend of four hundred gilders.

At the aſſembly at Schmalcaldan (ſaid *Luther*) I preached out of St. John's Epiſtle, That Chriſt dwelleth in us through faith and grace, he worketh in us, defendeth, and delivereth us. Afterwards as ſoon as I there fell ſick, he, Oſiander, preached openly againſt me in the preſence of all the Divines which were at the aſſembly; he ſaid, *Chriſtus habitat in nobis eſſentialitur*; the ſame was very grievous to them all, eſpecially to Brentius. Oſiander hath eloquence, but the common people is nothing edified by his preaching.

How Luther firſt came to the Strife.

GOD in wonderful wiſe (ſaid *Luther*) hath led us out of the darkneſs of the Sophiſts, and unforeſeen hath caſt me into the game now more than twenty years. It went weakly forward at the firſt, Anno 1517, when after All-hallowtide we came to Kemberg, where I firſt began to write againſt the groſs errors touching indulgences. At that time Doctor Jerome withſtood me, and ſaid, What will you do, they will not endure it? Then ſaid I, What if they muſt endure it?

Soon after him came Silveſter Sacripalacius into the liſt: he lightned and thundered againſt me with this ſyllogiſm, and ſaid, Whoſoever maketh doubt of any one ſentence or act of the Romiſh church, the ſame is an heretick. Martin Luther doubteth thereof. *Ergo*, he is an heretick.

Then it went on, for the Pope maketh a three-fold diſtinction of the church.

Firſt, a ſubſtantial, that is, the *corpus* and body of the church.

Secondly, a ſignificant church, that are the Cardinals.

Thirdly, an operative and powerful church, and that is the Pope himſelf, no mention is made of a council; for the Pope will be the powerful church above the holy Scripture and councils.

Of Luther's Admonition to Preachers.

LOVING brethren, let us attend our office in God's fear and with all reverence; let us deliver the doctrine of the Goſpel to the hearers in humility and calling upon God. Afterwards, let us make our boaſt in God whoſe cauſe we have in hand; let us not ſuffer ourſelves to be torn away from the ſame.

That

That the Hearers of the Goſpel are Epicures.

OUR auditors, for the moſt part, are epicures, they meaſure our preaching as they think good, and will have eaſy days.

The Phariſees and Sadducees were Chriſt's enemies, yet they heard him willingly; the Phariſees, to the end they might lay hold on him; the Sadducees, that they might flout and deride him. The Phariſees (ſaid *Luther*) are our friars; the Sadducees, our gentry, citizens, and country clowns: our gentlemen give us the hearing, and they believe us, yet they will do what ſeemeth good unto them; that is, they remain epicures.

How a Preacher ought to be qualified to preach.

A PREACHER (ſaid *Luther*) ſhould be a logician, and a rhetorician, that is, he muſt be able to teach, and to admoniſh; when he preacheth touching an article, ſo muſt he firſt diſtinguiſh it, what it is properly called. Secondly, he muſt define, deſcribe, and ſhew what it is. Thirdly, he muſt produce ſentences out of the Scriptures, therewith to prove and ſtrengthen it. Fourthly, he muſt, with examples, explain and declare it. Fifthly, he muſt adorn it with ſimilitudes; and laſtly, he muſt admoniſh and rouſe up the lazy, earneſtly reprove the diſobedient, falſe doctrine, and the authors thereof; yet ſo, that it proceedeth not out of malice and envy, but only God's honour, the profit and ſaving health of the people.

Ah (ſaid *Luther*)! what diligence our bleſſed Saviour ſhewed in teaching ſimply and plainly; he uſed ſimilitudes of vines, of ſheep, of trees, &c. to the end people might be able to underſtand, comprehend, and retain it.

Their Prieſts do teach for Hire, Mich. iii.

SOME there be (ſaid *Luther*) that abuſe this ſentence, do draw and wreſt the ſame indirectly againſt good and godly teachers and preachers, as if it were not right for them to take the wages which is ordained for the miniſters of the church, of which they muſt live; they produce the ſentence where Chriſt ſaith, *Freely ye have received, freely give*; they alledge alſo the example of St. Paul, who maintained himſelf by the work of his hands, to the end he might not be burthenſome to the church.

Theſe accuſations do proceed out of hatred to the function of preaching, to which Satan is a deadly enemy. Theſe ungodly people (by filling the ears of the ſimple with ſuch ſpeeches) do not only occaſion the preachers to be condemned, but alſo the function of preaching to be ſuſpected; whereas they ought, with all diligence, to endeavour that the miniſters (for the Word's ſake) might again be reſtored to their honeſt dignity.

It is true, as Chriſt ſaith, *Freely ye have received, freely give*, for he will have the chief end of preaching to be directed to God's honour only, and the people's ſalvation; but it followeth not out of that ſentence, That it is unright, and againſt God, for the church to maintain her miniſters, which truly ſerve her in the Word It were againſt God, and all Chriſtianity, if the miniſters of the church ſhould omit the final cauſe, for which the office of preaching is inſtituted, and ſhould look and have regard only to their wages, or aim at lucre and gain, and ſhould not uprightly, purely, and truly proceed in the office of teaching.

Now

Now like as the miniſters of the church, by God's command, are in dut y bound to ſeek and promote God's honour, and the ſaving health and ſalvation of the people, with true and upright doctrine; even ſo likewiſe the church and congregation have command from God, to maintain their miniſters, and honeſtly to nouriſh and to cheriſh them; for Chriſt ſaith, *Every labourer is worthy of his hire.* Now, if he be worthy, then no man ought to caſt it in his teeth, for taking his wages. St. Paul more clearly expoundeth that ſentence, 1 Cor. ix. where he ſaith, *The Lord hath alſo commanded, that they which preach the Goſpel, ſhould live of the Goſpel.* He putteth on the office of the Law, and ſaith, *Do ye not know, that they which do miniſter about holy things, live of the things of the temple? And they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar.* Moreover, he maketh uſe of very fine ſimilitudes thereunto, and ſaith, *Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof?* But eſpecially the compariſon which he giveth in this his Epiſtle to the Corinthians, where he ſaith, *If we have ſown unto you ſpiritual things, is it a great matter if we ſhall reap your carnal things?* Indeed (ſaid *Luther*) every Chriſtian, but eſpecially the officers of the church, miniſters, and preachers, ſhould ſo carry themſelves, that they fall not into ſuſpicion, as if they were greedy and covetous; yet, notwithſtanding, they muſt not ſo conceive it, as if it were unright to take of the church and aſſembly, that which is needful for the maintenance of the body.

Therefore no man ſhould be offended, that now and then, good and godly rulers, do well and ſufficiently provide for the churches, by honeſtly maintaining her true miniſters; nay, we ought to bewail, that the greateſt part of princes and rulers do not ſeriouſly regard the true and pure religion, nor provide for our children and poſterity, who, through ſuch miſerableneſs, will either have none at all, or the moſt unlearned church rulers and miniſters.

Of thoſe that ſtudy in Holy Scripture.

THE ſacred Scripture (ſaid *Luther*) require humble hearts, that hold God's Word in honour, love, and worth, and that pray continually, *Lord teach me thy ways and ſtatutes.* But the Holy Ghoſt reſiſteth the proud, and will not dwell with them. And although ſome for a time do diligently ſtudy in holy Scripture, do teach and preach Chriſt uprightly; yet as ſoon as they become proud, God excludeth them out of the church; therefore every proud ſpirit is an heretick, though (as yet) not in act and deed, yet before God.

But it is a hard matter for one (who hath ſome particular gift and quality above another) not to be haughty, proud, and preſumptuous, and not contemn others; therefore God ſuffereth them that have great gifts, to fall many times into heavy tribulations, to the end they may learn, when God draweth away his hand, then they are of no value. St. Paul was conſtrained to bear on his body the ſting or thorn of the fleſh, to preſerve him from haughtineſs. And if Philip Melancthon were not now and then plagued in ſuch ſort as he is, ſo would he have ſtrange conceits and meanings.

What Luther learned by Preaching.

I LEARN by preaching (ſaid *Luther*) to know what the world, the fleſh, the malice and wickedneſs of the devil is, which could not be known before the Goſpel was revealed and preached. At that time I thought that there were no other ſins but only incontinency and lechery.

Of Court Preaching.

AT court (ſaid *Luther*) theſe rules ought to be obſerved; we muſt cry aloud, and accuſe; for neither the Goſpel, nor modeſty, belong to the court; we muſt be harſh, and ſet our faces as flints; we muſt (inſtead of Chriſt, who is mild and friendly) place Moſes with his horns in the court. Therefore I adviſe my chaplains and miniſters to complain at court of their wants, miſeries, poverty, and neceſſities; for I myſelf preached concerning the ſame before the Prince Elector, who is both good and godly, but his courtiers do what they pleaſe. Philip Melancthon and Juſtus Jonas were lately called in queſtion at court, for the Word's ſake; but they made this anſwer: Luther is old enough, and knoweth how and what to preach.

Of Luther's earneſt Speech.

CURSED are all preachers that in the church aim at high, hard, and neat things, and (neglecting the ſaving health of the poor unlearned people) ſeek their own honour and praiſe, and therewith to pleaſe one or two ambitious perſons.

When I (ſaid *Luther*) preach in this place, I ſink myſelf deeply down. I regard neither *Doctores* nor *Magiſtros*, of which are here in the church above forty; but I have an eye to the multitude of young people, children, and ſervants, of which are more than two thouſand. I preach to thoſe, and direct myſelf to them that have need thereof. Will not the reſt hear me? the door ſtandeth open unto them, they may be gone. I ſee that the ambition of preachers groweth and encreaſeth, the ſame will do the greateſt miſchief in the church, and will produce great diſquietneſs and diſcord; for they will needs teach high things touching matters of State, thereby aiming at praiſe and honour; they will pleaſe the worldly wiſe, and in the mean time neglect the ſimple and common multitude.

An upright, a godly, and true preacher ſhould direct his preaching to the poor, ſimple ſort of people, like a mother that ſtilleth her child, dandleth, and playeth with it, preſenteth it with milk out of her breaſts, needeth neither malmſey nor muſcadine to give it. In ſuch ſort ſhould alſo preachers carry themſelves, ſhould teach and preach plainly, that the ſimple and unlearned may conceive, comprehend, and keep it. But when they come to me, to Melancthon, to Doctor Pommer, &c. then let them ſhew their cunning, how learned they be, they ſhall be well put to their trumps; for to ſprinkle out Hebrew, Greek, and Latin in their public ſermons, the ſame ſavoureth merely of pride, which agreeth neither with time nor place, nor is it pertinent. To conclude, ſuch preachers are untimely ripeleſs ſaints.

I am heartily ſorry that in my time I have cauſe to ſay thus much, that ſuch proud and haughty miniſters and preachers are among us, who aim at rule and government, as St. Paul ſaith, *I would to God ye did reign, &c.* The loving Apoſtle was conſtrained to ſuffer, as God ſaid concerning him, *I will ſhew him how much he muſt ſuffer for my name's ſake, &c.* God preſently laid upon his neck that *Pati*, he found it alſo by experience. Such ſorrow of heart is far greater and more heavy than death. It is called *Martyrium interpretativum*, a torment without bloodſhed, wherein one broileth and tormenteth himſelf.

This muſt I alſo ſuffer through the offences and pride of my ſcholars, inſomuch that I would rather ſuffer death, and ſeal it with my blood.

That

That St. Paul diligently ſtudied Moſes and the Prophets, and expounded them.

IN the Pſalm it is ſaid, their voice went out into the whole world. But St. Paul to the Romans giveth it thus, in the German tongue, *Their ſound went out into all the earth*, which is all one. Many ſentences are in the Bible, wherein St. Paul obſerved the tranſlation of the Seventy Interpreters, for he contemned them not; and whereas he was preacher to the Grecians, therefore he was conſtrained to preach as they underſtood.

In ſuch ſort did he uſe that ſentence, 1 Cor. xv. *Death is ſwallowed up in victory*, whereas in the Hebrew it is written, *In finem*, yet it is all one, *in finem*, *in æternum*; that death in *Victoria* will not come again, *id eſt*, *Vita vincet*. St. Paul was very rich, flowing in words; one of his words well contained three of Cicero's orations. Oftentimes St. Paul ſpeaketh one word, which pierceth through the whole of Iſaiah and Jeremiah. O! (ſaid *Luther*) he was an excellent preacher; he is not in vain named *Vas electum*. Our Lord God ſaith, I will give a preacher to the world that ſhall be precious. There was never any that underſtood the Old Teſtament ſo well as St. Paul, except John the Baptiſt, and John the Divine. St. Peter excelleth alſo. Indeed St. Matthew and the reſt do well and diligently deſcribe the hiſtories, which are very neceſſary; but *res & verba*, *& vim verborum Veteris Teſtamenti*, they never mention what is couched therein.

St. Paul tranſlated much out of Hebrew into Greek, which none beſides were able to do; he oftentimes ſo handleth one chapter, that he expoundeth four, five, or ſix chapters. O! he dearly loved Moſes and Iſaiah, for they, together with King David, were the chiefeſt prophets. The words and things of St. Paul are extracted out of Moſes and the prophets.

Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) young Divines ought to ſtudy Hebrew, to the end they may be able to compare Greek and Hebrew words together, and diſcern the properties, natures, and ſtrength of the ſame.

CHAP. XXIII.

OF ANTICHRIST.

Luther's Diſcourſe of the Antichriſt, or Pope.

THE head of Antichriſt (ſaid *Luther*) is the Pope, and the Turk together. For a living beaſt muſt have a body and ſoul; the ſpirit or ſoul of Antichriſt, is the Pope, but his fleſh, or body, is the Turk. This devaſteth, deſtroyeth, and perſecuteth God's church corporally; the Pope ſpiritually; yea, alſo corporally, with hanging, burning, murthering, &c. But like as in the Apoſtle's time, the church had, and kept the victory, and remained againſt the ſeeming holineſs of the Jews, and power of the Romans. Even ſo to this day, ſhe will maintain and keep the field againſt the hypocriſy and idolatry of the Pope, of the Turk, and againſt the power of other enemies.

Of Luther's expounding the Prophecy of the Prophet Daniel (Chapter the Eleventh) touching Antichriſt.

AND the King ſhall do according to his will, and he ſhall exalt himſelf, and magnify himſelf above every God, and ſhall ſpeak marvellous things againſt the God of Gods, and ſhall proſper till the indignation is accompliſhed: for that that is determined ſhall be done. Neither ſhall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the deſire of woman, nor regard any God, for he ſhall magnify himſelf above all, &c.

This prophecy (ſaid *Luther*) as all the teachers uniformly do ſhew, pointeth directly at the Antichriſt, under the name of Antiochus; for the ſame ſhall regard neither God, nor the love of woman; that is, the ſtate of matrimony. Thus it ought to be underſtood, that the Antichriſt ſhall contemn theſe two on earth, namely God, (that is religion) and mankind; he will not regard a woman, that is, he will contemn temporal and houſe-government, he will regard no laws, no juriſdiction, Emperors, or Kings; for through women, children are born, and brought up, to the preſervation of generation, and repleniſhing of the world; therefore when the ſame ſhall not be regarded, then of neceſſity houſe and temporal government muſt alſo be contemned; yea, all Emperors, Kings, their laws, rights, and ordinances muſt be held of no value nor eſteem.

Daniel was an exceeding high and excelling prophet, whom Chriſt loved, and touching whom he ſaid, Whoſo readeth, let him mark. He ſpake of that Antichriſtian horror ſo clearly, as if he had been at that time an eye-witneſs thereof. Read the 11th chapter throughout.

He beginneth at that time when Emperor Caligula, and other tyrants ruled, he ſaith, *He ſhall plant the tabernacle of his palace between the ſeas, upon the glorious holy Mount*; that is, at Rome in Italy. The Turk ruleth alſo between two ſeas at Conſtantinople, but that is not the holy Mount. He doth not honour, nor advance the worſhipping of *Maoſim*, neither prohibiteth he matrimony. Therefore Daniel pointed directly at the Pope, who accompliſhed both, with great fierceneſs and ſeverity. The prophet ſaith further, *He ſhall alſo be forſaken of his Lord*: It is come to that paſs already (ſaid *Luther*) that Kings and Princes do leave him. Therefore I adviſe that ye give credit to Daniel, and hold for certain that the Pope is the right Antichriſt.

Now concerning the manner of religion under the Pope and the Turk, there is no difference, but only in ceremonies; for the Turk obſerveth Moſaical, but the Pope, Chriſtian ceremonies. Yet both of them do ſophiſticate and falſify their ceremonies; for, like as the Turk defileth the Moſaical bathings and waſhings, even ſo the Pope ſtaineth and fouleth the right uſe of baptiſm, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

The kingdom of Antichriſt is deſcribed and pictured in Daniel, and in the Revelation of John; where he ſaith, *And it was given unto him to make war with the ſaints, and to overcome them.* This (ſaid *Luther*) ſeemeth to be propheſied of the Turk, and not of the Pope. But we are forced to underſtand this text of the Pope's abominations and tyranny, in temporal reſpects; as his acts, and our experience witneſs. It followeth Chapter xii. verſe 7, *That it ſhall be for a time, times, and a half:* Now here is the queſtion, What that time is? If time be called a year, then it maketh three years and an half, and hitteth juſt upon Antiochus, who ſo long exerciſed tyranny amongthe people of Iſrael, and afterwards died in his own filth and excrements.

In like manner ſhall the Pope alſo be deſtroyed without hands, and ſhall die in

in himſelf; for he began his kingdom, not through power, but through ſuperſtition, and external ſhining, and ſeeming authority of ſcripture; as, *Thou art Peter*, &c. *Feed my Lambs*, &c. This is the ground on which Popedom is built and grown, and through the ſame is fallen again; therefore this prophecy, *He ſhall be broken without hands*, aimeth chiefly at the Pope; for all other tyrants and monarchs uſe temporal power and ſtrength; however this prophecy in general faſteneth both Pope and Turk; for they both began their government almoſt at one time, under the Emperor Phocas, who murthered his own maſter, Emperor Maurice, together with his Empreſs and young princes, 900 years ſince. At the ſame time the Pope began to govern in the church, and Mahomet began to encreaſe; but the Pope's temporal kingdom, when he began to jeer and plague Emperors and Kings, hath ſtood ſcarcely 300 years.

I cannot define this prophecy, *A time, times, and an half*. I would willingly draw it upon the Turk, who began to rule (after Conſtantinople was overcome) in the year 1453, which is 85 years. Now, when I reckon the time according to Chriſt's age (30 years), ſo this ſentence maketh one hundred and five years. Well (ſaid *Luther*), God knoweth how he will deal with it, and how he will deliver thoſe that are his; our duty is, neither to know, nor to gueſs at it, but to repent and pray.

Seeing the Pope is the Antichriſt, I believe that he is a devil incarnate; for like as Chriſt is true and natural God and man, even ſo is the Antichriſt a living devil: therefore it is true what they ſay of the Pope, he is an earthly god; that is, he is neither a proper God, nor a proper human creature, but two natures mingled together; an earthly god; that is, a god of this world.

But why nameth he himſelf an earthly god, as though the only true, and Almighty God were not God on earth? Truly, the Pope's kingdom is an horrible wrath of God; namely, *an abomination of deſolation, which ſtandeth in the Holy place*, as Chriſt ſaith, *Whoſo readeth, let him underſtand*, Matth. xxiv.

God's wrath muſt be very great (ſaid *Luther*), that a human creature dare preſume (now Chriſt is come) to exalt himſelf in the church. If it had been done amongſt the Gentiles before the coming of Chriſt, then it were not ſo great a wonder. And although Daniel, Chriſt himſelf, and his Apoſtles, did give us warning of that poiſoned beaſt and peſtilence; yet we Chriſtians have been, and ſtill are ſo doltiſh and mad, as to adore and worſhip all his idols, and believe that he is Lord over the univerſal world, under the name and title of St. Peter's ſucceſſor; whereas neither Chriſt, nor St. Peter, left any dominion upon earth.

To conclude, the Pope is the laſt blaze in the lamp, which will go out, and ere long will be extinguiſhed; he is the laſt intent of the devil, that lightneth and thundereth with ſword and bull, who maketh war through the power and ſtrength of others, as Daniel ſaith, *He is powerful, but not by his own ſtrength*, as it now plainly appeareth. It hath been ſaid, the Pope hath more power in one finger, than all the princes in Germany. But the ſpirit of God's mouth hath ſeized upon that ſhameleſs whore, and in many hearts is ſo ſtartled, that they regard him no more, which no Emperor with ſword and power had been able to accompliſh; for the devil ſcorneth ſword and ſcabbard: but when he is ſtruck with God's Word, then the Pope is turned to a poppy, and to a frothy flower; that is, to ſuch a flower, which with the ſun goeth up, and with it again goeth down; that yellow flower in the evening is juſt like a bald friar.

From whence the Biſhop of Rome hath the Name Papa, Pope.

THE word [Papa] (ſaid *Luther*) as I think, cometh of the word [Abba] by turning the letters about, as were he a father of fathers; for by the ancients, in ſome places, the biſhops were called Papa, as Hieronymus writeth to Auſtin, (who was biſhop of Hippo) To the holy Papa, who, notwithſtanding, was meaner in degree than Hieronymus. We read alſo in the legends of Cyprian (who was a martyr of the church), that the judge aſked Cyprian, and ſaid, Art thou that Cyprian whom the Chriſtians do call their Papa? So (I conceive) it was a name common to all biſhops; like as little children call their fathers Ebbe, ſo are the biſhops in ſuch manner called fathers of the church.

That every Man in Duty is bound to reſiſt that Bear-wolf, the Pope.

IN the year 1530, the 9th of May, Luther held a very ſharp diſputation at Wittemberg (which continued three hours) againſt that abominable monſter, the Pope, that bear-wolf, who exceedeth all tyranny and oppreſſion, as he alone will be *Exlex*, will live ſecure and free, and do according to his own will: yea, and will be worſhipped and adored under pain of damnation, and loſs of many poor ſouls.

Therefore whoſo regardeth God's honour, and the ſaving health of his ſoul, the ſame ought to withſtand and reſiſt the Pope with all his power.

The Pope in his decretals boaſteth, that he hath power and authority over all rule and government in heaven, and on earth; that he is a Lord over all Lords. Surely neither God nor King can or may endure a human creature to ſpeak in this manner. He is a King of aſſes, his tyranny climbeth up too high, he dared preſume to tread Emperors and Kings under his feet, he ſuppreſſed the whole world, and brought it under his yoke; for God with powerful errors blinded the world, as Daniel ſaith, until the indignation be accompliſhed.

I hope (ſaid *Luther*) he hath done his worſt, and though he falleth not altogether, yet he ſhall encreaſe no more, but rather decreaſe. The ancient Popes were more upright and honeſt; but when they began to look after government and domination, (fearing they might become ſervants again) then Cain could no longer endure his brother. The Papiſts ought never to be truſted, though they promiſe peace by covenants, articles, under hand and ſeal, or by whatſoever confirmation may be thought ſure and ſufficient. At the Imperial and princely aſſembly at Nuremberg, they held us in hand with deceitful diſputations and delays, to the end, in the mean time, they might over-run and ſuppreſs us. Let us watch and pray in this time of ceſſation of arms, that through this light of the Goſpel God's name may be hallowed, &c.

Of the Pope's Three-fold Crown.

THE Pope hath three crowns: the firſt is directly againſt God, for he condemneth religion. The ſecond is againſt the Emperor, for he rejecteth temporal government. The third is againſt the common people, for he condemneth the ſtate and condition of the houſe-government, forbiddeth the prieſts, and other his ſhavelings, the ſtate of matrimony, and houſe-keeping.

Of the Tyranny of Popes againſt other Popes their Predeceſſors.

THERE have been heretofore three Popes, whoſe treatment of each other was as followeth: As the firſt was dead, he that ſucceeded cauſed all his predeceſſor's decrees,

decrees, laws, and ordinances utterly to be aboliſhed; commanded him to be taken out of his grave, and his fingers to be cut off. Now when the ſecond was dead, then the third likewiſe cauſed all what the former had ordained, to ceaſe and to be annihilated; commanded his corps to be digged up, his head to be chopped off, and the body to be caſt into the Tyber; ſuch fine laws and ordinances theſe Popes made, and uſed theſe and the like tyrannies.

Of Pope Julius.

JULIUS, the ſecond of that name (ſaid *Luther*), was an excellent champion in wars and government, he had altogether a worldly brain and underſtanding; he waged war againſt the Emperor, the Venetians, and againſt the French King, and as he underſtood that his army was defeated by the French before Ravenna, he blaſphemed God, and ſaid, Art thou (in the name of a thouſand devils) now on the ſide of the French? doſt thou in this manner defend and protect thy church? Then he turned his face towards the ground, and ſaid, Holy Switzer, pray thou for us; and preſently ſent Biſhop Mathias Langen (the cardinal of Saltzburg) to Maximilian the Emperor, for aid and aſſiſtance. He was in ſuch ſort humbled, that he almoſt fell down at the Emperor's feet, imploring his help. And although he was ſo great a ſoldier, very rich, and had raiſed powerful forts, yet he was afraid of the Cardinals and Romans. He kept the ſtreets in Rome ſo ſweet and clean, that in his time there were no plagues nor ſickneſſes. He was a right worldling, every morning he aroſe early about two of the clock, and diſpatched buſineſs until five or ſix; afterwards he took in hand temporal affairs, as wars, buildings, coining of money, &c. They ſay he had in ready money a treaſure of 106 tuns of gold, which maketh ten millions and ſix hundred thouſand rix-dollars. When he lay on his death-bed, he gave, in his will, to thoſe that kept his treaſure, two hundred and fifty thouſand dollars. He aimed at the empire, and grievouſly plagued Lodowick, the French King; inſomuch that the King wrote to the univerſities in France, deſiring them by public writings, to ſmother the inſufferable pride of the Pope. If I had come at that time (ſaid *Luther*), they would, doubtleſs, have entertained me at Paris with honour; but I was then too young for him: neither was it God's will at that time that I ſhould write againſt him, to the end people ſhould not think he was thruſt from his ſtool by the ſtrength and power of the French King, but only and alone through God's Word. For when God ſpeaketh but a word, and ſaith, Jeruſalem, fall; Rome, be deſtroyed, and lie in the aſhes; King, yield thyſelf captive; Sir Pope, come down from your throne, ſo is it accompliſhed immediately. In this ſort did God confound that mighty Popedom, which was the moſt powerful of all.

Pope Julius would fain have been Emperor; Pope Alexander would willingly have made his ſon Emperor; likewiſe Pope Leo made his brother King of Naples, but he was deſtroyed by poiſon. Pope Clement was the richeſt among them all; for he got the great treaſure of Pope Julius, and was alſo the craftieſt; yet whatever he took in hand was fraudulent and merely in vain; he was an Italian, and a Florentine, which maketh as much as three Italians. Moreover he was a baſtard, deſcended of the houſe of Medicis, which maketh ſeven Italians. To conclude, a more offenſive knave than Pope Clement the ſeventh, was never on earth. The Italians boaſted of Pope Julius thus, Since St. Peter's time no Pope ever had ſo great an eſteem as Julius; yet God hath ſtartled and weakened the powers and authorities of all theſe, and now they lie in aſhes.

Of the Covetouſneſs of the Popes.

POPE Leo was bribed by the Capuchins with fourſcore thouſand ducats, to the end he might leave them unreformed. When he ſaw the money which they ſent lying on a table, he ſaid, Who is able to reſiſt ſo many harniſhed potentates? True it is (ſaid *Luther*), money maketh knaves.

Of Pope Alexander.

POPE Alexander (ſaid *Luther*) was a Maran, that is, a baptized Jew; he believed nothing at all. Pope Julius ſucceeded him, and was ſo great an enemy unto him, that he cauſed all gates, doors, and windows (on which his arms were carved or pourtrayed) to be broken down and defaced.

Epitaphium Scorti *Alexandri* Papæ.

Conditur hoc tumulo, Lucretia *nomine, ſed re*
Thaïs, *Pontificis filia, ſponſa, nurus.*

That is,

Lucretia *call'd, indeed a whore,*
Lieth buried in this tomb,
Both wife and daughter to the Pope,
And bride unto his ſon.

Of Pope Clement the Seventh.

THIS Pope (ſaid *Luther*) that now ruleth is the richeſt, and therewith the moſt unfortunate; he is a moſt wicked wretch, an author of all miſchief. He ſaith, *Rather then I will ceaſe from perſecuting the Proteſtants, I will lead the Turks upon them*; and ſurely he will alſo perform it: therefore pray with diligence, and remember this when I am dead, for the Pope goeth about with fraud and deceit to enſnare us, but he ſhall fail of his purpoſe, and ſo ſhall King Ferdinand. Never came on earth a greater villain (except Satan) than this Pope. He hath riches, power, repute, and authority; the Lord's Prayer is neceſſary againſt him, for he hath an evil intent. He hath ſtired up the Turks, and brought them upon our necks. He hath lived to ſee Rome drowned, ranſacked, and devaſted, yet he ſetteth light thereby, inſomuch that nothing moveth his wicked heart. He intended to deſtroy the French King, made a league with the Emperor at Bononia, and now he inviteth the Turk to be our gueſt. What ſhall I ſay of him? He is the ſon of a Florentine whore.

Of the Pope's Sword.

FORASMUCH as the Papiſts diſcern (ſaid *Luther* to the Prince Elector of Saxony) that they can no longer defend their doctrine, nor protect themſelves with the Holy Scripture; therefore they cry out, and ſay, *We will uſe* St. Peter's *keys no more, but will lay hold on his ſword*; that is, they have bloody enterpriſes and counſels, they would willingly deſtroy and exterminate the memory of us.

Of

Of Agnes, a Female Pope.

I HAVE ſeen, in a great ſtreet at Rome (ſaid *Luther*), which goeth ſtraight up towards St. Peter's church, a Pope (like a woman) cut out in ſtone-work, with a ſceptre and Popiſh *Pallium*; ſhe carried a child in her arms. No Pope is carried or goeth through the ſame ſtreet, leſt he ſhould behold that picture. For a woman named Agnes, born at Mentz, was by a Cardinal taken into England in the habit of a boy, and afterwards brought to Rome, where, by the Cardinals, ſhe was elected Pope. But ſhe was confounded and diſcovered in ſuch ſort, that, in the aforeſaid ſtreet, ſhe bare a child. The wretch (ſaid *Luther*) was ſerved right, and the devil therewith finely flouted his little creature. I much marvel how the Popes endure that picture to ſtand; but God blindeth them, to the end the world may ſee what Popedom is; namely, altogether deceits, lies, and deviliſh doings.

That three Popes have been at one Time.

IN the time of John Huſs (ſaid *Luther*) there were three Popes at one time, that ruled thirty years together, and each of them excommunicated the other, with kindred and ſubjects. Pope John the Twenty-third kept his court at Rome. Pope Peter de Luna, at Arragon. Pope Benedict remained on the Italian Alps. There was an horrible ſchiſm, which betokened Popedom's downfal. Now when Emperor Sigiſmond could not endure the ſame, he called a council at Coſtnitz; but the Cardinals would yield to no reformation, but ſet themſelves againſt it, and *(incongruè)* ſaid, *Non eſt Schiſmam.* The Emperor ſaid, O! know ye not yet *Priſcianum?* ye ſhould ſay, *Non eſt Schiſma*, not *Schiſmam.* Then one of the Cardinals anſwered the Emperor, and ſaid, Foraſmuch as we are lords of rights and laws, ſo are we alſo lords of *Priſcianus*, and of the grammar rules.

Three Popes were depoſed in the ſame council, and a fourth elected; but Pope John (who had ſurrendered up his Popedom, thinking to have been elected again) died for grief, as he ſaw the contrary; in like manner alſo Benedict: Peter remained ſtiff-necked.

Pope John was rejected by reaſon of his wicked and deceitful practices; for he murdered his father, made ſale of biſhoprics, &c. And when thirty ſuch like articles were openly read againſt him, he ſaid, Ah! I have offended far above all theſe, in that I departed from Rome and went over the Alps; had I ſtayed at Rome, ye ſhould have left me undepoſed.

That Popes of neceſſity muſt always be notorious wicked Perſons.

POPEDOM (ſaid *Luther*) hath always been ruled by wicked wretches, correſpondent to their doctrine; for as the Creator is, ſuch is alſo his creatures. As the devil is, who is the author and erecter of Popedom, ſuch are alſo the Popes.

Pope Alexander the Sixth had two ſons, and one daughter, named Lucretia, with whom both father and ſons committed whoredom and bloody inceſt: the one brother ſlew the other on horſeback for the whore's ſake. Cardinal Valentine ſtabbed another Prince, and was Prince in his place; wrote of himſelf, *Aut Cæſar, aut nihil.* Afterwards Alexander the father, together with his ſon, invited all the Cardinals to a banquet, intending to have poiſoned them with a drink out of a flaggon prepared for that end; out of which flaggon, unawares, they filled wine to the Pope, and to his ſon: the father died thereof; but the ſon drank ſallad-oil, cauſed himſelf, with his

legs upwards, to be hung up, whereby he voided the poiſon from him again. At laſt (after he had committed much evil, and many wicked deeds) he was taken captive by the King of Caſtile in Spain; and as they were about to execute him, he cried out, in priſon, *Miſericordia*, deſired firſt to make his confeſſion; then they cauſed a Friar to viſit him, and to hear his confeſſion; but he murdered the Friar, put on his habit, and ſo eſcaped. This (ſaid *Luther*) I have heard at Rome for a moſt certain truth. Such lives they led; therefore their wickedneſs was ripe, and muſt be put to confuſion.

In this our time (ſaid *Luther*) Pope Leo held a council, in which it was decreed, that people from that time ſhould believe the reſurrection of the dead; and that no Cardinal ſhould have above five whores; the like horror was never heard before.

To conclude: None ſhould be made Pope (ſaid *Luther*), but an incomparable knave and villain. The Biſhop of Mentz ought juſtly at the next election to be made Pope; for he deceiveth people and country. The Duke of Bavaria ſaid, The Biſhop of Mentz weareth a very long gown, and though it were as long again, yet the knave would peep out both beneath and above.

Whether Peter was the firſt Pope? and how Riches, Countries, and People came unto the Popes.

ALL Popiſh hiſtories ſay, Peter was the firſt Pope at Rome; but (ſaid *Luther*) it is altogether falſe and feigned. After him (ſay they) were Lucius, Cletus, and Clement, which ruled one after another; for at that time the church was very ſmall, and theſe three preached only in houſes of good and godly Chriſtians, not in public; they contemned not the temporal magiſtrate. In proceſs of time the Emperors gave them privileges chiefly for this cauſe.

They found by experience that Italy would not be governed by them; for the Italians can endure no chief head, nor to have peace among themſelves; therefore the Emperors gave it over to the Biſhops of Rome, who governed all well till Pope Hildebrand came, who joined with the Italians, and paid the Germans with ingratitude. For the firſt fifteen Emperors (of which eight were of the line of Charles the Great, and ſeven of the Franconians) were good and honeſt, and kept the Italians in ſubjection. But now they have a right block of this Charles, he can rouſe them up with his Spaniards, and teach them manners.

Of Pope Adrian.

ADRIAN (ſaid *Luther*) was advanced to be Pope by Emperor Charles, whoſe tutor he had been; he governed not long; for he was of mean parentage, a citizen's ſon at Lovain.

He cauſed two cities to be painted upon his table; the one, his native city where he was born, the other, Lovain, where he commenced Maſter of Arts: by the firſt he wrote, *I have planted*; by the other, *I have watered.* But under the two cities the Emperor was pictured, who anſwered, *I gave the bleſſing thereunto* (for he made him Pope). Then another, with a piece of chalk, wrote underneath, *God did nothing here.*

Of the Blindneſs of the Papiſts.

THE blindneſs of the Papiſts (ſaid *Luther*) is great and horrible, in that out of the Holy Sacrament they have made a ſacrifice of reconciliation for the living and dead, &c. And although they now would trim and cloak the ſame, as if it were a ſacrifice

ſacrifice of thankſgiving, yet all the Sophiſts, the Canoniſts, School-divines, and Sermoniſts apparently do diſprove them; nevertheleſs they are ſo audacious as to alledge ſuch lies openly.

How long Popedom ſhall ſtand and continue.

IN the Pope's decrees (ſaid *Luther*) are many good and profitable ſentences taken out of the fathers, and by *Gratianus* collected together. But the Pope hath bereaved them of their power and authority, and brought the ſame upon himſelf, will have power and authority alone to rule and conclude in the council how and what he pleaſeth, and under the name of God, incroacheth thereupon, whoſe kingdom ſhall ſtand 666 years, according to the number of the beaſt in the Revelation, Chap. xiii. For ſorrow of heart began ſoon after Pope Gregory the Firſt. Afterwards the two Biſhops of Conſtantinople and of Rome falling into diſſention and ſtrife about Popedom, until Charles the Great; then the Romiſh Pope was exalted and and made lord over all Kings on earth.

How and by what means Popedom came up and increaſed.

AFTER that the perſecution of the church ceaſed, then preſently the Popes laid hold on the government, merely out of covetouſneſs and ambition. The firſt was *Hildebrand* (or rather Hell-brand); then they affrighted all people with their Bull, or excommunication, which was ſo fearful a thing, that it deſcendeth upon the children and poſterity; yea, ſervants were forced to take it upon them. The Pope's deceitful practices were very mild, and had a ſweet entrance, whereby they ſought applauſe and love of the people, they liberally promiſed pardons and remiſſion of ſins, were they never ſo great and heavy; yea, although one ſhould have deflowered the Virgin Mary, or crucified Chriſt, yet the Pope could, for money, pardon and forgive the ſame. This power and majeſty of the Pope's (ſaid *Luther*) by God was brought to confuſion and aboliſhed through my pen: for God out of nothing made all things, and is able out of nothing to bring all things to confuſion.

Of Popedoms Downfall.

POPEDOM muſt needs be brought to the ſtake, and pay for all. The Pope ſhall be devoured by Friars, his own creatures. The great and innumerable multitude of Monks and Friars (ſaid Cardinal Campeius) produce great unhappineſs and evil; for they ſhake and looſen the faireſt monarchy of Popedom, which with great conſideration was erected and prepared.

I believe indeed (ſaid *Luther*) that his propheſy is fulfilled, in that the Rat. King is paid home by his own nation. By divinity he cannot be defended, for it is a very cold argument, that his colleagues, the Canoniſts and ſhaven crew, will in ſome kind undertake to defend him, by pleading that it has long been a cuſtom. How ſhould the Pope be able to cenſure and judge, whereas he hath no ſkill nor experience in cauſes belonging to temporal government. How fooliſhly cenſured he touching matrimonial cauſes. He hath forbidden his greaſed retinue to enter into the ſtate of matrimony, notwithſtanding he hath commanded the ſame to be held and obſerved for a ſacrament. But if matrimony were a ſacrament, then it could not be by the Heathen; for the unbelieving Gentiles have nothing to do with ſacraments.

What it was that ſtartled Popedom.

IF the Pope (ſaid *Luther*) had not ſilenced the Prince Elector of Saxony, with myſelf, but had condemned Tetzell and Eck, and had ſuffered me to live at quiet, then it had not come thus far; but he would needs maintain thoſe two ſeducers, thundered and lightened againſt me, and would throw me headlong into hell. Then the truth brake through in ſuch ſort that the Papiſts themſelves were not well contented with the Pope; and it was even right, for no counſel can prevail againſt the Lord of Hoſts.

The books of Philip Melancthon are now gotten into Italy, and received by our adverſaries, ſo that the Pope is more plagued of his own people than of us.

The Cardinal of Camers, in his Veſper-book, fell upon the Pope, and got the victory; he openly diſputed at Paris againſt his power.

Of the Pope's Power and Practices.

IN former time (ſaid *Luther*) the Pope was very haughty and proud; he contemned every man. His Legate, Cardinal Cajetan, at Augſpurg, ſaid unto me, What? do you think that the Pope careth for Germany? The leaſt of his fingers is more powerful and ſtronger then all the Princes of the Empire. But now ſeeing the Emperor ſtriveth for him; he therefore flieth from the council, maketh between the Emperor and French King a Twittchmill, without which two he cannot ſubſiſt in this diſſention. For when the Emperor dieth, then the French King will undertake to fall upon the Empire, and take it into poſſeſſion. In the laſt election he had near five voices of the Princes Electors; if he forſake the Pope, then he will call upon the Turk, upon the King of Perſia, yea, upon the devil himſelf, whom the Pope hath on his ſide *à parte antè*, and before him. He forſaketh not that Twittchmill with the Emperor and French King, but will be ſure to hold with one of them; but now he is neutral, carrieth on both ſhoulders.

A publick notary at Rome, named Rote, openly confeſſed, That only groſs lies, and common affairs were handled in open court; but within, in the Pope's cabinet-council, were conſulted and deviſed abominable practices and enterpriſes againſt Kings, Princes, and the Proteſtant ſtate.

Pope Julius the Second celebrated a fair maſs to the devil, on Eaſter-day, early in the morning, at which time he made a lamentable maſſacre and ſlaughter with the French, wherein twenty thouſands of Chriſtians were ſlain. Ah! (ſaid *Luther*) the wicked wretches ſtrive not for the church (of which they have no care), but only to get wealth and overcome kingdoms and countries.

I hope the legal proceſs of God will proceed againſt the Pope and his retinue, as it hath begun: for againſt him the three firſt petitions in the Lord's Prayer chiefly are directed. Blaſphemed and accurſed be the Pope's name; his kingdom be deſtroyed and thrown down; his will be hindered and confounded. I hope the number of Friars and Nuns ſhall no more encreaſe. When the Pope's feet are chopped off, then he muſt creep; for it cannot long ſtand as it now ſtandeth.

That the Pope's Knavery and Wickedneſs cannot ſufficiently be expreſſed.

I WOULD willingly (ſaid *Luther*) fall upon the Pope's canons and decrees, his patched cloak. No baſe name or ſtile is bad enough for him; his great wickedneſs and knavery cannot be ſounded out nor expreſſed; therefore Chriſt in one word

ſheweth

ſheweth it, and calleth him *An abomination of deſolation* that ſtandeth on the holy Mount. And St. Peter diſplayeth him finely, and painteth him out in his colours. St. Paul alſo nameth him an Oppoſer, or Adverſary, that exalteth himſelf above all that is called God. Daniel likewiſe propheſied the ſame, and ſaith, *He ſhall be proud, and not regard the God of his fathers.*

This we have read and read again, and yet underſtood nothing thereof. But now ſeeing ſuch abomination is ſhewed both in God's Word, and found out by experience through our wicked lives; ſuch thoughts do ariſe in me as willingly I would not have; namely, that this acknowledgment of the Word will fall again, and that the bright ſhining light of the Goſpel will be extinguiſhed. We now know he is properly called the Man of Sin; for the Goſpel clearly ſaith, Chriſt will come at midnight, when neither day not light will appear.

Of the Pope's Livings.

IT is a mere fable (ſaid *Luther*) to ſay that Conſtantine the Emperor gave to the Pope ſo much living, land, and people as they boaſt of. But this I read, that Conſtantine gave much alms to the poor, and commanded the Biſhops to diſtribute the ſame, by which means they grew to be great lords. But he gave them neither countries nor cities; therefore the world admireth from whence the Popes have gotten ſuch dominions. In former times the Popes were not lords over Emperors and Kings, but the Popes were inſtituted and ordained by the Emperors.

Lotharius, the Emperor (a Prince of Saxony), took the power of election from the Pope; for there was a continual ſtrife and diſſention in the election. But afterwards they drew it unto them again by deceitful practices, inſomuch that they were by the Emperors therein confirmed, which was firſt done in the election of Charles the Great, who by reaſon of ſucceſſion was choſen Emperor. Then for a time the Empire remained by the poſterity in ſucceſſion. But when no more were living of that deſcent, then the Pope took upon him the chuſing and electing of an Emperor. Afterwards came Emperor Otto, who ordained ſeven Electors (Princes), whereby an end was made of that ſtrife and diſcord.

Of Conſtantine's Donation.

RESPECTING the donation of Conſtantine the Emperor (ſaid *Luther*) is a great lie, through which the Pope will claim the half of the Roman Empire. And although it were true and had been done; yet it was not in the Emperor's power to give, neither ought the Pope to receive it, according to Chriſt's ſaying, *But it ſhall not be ſo with you*, &c.

Of the State of the Pope with his new-baked Cardinals, and how God bleſſed them.

THE Pope, in one day (ſaid *Luther*), made thirty Cardinals, which were met beyond the Tyber, and received in great ſtate by many thouſands of horſemen; all the cannons roared for joy in a glorious manner. Then came our Lord God alſo thereunto with thunder and lightning, which ſo affrighted them that (as Paſquillus writeth), in the Church, the little child fell out of the arms of God's mother, and aſcended up into Heaven, fearing it ſhould, with the reſt, be made alſo a Cardinal. On the ſame day, a prieſt, ſaying maſs at the altar, loſt the conſecrated oblate, and for fear ſpilt the cup; at which accident the Pope cried

out aloud, and ſaid, One of theſe Cardinals will prove a poiſon and peſtilence of the Romiſh ſtool, which accordingly fell out ſhortly before the Goſpel was brought again to light.

When my firſt poſitions (ſaid *Luther*) concerning indulgences were brought before the Pope, he ſaid, A drunken Dutchman wrote them; when he hath ſlept out his ſleep, and is ſober again, he will then be of another mind. In ſuch ſort he contemneth every man.

How Gerſon fell upon Popedom.

GERSON was the firſt (ſaid *Luther*) that began to aſſault the Pope; but he was not certain of his cauſe. He durſt not venture to preſs himſelf quite through, yet he was comfortable to the people, from whence they named him the Doctor of Conſolation. He was by the Pope excommunicated and damned. Cardinal Cajetan, at Augſpurg, at the Imperial Diet, Anno 1518, called me a Gerſoniſt, becauſe I appealed from the Pope to a general, free, Chriſtian council.

Whoſo blameth me for giving way and yielding ſo much to the Pope at the firſt, let him conſider in what darkneſs I ſtuck at that time. Thoſe that never were in Popedom do hold that to warn others touching Popedom are altogether unneceſſary; but thoſe that have ſtuck therein do know it to be neceſſary, diligently to put the youth in mind thereof.

Of the firſt Chapter of St. Paul to the Romans.

I BELIEVE (ſaid *Luther*) St. Paul, in the firſt chapter to the Romans, wrote a regiſter of abominable ſins and confuſions, more by way of prophecy than hiſtory. Now the ſame is fulfilled at Rome. The Pope maketh Cardinals not in vain; for every one of them hath a yearly income of thirty thouſand florins, which is given towards the Pallium, to the end the Pope, through money and reputation of the Cardinals, may be ſtrengthened and confirmed. From hence Daniel ſaith, *The King will govern according to all his will and pleaſure:* for the Cardinals in all countries are the pillars of Popedom; in Germany we have many Cardinals; likewiſe France, Spain, &c. Inſomuch that the Pope to this day relieth upon his power and ſanctity; yea, and that in ſpite of God Almighty; how ſorely ſoever his power is broken, and his ungodly proceedings diſcovered and laid open.

Of the Pope's wicked Practices.

ANNO 1530, news was ſent to *Luther* out of England, how the Pope with money had corrupted the chief of the King's Privy Counſellors, to the end they ſecretly ſhould kill the King (who had ſeparated himſelf from the church), and for their pains would give that kingdom unto them: for one of them was of the royal race, and continually about the King's perſon. The Pope boaſted that he was heir to that kingdom, by reaſon it was held as from him *per feodum.* But that treaſon being diſcovered, they were apprehended and beheaded.

Of the Papiſts Practices.

THE 28th of June 1538, *Luther* got ſecret intelligence concerning the bloody enterpriſes of the Papiſts, and ſaid, The Pope and Papiſts expect the Emperors

peror's coming; they gather money in all monaſteries and biſhopricks to levy ſoldiers, under a pretence of going againſt the Turks, but they intend to fall upon us on every ſide. As the Biſhop of Mentz lately ſaid, It is but a little while to their utter deſtruction, &c. He intendeth not to depart from Mentz until the Emperor cometh, to the end he may the ſooner ſet abroach the blood-thirſty veſſel. But theſe practices will fail them. God, through his holy angel, will preſerve us, and deal with them according to the ſecond Pſalm.

I would deſire the world (ſaid *Luther*) to take notice of this one particular, namely, when God-fearing people do earneſtly pray, then the ſtratagems and enterprizes of the worldly-wiſe are confounded and brought to naught.

Of the Blindneſs of the Papiſts.

WHEN our Lord God intendeth to plague and puniſh one, then he leaveth him in blindneſs, inſomuch that he regardeth not God's Word, but condemneth the ſame, as the Papiſt now do. They know that our doctrine is God's Word, but they will not allow of this ſyllogiſm and concluſion, When God ſpeaketh, we muſt hear him: now God ſpeaketh through the doctrine of the Goſpel; therefore we muſt hear him. But the Papiſt (againſt their own conſciences) ſay, No; we muſt hear the church.

Truly the caſe is very ſtrange; they yield to both propoſitions, but they will not allow of the conſequences, nor permit the concluſions to be right. They preſs through in ſuch a manner, as is written in a decree and concluſion of the council of Coſtnitz: for (ſay they) although Chriſt ſpeaketh, who is the truth itſelf, yet notwithſtanding an antient cuſtom muſt be preferred and obſerved for a law and ordnance. In this ſort do they ſolve arguments, and anſwer, when they intend to wreſt and pervert the truth.

If this ſin of Antichriſt (ſaid *Luther*) be not a ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, then I do not know how to define and diſtinguiſh ſins. They ſin herein wilfully, and maintain the ſame againſt the revealed truth of God's Word, in a moſt ſtubborn and ſtiff-necked manner. I pray, who would not, in this caſe, reſiſt theſe deviliſh and ſhameleſs lying lips? I marvel not that John Huſs died ſo joyfully, ſeeing he heard of and underſtood ſuch abominable impieties and wickedneſſes of the Papiſts. I pray, how holdeth the Pope concerning the church? He buildeth and preſerveth her, but only in an external luſtre, pomp, and ſucceſſion. But we cenſure and judge her according to her eſſence, as ſhe is in herſelf and own ſubſtance, that is, according to God's Word and Sacraments. The Pope is reſerved for God's judgment, therefore only by God's Judgment he ſhall be deſtroyed. Henry the Eighth, King of England, is now alſo an enemy to the Pope's perſon, but not his eſſence and ſubſtance; he would only kill the body of the Pope, but ſuffer his ſoul (that is his falſe doctrine) to live; the Pope can well endure ſuch an enemy; he hopeth within the ſpace of twenty years to recover his rule and government again. But (ſaid *Luther*) I fall upon the Pope's ſoul (his doctrine) with God's Word, not regarding his body; that is, his wicked perſon and kind of life, I do not only pluck out his feathers (as the King of England, and Prince George of Saxony do), but I ſet the knife to his throat, and cut his wind-pipe aſunder; we put the gooſe on the ſpit, if we ſhould but only pluck her, the feathers would ſoon grow again. Therefore is Satan ſo bitter an enemy unto us, becauſe we cut the Pope's throat; the ſame doth alſo the King of Denmark, he aimeth at the eſſence of Popery.

Of the Pope's Fall in our Time.

IT is a great wonder (ſaid *Luther*) that in this our time the majeſty of the Pope (for the moſt part) is fallen. For all Monarchs, Emperors, Kings, and Princes heretofore feared and quaked by reaſon of the Pope's majeſty and power, who held them (with a wink) all at his bay; none durſt ſo much as mutter a word againſt him. This great god is now fallen; his own creatures (friars and monks) are his enemies, but in that they ſtill continue with him; they do it for the ſake of gain, otherwiſe they would oppoſe him more fiercely than we do. His wickedneſs and knavery is now diſplayed, it being apparent that he hath ſent one hundred and twenty thouſand crowns to levy murtherers and land burners.

Of the Pope's Crown.

THE Pope's crown (ſaid *Luther*) is named *Regnum mundi*, the kingdom of the world; I have heard it credibly reported at Rome, that the ſame crown is worth more than all the Princes of Germany. God placed Popedom in Italy not without cauſe, for the Italians can make many things as if they were real and true, and yet in truth are nothing: they have crafty ſubtle brains.

That the Pope is not the Head of the Church.

IF the Pope were the head of the Chriſtian church, then the church were a monſter with two heads, inaſmuch as St. Paul ſaith, that Chriſt is her head. The Pope may well be (and is) the head of the falſe church.

Of comparing the Pope with the Cuckow, and the Chriſtian Church with the Lark.

WHERE the lark is (ſaid *Luther*), there the cuckow deſireth alſo to be, for he thinketh his ſong is a thouſand times better than the lark's. Even ſo, the Pope placeth himſelf in the church, there his ſong muſt be heard, wherewith he overcroweth the church, yet, like as the cuckow is good for ſomething, but in bringing news that ſummer is at hand, even ſo the Pope ſerveth for this purpoſe: he declareth unto us that the laſt day of Judgment approacheth. The Papiſts are the ſcum of all Hereticks; for all other Hereticks do flatter themſelves, yea, would die upon it, that they have the very truth. But the Papiſts do know their cauſe to be naught, and that they be in error: they damn themſelves in ſinning wilfully againſt the Holy Ghoſt. They will needs maintain, that the public ſtrumpet of Rome is a pure virgin. The biſhop of Saltzburg ſaid to Philip Melancthon at Auſpurg, What, wilt thou make much diſputing? we know very well that we are in the wrong. And when, Anno 1530, he entered into diſcourſe with him, touching controverſies at the Imperial diet, the biſhop ſaid, Ye are but few, we are many, it ſhall be tried which party will be able to deſtroy the other.

Cardinal Campeius ſaid, Do ye Germans refuſe to be under the yoke and obedience of the Pope? Well, (ſaid he) we will cauſe Germany to ſwim in blood. Theſe cogitations (ſaid *Luther*) are too high for my reach. The Pope and Emperor at this time moſt certainly have ſome wicked exploits in their minds.

That the Pope is the right Antichriſt.

HEREBY it plainly appeareth that the Pope is the right Antichriſt, for thoſe that tranſgreſs his ſtatutes, are more ſeverely puniſhed, than they which offend againſt God's laws and Word. In ſuch ſort the Pope exalteth himſelf over and above God. Therefore he is properly called the Antichriſt, in that he ſitteth in the temple and church of God, and exalteth himſelf over all that is called God, and that is worſhipped. The Turk is not the Antichriſt, for he ſitteth not in God's church,; he is a wicked beaſt, for out of God's church is no Antichriſt, but the Pope ſitteth in the holy church, and taketh upon him the honour and worſhipping which is due to God only; therefore the Pope is the right Antichriſt.

Of Ordaining of Prieſts in Popedom.

IN Popedom (ſaid *Luther*) they inveſt the prieſts, not for the office of preaching and teaching God's Word, but only to celebrate maſs, and to gad about with the ſacrament. For, when a biſhop ordaineth one, he ſaith, Take unto thee power to celebrate maſs, and to offer for the living and the dead. But we (ſaid *Luther*) ordain prieſts according to the command of Chriſt and St. Paul, namely, to preach the pure Goſpel and God's Word. The Papiſts in their ordinations make no mention of preaching and teaching God's Word, therefore their conſecrating and ordaining is falſe and unright, for all worſhipping which is not ordained of God, nor erected by God's Word and command, the ſame is nothing worth, yea, it is mere idolatry.

The Simple Aſpect of Luther's Perſon deceived the Pope.

NEXT unto my juſt cauſe (ſaid *Luther*) the ſmall repute and mean aſpect of my perſon gave the blow to the Pope. For when I began to preach and write, the Pope ſcorned and contemned me; he thought it is but one poor friar, what can he do againſt me? &c. I have maintained and defended this doctrine in Popedom againſt many Emperors, Kings, and Princes, what then ſhall this one man do? &c. But if he had regarded me, he might eaſily have ſuppreſſed me in the beginning.

That the Pope boaſteth, that he treadeth in the Footſteps of St. Peter; for ſuch a Falſity he juſtly ought to loſe his Power.

THE office of St. Peter (ſaid *Luther*) was not to govern people by force and power, but (as he himſelf ſaith) *feed the flock of Chriſt which is amongſt you, taking overſight thereof, not by conſtraint but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind, neither as being Lords over God's heritage, but be enſamples to the flock.* And Chriſt ſaith, *Peter, follow me, feed my Lambs.* But the Pope will be Chriſt's lieutenant, and pretend to follow the ſteps of St. Peter, and yet he will not ſerve, nor miniſter, but will be ſerved and miniſtered unto; he will be an earthly god, a god of this world; he will govern and domineer over all Emperors, Kings, and Princes, with great pomp, glory, and power. Therefore ſuch his power, in all equity and juſtice, ought to be taken from him.

That we ought to preach ſharply againſt the Pope.

THERE are many ſaid *Luther*) that think I am too fierce and ſwift againſt Popedom; on the contrary, I complain in that I am (alas) too mild; I wiſh that I could breathe out thunder-claps againſt Pope and Popedom, and that every word were a thunder-bolt.

That the Popiſh Biſhops have not equal Power with the Apoſtles.

A GREAT difference (ſaid *Luther*) is between the Apoſtles and our popiſh Biſhops, for the Apoſtles were great in a general calling, ordained by Chriſt himſelf, who, without rules and examples, could do and deal as Chriſt and the Holy Ghoſt inſtructed them. But the popiſh Biſhops are in a private or ſingle calling, who ought to content themſelves, and be ſatisfied with the examples and rules of holy Scripture.

Of the Papiſt's imagined Antichriſt.

IT is an idle dream of the Papiſts that they entertain of the Antichriſt; they ſuppoſe that he ſhould be a ſingle perſon that ſhould govern, ſcatter money amongſt the people, ſhould do miracles, ſhould carry a fiery oven about him, and ſhould kill the ſaints, Elias and Enoch

Of Pope Clement's Enterpriſes and Exploits againſt the Proteſtants.

BEFORE the Imperial diet was held at Augſpurg (ſaid *Luther*) I marked the wicked enterpriſes of Pope Clement; I ſaw perfectly that he was a man of ſin, and intended bloody exploits. For, ſeeing we know the devil, and what his drift is, how then ſhould we not know his faireſt jewel and member on earth, and his reſolutions? The chiefeſt plot and intent of this Pope hath been, and is, by tricks and devices, to inſtigate the Emperor to leave off, and deſiſt from his happy and proſperous ſucceſs in the wars in Italy, and to divert his forces into Germany, and with all his power to fall upon the Proteſtants, and to root us out.

That the Pride of the Pope and Cardinal's ſpoiled their Cauſe, and gave Furtherance to Luther's *Doctrine.*

THE Pope and his retinue (ſaid *Luther*) relied upon their great power, and thereby they confounded themſelves. When firſt I went to Rome, they called the city, *fontem juſtitiæ*, the fountain of juſtice, but I ſaw that Rome was a whore or a bawdy-houſe. *Anno* 1530, At the Imperial diet at Augſpurg, Cardinal Campeius ſaid, Cardinal Cajetan (ſaid he) in the year 1518, ſpoiled our cauſe touching the doctrine, for he would needs run headlong through by force, but he ſhould handſomely have gone about it and and have uſed policy, craft, and cunning. The Pope is now confounded in Germany, only ſome Princes as yet protect him, and ſtill hath ſome places in poſſeſſion, not by reaſon of his authority, but by the protection of the ſaid Princes. For as Paulus Vergerius, the Pope's Legate, in the year 1533 was in Germany, the apprentices and boys at the hall, had almoſt killed him, by throwing at him mire and dirt, as the Pope's mother. After the diet at Augſpurg was ended, Cardinal Campeius went with King Ferdinand to Vienna, where the people made an image of clouts and rags, like a little Cardinal, and ſet it upon a dog's back; about his neck

neck was tied the Pope's letters of pardons, indulgencies, and ſeals, and under his tail they hung a ſwines bladder filled with peaſe, and in that ſort they hunted the dog through the ſtreets in Vienna. The day after, the Cardinal appointed a whore to bear him company that night, who ſtole from him his Cardinal's croſs. This Cardinal (becauſe he was rich) was by the Pope's ſon made away with through poiſon.

Of Holy Reliques.

THE Biſhop of Mentz bragged that he had a flame of the buſh which Moſes beheld burning.

At the black ſtar at Compoſtel in Spain, they ſhew for a holy relique the enſign of victory which Chriſt had in hell; likewiſe, they ſhew his crown, the holy Croſs, the nails, &c.

Touching the Holy Relique of the Aſs upon which Chriſt rode on Palm Sunday, wherewith certain Dutchmen were gulled, and rightly ſet upon the Aſs.

A DUTCHMAN making his confeſſion to a Maſs-prieſt at Rome, promiſed by an oath, to keep ſecret whatſoever the Prieſt ſhould impart unto him, until he came into Germany; whereupon the Prieſt gave him a leg of the aſs on which Chriſt rode into Jeruſalem, very neatly bound up in a ſilken cloth, and ſaid, This is the holy relique on which the Lord Chriſt corporally did ſit, and with his ſacred legs touched this aſſes leg. Then was the Dutchman wondrous glad, and carried the ſaid holy relique with him into Germany. Now when he came upon the borders, he bragged of his holy relique in the preſence of four others his comrades, and ſhewed it unto them, each of them having likewiſe received from the ſame Prieſt a leg, and had promiſed the ſame ſecrecy, they ſaid with great admiration, Lord! had that aſs five legs? Hence the Italians do jeer the Dutchmen, and hold them for ignorant people. But now (ſaid *Luther*) we mark and ſee their knaveries. The Italians are vexed at nothing more than when we diſregard them, like as they do us. A Dutch ſchool-maſter (to diſgrace a Friar, who in his ſermons rejected all good arts and ſciences) gave to his ſchool-boys this Latin, *Monachus*, a devil, *Diabolus*, a Friar.

Of the Pope's Robberies.

I BELIEVE (ſaid *Luther*) that the Pope appointed and ordained the feaſts of St. Sylveſter, and Thomas of Canterbury, to be celebrated eight days after Chriſtmas-day; becauſe the one brought to the Pope the kingdom of England, the other the Romiſh Empire.

The Apoſtle St. Thomas was by the Pope held in no eſteem, in compariſon of Thomas of Canterbury. For the Pope chiefly aimeth at this object, that he may keep poſſeſſion of the livings. And at ſuch times when the empire fell void, then the Pope always gaped after the ſame. Therefore have I noted and ſhewn ſome of the robberies in the Pope's keys, which will vex him much; for his acts and deeds will plainly appear to agree with my words. It was high time to have this wickedneſs diſcovered to the world.

Of the Papiſts ſhameleſs Lies.

THE lies of the Papiſts (ſaid *Luther*) are ſo palpable and apparent, that they themſelves thereof are aſhamed. Here is a townſman who the laſt Lent openly dreſſed, ſold, and ate fleſh, and as he was called in queſtion for the ſame, he boldly confeſſed that he had power ſo to do by virtue of his butter-letters of indulgences, which gave full ſatisfaction to the magiſtrates. The ſame townſman cauſed his wife to be buried without vigils and ſoul-maſſes, pleaded his letters of confeſſion, in which during her life all her ſins were pardoned and forgiven, therefore vigils and ſoul-maſſes were altogether needleſs.

At Orleans in France was a woman who gave order that, after her death, no vigils nor ſoul-maſſes ſhould be celebrated for her; afterwards ſhe being buried in a monaſtery, the Friars alleged that her ghoſt, howling and crying about, prayed that maſs might be celebrated for her; for ſhe was in purgatory by reaſon of her ſins. At laſt the knavery and deceit was found out and diſcovered, being acted by a boy; who for the ſame, by the King's command, was baniſhed out of the kingdom. To conclude, the Pope's lies are not human, but deviliſh.

Of the Pope's Covetouſneſs and Pedlary.

IN England the Pope receiveth of every one a Peter-penny, that is, a groat, which yearly amounteth to above one hundred and fourſcore thouſand pounds ſterling. Many of the altariſts have ſcarce twenty ſhillings yearly income; yet nevertheleſs they can maintain themſelves well by accidentals and peddling markets, as by virgils, ſoul-maſſes, and the like offerings. The Biſhop of Mentz to my knowledge (ſaid *Luther*) hath loſt the annual revenue of 500*l.* which heretofore he was wont to receive from the conſiſtory, for pardoning of whoring and adultery. The ſame properly belongeth to the temporal Princes and Magiſtrates, who (if they were wiſe) might bring the ſame to their coffers. As I intended to know alſo the ſpiritual rights and juriſdictions of the church, I read for that end *Summam Angelicam:* The name thereof is falſely given; it ought not to be called *Angelical* but *Diabolical*; by reaſon of the exceeding great knavery and ſophiſtry that lieth lurking therein, a man can ſcarce underſtand nor know how to find out the ſame. All the Pope's rights and juriſdictions are alſo uncertain, and with his deviliſh lies he jeered and deceived us under the colour of the power of the keys. St. Peter, with very fierce words, deſcribeth the Pope, where he ſaith, *They are exerciſed with covetous practices*, he ſpeaketh not of human covetouſneſs. Let us but conſider (ſaid *Luther*) what Pope Urbane the Sixth, Gregory the Ninth, and Bonifacius the Twelfth did, before the council was held at Coſtnitz: for although the Romaniſts in the ſame council were humbled and ſcared, yet they recovered again, and became haughty, like as now they are ſtartled again and brought into Chorum. Tetzel, in his allegations, behaved himſelf ſo groſsly, that they were to be felt; he wrote that indulgences were reconciliations between God and mankind; and although people repented not of their ſins, yet they were profitable without any ſorrow and grief for the ſame.

Of the Pope's Keys and Purſe whereon he was hanged.

A PICTURE being brought to *Luther*, in which the Pope, together with Judas the traitor, were hanged on the purſe and the Pope's falſe keys, he ſaid, This will vex the Pope horribly, whom Emperors and Kings have worſhiped, and now muſt be hanged on his falſe pick-locks; it will alſo much grieve the Papiſts, for their conſciences will be touched, the acts witneſſing the Pope's abominable proceedings. Therefore the purſe accordeth well with the Cardinal's hats and their incomes, for the Pope's covetouſneſs hath been ſo groſs, that in all Kingdoms he not only raked to himſelf *Annates*, *Palliums*, &c. but alſo ſold for money the holy ſacraments, indulgences, fraternities, Chriſt's blood, matrimony, &c. Therefore his purſe is filled with robberies, upon which juſtly ought to be exclaimed, as in the Revelations, *Recompenſe them as they have done to you, and make it double unto them according to their works.* Therefore (ſaid *Luther*), ſeeing the Pope hath damned me, and given me over to the devil, ſo will I, in requital, hang him on his own keys.

Of the Pope's Abominations in his Decrees.

IT is abominable that in ſo many of the Pope's decrees, there is not ſo much as one ſingle ſentence of Holy Scripture, or one article of the catechiſm mentioned; for the Pope intended to conduct the governmen of his church in an external way; therefore his teachings were blaſphemous, that a louſy, ſtinking Friar's hood (being put upon a dead body) certainly procured remiſſion of ſins, and of equal value with the merits of our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt Jeſus. This abominable idolatry and blaſpheming of God was by the Pope not only permitted, but alſo confirmed.

Of the cruel Hatred of the Papiſts againſt Luther.

IT is no marvel (ſaid *Luther*) that the Papiſts hate me ſo vehemently, for I have deſerved it well at their hands. Chriſt more mildly and mannerly reproved the Jews, than I the Papiſts, yet notwithſtanding they killed him; therefore they juſtly perſecute me according to their laws and rights; but according to God's laws and will, they ſhall ſee him whom they have pierced. The Pope killeth and deſtroyeth the poor married Prieſts, that receive and obſerve God's Word and ſtatutes, whereas by all their laws and rights they are only to be diſplaced from their offices. Prince George in that ſort hath baniſhed and driven away from Oſhitz ten citizens and houſeholders, with twenty-ſeven children, for the Word's ſake, whoſe ſighs will cry up into heaven againſt him, as Jeſus Sirach ſaith, *The tears of widows do fall downwards, but nevertheleſs they aſcend upwards.*

That the Papiſts will endure no Reformation.

THE Pope with his crew (ſaid *Luther*) can in no wiſe endure a reformation; the very word reformation is more hated at Rome than thunder-bolts from heaven, or the laſt day of judgment: as a Cardinal ſaid, Let them eat and drink and do what they pleaſe, but in that they think to reform us, the ſame is in vain; we will not endure it. Neither will we, that are Proteſtants (ſaid *Luther*), be ſatisfied with them, although they adminiſtered the ſacrament in both kinds, and permitted Prieſts to marry;

marry; but we will alſo have the doctrine of faith pure and unfalſified, and the righteouſneſs that juſtifieth and ſaveth before God, which expelleth and driveth away all idolatry and falſe-worſhipping, which being gone and baniſhed, then the foundation on which Popedom is built falleth alſo. In the mean time the Papiſts in Germany are filled with fear; for as we returned from the aſſembly at Schmalcalden, the Prieſts at Erfurt enquired what was there concluded, whether for their ruin or ſafety? Philip Melancthon anſwered them, and ſaid, Remember the example at Auſpurg. The Prieſts in Franconia make to themſelves friends of the unrighteous Mammon, that is, they are confederate with certain Princes.

In what Points we and the Papiſts diſagree, and wherein we may yield unto them.

WE will (ſaid *Luther*) that the holy ſacrament ſhall be adminiſtered in both kinds. In like manner it ſhall be free for Prieſts to marry, or to forbear. Thirdly, we ſhall and will in no wiſe ſuffer ourſelves to be bereaved of the article of juſtification, *That by faith only in Jeſus Chriſt we are juſtified and ſaved before God, without any works, merits, and deſerts, merely by grace and mercy:* The ſame article, above all other, we muſt keep and preſerve pure and unfalſified, if we intend to be ſaved. As touching the private maſs, we cannot ſtop nor hinder it, but muſt leave it to God, to be acted by thoſe over whom we have neither power nor command; yet, nevertheleſs, we ſhall and will openly teach and preach againſt them, and ſhew that they are abominable blaſphemies and idolatry. Either (ſaid *Luther*) we muſt go together by the ears, or elſe they, in our countries, muſt yield unto us in that particular; if it cometh to paſs, that therein they yield unto us, then muſt we be contented; for, like as the Chriſtians dealed with the Arians, and as St. Paul was conſtrained to carry himſelf towards the Jews, even ſo muſt we alſo leave the Papiſts to their own conſciences, and ſeeing they will not follow us, ſo we neither can nor will force them, but muſt let them go and commit it to God's judgment; and truly, ſincerely, and diligently hold unto, and maintain our doctrine, let the ſame vex, anger, and diſpleaſe whom it will.

Of the falſe and blind Doctrine of the Papiſts.

THE Papiſts teach (ſaid *Luther*) that a man deſerveth grace when he doth what he is able to do, and thereby is fitted and prepared to pleaſe God and to be ſaved, inſomuch that it can be no otherwiſe. This doctrine always hath continued, yea alſo in the time of that high-enlightened man and teacher, Gerſon, and hath remained until this my time, and there is no difference between the ſame and the doctrine or hereſy of Arian, only that other words are uſed.

Of the Pope's Tyranny.

OCCAM writeth, that Conſtantine was the firſt chriſtian Emperor; for when he had given the kingdom to the Pope, he then by homage of the Pope received it again, and ſo was made Emperor, as by the Pope juſtly confirmed, alledging that ſentence of Chriſt, *To me is given all power in heaven and on earth, &c.*

The Pope drew this Conſtantine to his own humour, for he would needs be Chriſt's lieutenant. In like manner the Pope roareth in his decrees, and ſaith, *Whoſoever doubteth of any one word or act of the Romiſh church, and believeth not every thing that ſhe ſaith, the ſame is an heretick.* Dr. Wimpling was almoſt ſlain, becauſe he doubted whether St. Auſtin had been a Friar or no. In this ſort (ſaid *Luther*) were we captivated, inſomuch that we durſt not once mutter againſt the leaſt thing.

Of

Of the empty Arguments of the Papiſts.

WHEREAS the Papiſts ſee that they have an ill cauſe, therefore they undertake and labour to maintain and defend the ſame with very baſe arguments, which cannot endure the proof, and therefore may eaſily be confuted.

They ſay, *The praiſing of any thing is an invocation*; *the ſaints are to be praiſed, therefore they are to be invoked.* I anſwer (ſaid *Luther*), No, in no wiſe; for every praiſing is not invoking: married people are to be praiſed, but not to be invoked; for invocation belongeth only to God, and not to any creature, neither in heaven nor on earth; no, not to any angel.

Moreover, every act of luſt and concupiſcence, which is done in evil deſire, is unſeemly and againſt God. Matrimonial actions are accompliſhed with evil luſt and deſire, therefore they are unſeemly and againſt God, and conſequently are ſins.

Anſwer. Matrimonial actions in themſelves are not actions of evil deſire and luſt; but inaſmuch as one married perſon loveth another, that is God's ordaining, and although ſuch actions accidently are unclean, by reaſon of original ſin, yet notwithſtanding of themſelves they are pure and clean.

In like manner, the doctrine of the remiſſion of ſins is neceſſary: indulgences, pardons, and graces are remiſſions of ſins; therefore they are neceſſary.

Anſwer. The Pope's pardons are not remiſſions of ſins, but are ſatisfactions for remitting of the puniſhments, which notwithſtanding are mere fables and fictions.

Of the Papiſts unſound Reaſonings.

IF (ſaid *Luther*) we could not convince the Papiſts by their own books, and with living witneſſes, then we muſt be in the wrong, and they in the right. But who is able to number all their groſs errors? *Scotus* (their greateſt and chiefeſt ſophiſt) writeth, That a human creature, by his own natural ſtrength and free-will, is able to ſatisfy God and his laws, without the aſſiſtance and grace of the Holy Ghoſt, *Ex merito congrui*, whereby he is ſo prepared, that God giveth him grace, and loveth him: then afterwards followeth *Meritum condigni*, that is, The merit of deſerts, as deſerving to be made worthy; he further ſaith, If one can love the leſſer good, much more can he love the greater, which is God.

Of the Papiſts Abominations.

IN the time of my being at Rome (ſaid *Luther*) a diſputation was openly held (in which were thirty learned maſters, beſides myſelf) againſt the Pope's power, who boaſted, that with his right hand he commanded the angels in heaven, but with his left hand he drew ſouls out of purgatory; and that his perſon was mixed or mingled with the Godhead. Calixtus diſputed againſt the ſame, and ſhewed, That power was given to the Pope to bind and to looſe only upon earth. But when the other outragiouſly oppoſed him with exceeding great vehemency, then Calixtus concluded that he ſpake it only by way of diſputation, and not that he held it to be ſo.

For the ſpace of many hundred years there hath not been one Biſhop that undertook any earneſt care of ſchools, of baptiſm, and of preaching; for the ſame had been too great a labour and trouble for them; ſuch enemies were they to God. I have heard divers learned fathers affirm (ſaid *Luther*), that the church long ſince ſtood in need of a reformation; but no man hath been ſo bold as to fall upon Popedom; for the Pope carried this ſtyle, *Nôli me tangere*, touch me not; therefore every man

was

was ſilent. Dr. Staupitz ſaid once to me, If you meddle with Popedom, you will have the whole world againſt you; and ſaid further, Yet nevertheleſs, the church is grounded upon blood, and in and with blood muſt be dewed, ſprinkled, and planted. Therefore I would wiſh that all thoſe which intend to preach the Goſpel, might diligently read the Popiſh abominations, decrees, and books; and above all things, well and thoroughly conſider the horrors of the maſs (for the ſake of which idol, God in juſtice might have drowned and deſtroyed the univerſal world), to the end their conſciences may be armed and confirmed againſt the adverſaries and preſent offences.

The books of John Capelle (wherein a compariſon is made between Chriſt and St. Francis). Chriſt, he ſaith, is a figure of St. Francis; and affirmeth, that Chriſt aſſigned over to St. Francis the ſeat of judgment, to the end he might ſave or condemn whom he pleaſed.

In a monaſtery at Luneburg ſtandeth to this day a great altar, wherein is carved the birth, and all the miracles of Chriſt; alſo his riding into Jeruſalem, his impriſonment, paſſion, death, deſcending into hell, his reſurrection, and aſcenſion. Juſt by the ſame is alſo engraven the birth of St. Francis, his miracles, ſufferings, death and aſcending up into heaven, inſomuch that they of equal value eſteemed the works of St. Francis with the wonderful works and paſſion of our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, which was a great and moſt abominable blaſpheming of God.

The Pope is a mere ſcoffer and ſcorner of God and mankind; for he contemneth and derideth religion, the temporal ſtate and civility; and as a proof of the ſame, his baſtard ſon married the Emperor's daughter, and was made a great Prince. The Pope in his heart ſhould have been thereof aſhamed, if he intended to be held for a prieſt.

Of the whoreing Prieſts.

A REFORMATION being lately made at Wurtzburg among the Prebends, they were conſtrained (ſaid *Luther*) to put away the maiden and women-cooks; the ſame continued for the ſpace of a fortnight (for they could be without them no longer), then they had leave to take them again: but the women-cooks refuſed to live with the Prebends, except they would take and maintain them, as if they were their wives; whereupon they took them on ſuch conditions, and were fain to apparel them anew, to the end they might not be known. I have heard a lock-ſmith ſay, That for the ſpace of a fortnight, day and night, he had work enough to do in making keys: for every one of thoſe women would have a key to her Prebend's chamber, becauſe formerly they put them away as their whores, but now received them again as their wives.

Such wicked wretches muſt the church have to be her rulers and governors. In the council of Baſil it was decreed, that prieſts ſhould wear long gowns down to the feet, high ſhoes, broad hats, and neither red nor green apparel, and that no man ſhould diſpute, whether the ſouls were mortal or immortal. The Pope (ſaid *Luther*) is a King without God and matrimony, for he hath aboliſhed that which is divine and godly; and alſo hath altered that which God inſtituted and ordained in the world.

Of Tetzel's inſolent Boldneſs with his Indulgences, which gave Luther *Occaſion to write againſt the ſame.*

TETZEL wrote and taught that the Pope's indulgences, or pardons, could remit and pardon ſuch ſins which one intended and reſolved to commit in future.

Alſo

Alſo he affirmed, that the croſs of indulgence (which the Pope had erected and ordained) was of equal power and value with the croſs of Chriſt. Theſe, and the like abominations (ſaid *Luther*), conſtrained me to oppoſe and write againſt the ſame, not for the ſake of any one man, nor for the ſake of any preferment or gain.

That the Pope is an Heretick, and exalteth himſelf over and above God's Word.

SAINT Auſtin and others make difference between Hereticks. A Schiſmatick is one that raiſeth diviſions and diſſentions, profeſſeth the true faith of the Chriſtian church, but is not at union with her, by reaſon of certain ceremonies and cuſtoms; or he is ſuch an evil and a wicked Chriſtian as will hold and obſerve both the doctrine of faith and ceremonies, but therewith will lead an evil life, and walk in a wicked converſation. But an Heretick is one that produceth falſe opinions and meanings againſt the articles of the Chriſtian faith without, yea, againſt the true meaning of holy Scripture, and ſtubbornly maintaineth and defendeth the ſame. The Papiſts do not call me an Heretick (ſaid *Luther*), but a Schiſmatick; one that prepareth diſcords and ſtrifes. But I ſay, the Pope is an arch Heretick, for he is an adverſary to my bleſſed Saviour Chriſt; and ſo am I to the Pope, becauſe he maketh new laws and ordinances according to his own will and pleaſure, and ſo directly denieth the everlaſting prieſthood of Chriſt.

Let us but mark the two points in his decrees, where, with exceeding pompous majeſty, he exalteth himſelf above the holy Scriptures. He is content to leave the expounding thereof to the fathers, but the cenſuring of the truth, and right of the ſame, he reſerveth only for the chair of Rome. Therefore he diſchargeth againſt me his thunderings and lightnings, yea alſo againſt his own decrees; for the Pope himſelf ſaith (Diſt. 8va.) Juſtice muſt give place and yield to the truth; for that purpoſe he produceth the example of King Ezechias, who brake in pieces the brazen ſerpent which God had commanded to be erected. But the Pope dealeth quite contrary to his own laws and decrees; for now he will have, that truth muſt and ſhall give place to his innumerable and apparent errors. And indeed it is a grievous caſe, that the youth have not ſeen ſuch errors, neither have they any knowledge thereof; they think that the courſe of the Goſpel hath always ſtood in the ſame ſtate and condition as now it is taught and preached. If (ſaid *Luther*) we had held God's Word in due honour and reverence, then ſuch abominable errors and idolatries ſhould never have riſen nor crept in among us; therefore (loving brethen) let us follow this counſel of God, where he ſaith, *This is my well-beloved Son, hear ye him.* Let us live and remain by this ſweet ſon of God, and learned Doctor; and foraſmuch as the Pope with his greaſed crew do hate to be reformed, let us therefore leave them to their moſt deteſtable, wicked, and abominable errors and idolatries.

That Popedom denieth the Power of Godlineſs.

POPEDOM (ſaid *Luther*) hath a very fair and glittering external worſhipping: indeed they boaſt much of God's Word, of faith, of Chriſt, of the ſacraments, of love, of hope, &c. But they utterly deny the power and virtue of all theſe; nay, they teach that which is quite contrary thereunto; therefore St. Paul very well ſaith, *They deny the power of Godlineſs*; he doth not ſay they deny godlineſs, but they deny the power, ſtrength, and virtue thereof, by falſe and ſuperſtitious doctrine.

Luther (coming from Rome) ſhewed a table to the Prince Elector of Saxony (which he had brought with him) whereon was portraited, or painted, how the Pope had fooled the whole world with his ſuperſtitions and idolatries; namely, the little ſhip of

the church (as they term it) which was almoſt filled with Friars, Monks, and Prieſts: theſe directed and caſt lines and boards out of the ſhip to thoſe that were dabbling and ſwimming for their lives in the ſea; but the Pope, with the Patriarchs, Cardinals, and Biſhops, ſat behind, in the end of the ſhip, over-ſhadowed and covered with the Holy Ghoſt, looking up towards heaven, whereby, and through which only, thoſe ſwimming in the ſea, in great danger of their lives, were by the waves hoiſted up into the ſhip and ſaved.

Theſe and the like fopperies and fooleries we then believed as the articles of faith. They blind people, by pretending that they go through much tribulation in this world; whereas they wallow in all the glory, pleaſures, and delights of the earth. But let them be aſſured, in about two hundred years, that the power of all their abominable blaſphemies, idolatries, and damnable religion, will be broken, if not deſtroyed.

And on the contrary, we (who for the ſake of confeſſing God's holy Word in truth, are terrified, baniſhed, impriſoned, and ſlain here on earth by that Man of Sin, and God's enemy, the Antichriſt and Pope of Rome), at the laſt day, with unſpeakable comfort, ſhall take poſſeſſion of the fruits of our aſſured hopes, namely, everlaſting conſolation, joy and ſalvation.

Of the Laſciviouſneſs and Incontinency of the Papiſts.

PAUL the Third (before he was Pope) had a ſiſter, the ſame he gave to his predeceſſor, the Pope, for a concubine, and thereby deſerved to be made a Cardinal; then he forſook his married wife, of whom he begat a ſon, who is now a Cardinal. Such confounded pranks have the Popes played, as ſurpaſs all human thoughts. The Prieſts were forced to give the Pope (as their pander) a florin for every child they begot of their women-cooks and laundreſſes: the ſame was called a milk-penny; he received alſo as much of the child's mother, and at laſt it came ſo far, that all Prieſts were allowed (void of all ſhame) to keep whores.

Doctor Staupitz hit the Biſhop of Magdeburg in the teeth with it, and ſaid, You are the greateſt whore-maſter in Germany, for no whore-maſter hath above fifty florins yearly income, no, not out of the richeſt bawdy-houſe; but you have a yearly revenue of above five hundred florins: whereupon the Biſhop laughed, and ſaid, True; and therewith I maintain and pay the clerks and writers in the chancery.

At what Time the Article of the Reſurrection of the Dead was commanded to be believed.

IN the council at Lateran, in the year 1515, (which began in the life of Pope Julius, and ended under Pope Leo) it was firſt concluded, that the reſurrection of the dead ſhould thenceforth be believed, and that a Cardinal lawfully might keep five whores, but not more, to be his chamberlains for the accompliſhing of his wicked luſt, but the ſame afterwards was altered by Pope Leo. Surely ſome fearful fall and deſtruction attendeth them, and thoſe that undertake to maintain and defend them; therefore let us pray. The ſuſpicions and idolatries in Popedom were ſuch horrible abominations (ſaid *Luther*), that if I had not ſeen them with mine eyes, but only had read thereof, I ſhould never have believed them.

The Pope placeth his Cardinals in all kingdoms, the ſame are peeviſh milkſops, effeminate, and unlearned aſs-heads, they lie lolling in King's courts among the ladies and women. The Pope hath poſſeſſed all countries with Cardinals, and with his papiſtical Biſhops. Germany is taken captive with Popiſh Biſhops, for I can make an account of above forty biſhopricks, beſides abbies and cathedrals (which are richer than

than the biſhopricks). Again, there are in Germany but eight-and-twenty principalities, ſo that the Popiſh Biſhops are far more rich and powerful than the Princes of the Empire.

On a time, the Biſhop of Magdeburg (reading by chance in the Bible of the Prophets) ſaid, Can I find nothing in this book but how we prieſts are railed at? And indeed (ſaid *Luther*), the writings of the Prophets are fierce thunderbolts againſt falſe Prophets and Popiſh Biſhops.

The Princes of the Empire regard not much, neither do they look thereinto, how and after what deceitful manner the Pope devoureth and ſwalloweth up the whole world, according to Daniel's prophecy.

The Book of the Birth and Generation of the abominable Deſolation of Antichriſt, the Son of Hypocriſy, the Son of the Devil.

THE Devil begat Darkneſs, Darkneſs begat Ignorance, Ignorance begat Error and his brethren; Error begat Free-will and Preſumption, out of Self-conceit; Free-will begat Merit, Merit begat Forgetfulneſs of God, Forgetfulneſs begat Tranſgreſſion, Tranſgreſſion begat Superſtition, Superſtition begat Satisfaction, Satisfaction begat the Maſs-offering, Maſs-offering begat of Unction the Prieſt, the Prieſt of Unction begat Unbelief, Unbelief begat King Hypocriſy, Hypocriſy begat Trading with Offerings for Grain, Trading for Gain begat Purgatory, Purgatory begat the yearly ſolemn Vigils, Yearly Vigils begat Church-Livings, Church-Livings begat Mammon, Mammon begat Swelling Superfluity, Swelling Superfluity begat Fulneſs, Fulneſs begat Rage, Rage begat Freedom, Freedom begat Rule and Dominion, Dominion begat Pomp, Pomp begat Ambition, Ambition begat Symony, Symony begat the Pope and his Brethren, about the time of the Babylonian Captivity.

After the Babylonian Captivity, the Pope begat the Myſtery of Iniquity; the Myſtery of Iniquity begat Sophiſtical Divinity, Sophiſtical Divinity begat Rejecting of the Holy Scripture, Rejecting of Holy Scripture begat Tyranny, Tyranny begat Slaughtering of the Saints, Slaughtering of the Saints begat Contemning of God, Contemning of God begat Diſpenſation, Diſpenſation begat Wilful Sin, Wilful Sin begat Abomination, Abomination begat Deſolation, Deſolation begat Anguiſh, Anguiſh begat Queſtioning, Queſtioning begat Searching out the Grounds of Truth, out of which the Deſolator, the Pope (called Antichriſt), is revealed.

St. Paul (ſaid *Luther*) complaineth, and ſaith, *The time will come when they will not endure ſound doctrine, but after their own luſts ſhall heap to themſelves teachers, having itching ears: And they ſhall turn away their ears from the truth, and ſhall be turned unto fables*, &c. In like manner, St. Paul ſaith, *This know alſo, that in the laſt days perilous times ſhall come: for men ſhall be lovers of their ownſelves, covetous, boaſters, proud, blaſphemers, diſobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, truce-breakers*, &c.

When firſt I read theſe ſentences (ſaid *Luther*), I never looked towards Rome, but thought they had been ſpoken of the Jews and Turks.

No man believeth that theſe words are the words of the Holy Ghoſt, who truly warneth and admoniſheth us; as alſo St. Peter, maſter-like, deſcribeth and painteth them out in his Second Epiſtle, chap. ii.

That

That the Popiſh Church is not the Chriſtian Church.

WHEN I was at Worms (ſaid *Luther*) the Biſhop of Magdeburg came unto me, and ſaid, I know we have an evil cauſe in hand, and that your doctrine is right; yet for ſome reaſons, beſt known to ourſelves, we neither may nor will receive it. In like manner the Cardinal of Saltzburgh ſaid unto me, We know, and it is written in our conſciences, that Prieſts juſtly might marry; and that matrimony is far better than the ſhameleſs and wicked whoreing which Prieſts drive and uſe; yet notwithſtanding (ſaid he), we muſt neither alter nor reform it; for the Emperor will not ſuffer Germany to be diſturbed for the conſcience ſake.

What is this elſe but flat contemning of God? Theſe are deviliſh words; and God alſo contemneth and derideth them again; as we ſee that Emperors, Kings, and Princes, and all the Imperial cities do leave and forſake them.

They can no way defend themſelves, but only under the name of the church; their raging and tyranny is even againſt their own conſciences; for they know well that the church is made ſubject to God's Word, and can be no where but only where Chriſt is taught and preached; therefore (no thanks unto them) they muſt confeſs that our doctrine is the doctrine of Chriſt. The wretches know that Popedom is not God's church; yet they will not hear us, neither will they yield nor permit that God is above the church, but that the church is over and above God; therefore Popedom is not the church of God.

Of the Deceits of the Papiſts,

IN the monaſtery at Iſenach ſtandeth an image (ſaid *Luther*) which I have ſeen: when a wealthy perſon came thither to pray thereunto (being Mary with her child), then the child turned away the face from the ſinner to his mother, as if it refuſed to give ear to his praying, and therefore was to ſeek mediation and help of the mother Mary. But if the ſinner gave liberally to that monaſtery, then the child turned to him again; and if he promiſed to give more, then the child ſhewed itſelf very friendly and loving towards him, and with out-ſtretched arms made over him a croſs. But this picture or image (ſaid *Luther*) was made hollow within, and prepared with locks, lines, and ſcrews; and behind it ſtood a knave that drew the lines and ſcrews, and in ſuch ſort were the people mocked and deceived, who took it to be a miracle, and to have moved by Divine Providence.

Of the Popiſh Maſs, and how they now diſguiſe and colour it.

WE have againſt us (ſaid *Luther*) the greateſt champions, who intend to oppoſe our apologies, as Smith, Eck, and Roſsloffel. Smith is reſolved to write againſt the article of juſtification: Eck intendeth to maintain and defend Popedom and human traditions: *Roſsloffel* will oppoſe the marrying of Prieſts, and will defend the invocating of dead Saints. They call the maſs an offering, or a ſacrifice, which ſignifieth a myſtery.

Well (ſaid *Luther*), let them approach, I will greaſe their ſtilts. The wicked wretches now recant, and with equivocations and coloured words (which they may conſtrue and turn as they pleaſe), only to deceive the ſimple. They now call the maſs a myſtery, which formerly they never would condeſcend unto; for hitherto

hitherto they always called the Maſs an upright and a true ſacrifice or offering, which juſtified, made ſatisfaction, and reconciled; and have made ſale thereof, and thereby deceived and cozened people of their money. But now they ſay it is a myſtery; that is, a ſignificant ſacrifice; therefore it muſt needs follow, that it is no upright nor true offering; inſomuch that the common people will no more come on, but will ſeek for reſtitution of the money which formerly they have been cozened out of, ſeeing it is not an upright nor a true offering.

Of Murthers acted by the Papiſts.

UNDER Pope Leo the Tenth (ſaid *Luther*) were two Auſtin Friars, in a monaſtery in Italy, who were much moved and ſorely grieved to ſee and hear how unchriſtian-like the Papiſts dealt both in their lives, converſations and doctrine, and in their ſermons they mentioned ſome particulars againſt the Pope: But behold, in the night-time, two murderers were ſent, ſecretly to diſpatch them, who firſt cut off their heads, pulled out their tongues, and ſtuck the ſame in their hinder parts. Theſe were the Pope's virtues.

Of the Heads of St. Peter and Paul.

WHEN I firſt came to Rome (ſaid *Luther*), they ſhewed me the heads of St. Peter and Paul, carved and cut out in St. Peter's Church; by which, towards the riſing of the ſun, were written theſe lines,

Eccleſiam pro mare rego, mihi climata mundi
Sunt mare, Scripturæ retia, piſcis homo.

For ſea I rule the church; taking, not much amiſs,
The world for ſea; nets, ſcripture; man for fiſh.

Of the Pillars of Popedom.

THE Pope (ſaid *Luther*) is the undoubted and true Antichriſt, 1 Tim. iv. His caſtle and fort is, *Moaſim*, that is, the Maſs, as Daniel ſaith: He calleth him a devaſtor of religion, and of houſe-government; that is, of the true ſervice of God, and of matrimony; nay the Pope hath aboliſhed grace, religion, and faith.

Of the Year Jubilate.

IN the Old Teſtament the year Jubilee was the moſt uſual and general worſhipping obſerved every fiftieth year; the ſame hath the Pope imitated with the golden gate, for it brought gain and money to the Popes: therefore they afterwards changed the fiftieth year into the five-and-twentieth, then to the fifteenth and ſeventh year, to the end they might freſh and frequently purchaſe money, otherwiſe the time ſeemed too long for them: *Attamen Papiſtæ nunc volunt eſſe juſtiſſimi.*

Of the Manner of the Oath of ſuch as recant and will deſiſt from their Errors.

I *N. N.* with mouth and mind do openly confeſs the holy faith in all articles, and in ſo many as the Chriſtian church hitherto hath held and obſerved, and commanded to be obſerved. And whereas I have been ſeduced by and through the Proteſtant doctrine, in that, contrary to the common uſe and cuſtom of the

holy Chriſtian church, I have received the holy ſacrament of the altar under both kinds of bread and wine, whereby I have turned myſelf out of the general Chriſtian faith and obedience, for which I am heartily ſorry.

I ſwear by the true living God, my Creator, and by all the Saints, that I never will cleave to the Proteſtant hereſy, neither in this nor any other articles, but will condemn and deſpiſe the ſame as hereſies and errors; and now and always I will be he that ſhall ſhew dutiful obedience to the church. And if in caſe that hereafter I ſhould again fall into the ſaid hereſies (from which God preſerve me), that as then, and then as now, I will conſent and truly acknowledge, that I have deſerved the ſharp puniſhment of the law, which is ordained for ſuch an one to ſuffer as falleth off from the Chriſtian faith; ſo help me God, and his holy loving Goſpel.

After this oath taken, then followeth the Popiſh Biſhop's abſolution.

Of the Wickedneſſes of Papiſts.

IF I had not been a Doctor (ſaid *Luther*), Satan had made me work enough. It was no ſlight and eaſy matter for one to alter the whole religion of Popedom, which was ſo deeply rooted. But I promiſed and ſware in baptiſm, that I would hold by Chriſt and his Word; that I would ſtedfaſtly believe in him, and utterly renounce the devil and all his lies. And, indeed, the oath which I took in baptiſm is renewed in all my tribulations; without this I could not have ſubſiſted nor reſiſted my troubles, but they had overwhelmed and made an end of me. I would willingly have ſhewn obedience to the Pope and Biſhops in any reaſonable particular; but they would have ſhort and round that I ſhould deny Chriſt, make God a liar, and ſay, the Goſpel is hereſy.

Of the Papiſt's raging and Perſecutions.

TWO cities in France (ſaid *Luther*), over which Sadoletus was ſet, for the Goſpel's ſake, were ſet on fire, and burned down to the ground; inſomuch that the ſucking infants were not ſpared: for this cauſe John Calvin fled into Helvetia, and admoniſhed them not to conſent unto ſuch abominable tyranny, but rather ſhould declare to the King a revocation of the confederacy erected between them.

CHAP. XXIV.

OF HUMAN TRADITIONS.

Luther's Diſcourſe of Human Traditions.

THE grievous and deteſtable ordinance in Popedom (ſaid *Luther*) ſprang up out of mere pride, according to the ſpeech of Chriſt, where he ſaith, *They bind heavy burthens, and grievous to be born, and lay them on men's ſhoulders, but they themſelves will not move them with one of their fingers.* They preſs with great power and authority upon that which they themſelves contemn; as lately two Frenchmen ſaid, We have ſeen at Rome that, not only on Fridays, but alſo in the time of Lent, they openly eat fleſh: if (ſaid they) one did ſo in France, he muſt be burned to aſhes. Such ungodly doings proceed from the Romiſh chair.

Of

Of the final Cauſe and Reaſon of Human Traditions in Popedom.

IT is the devil himſelf (ſaid *Luther*), and all manner of misfortune, that the Papiſts hold the final cauſe of inſtituting human traditions, is, that thereby God is truly worſhipped and ſerved, and that they be neceſſary to ſalvation: it is moſt monſtrous; for although ſuch human traditions were the beſt and moſt eſteemed works of Chriſtianity, which they are not, yet adding this thereunto, namely, that they think or hold them neceſſary to ſalvation, or therewith to give God ſatisfaction for their ſins, and ſo to purchaſe grace, then all is ſpoiled, and their beſt works are utterly rejected of God.

The like ſuperſtition and abomination lay hid in thoſe works which they call *Opera Supererogationis*, that is, Works which they had in over-plus, and more than they (the Friars, Prieſts, and Nuns) themſelves had need of, but ſold them to the lay-people for money; as if the Chriſtian church were nothing elſe but a company of ſhorn and ſhaved knaves. Wittzell now raileth at me, becauſe I praiſe and extol temporal and houſe government.

That Ceremonies are the Foundation of Superſtition.

IF (ſaid *Luther*) we could but preſerve the catechiſm, and ſet up ſchools for poſterity, then we had lived well: as for ceremonies, they might go whither they would, for they are the touch-powder which give occaſion to ſuperſtition, in that people think they are neceſſary to ſalvation, when they are kept and obſerved; but being omitted, then it is ſin.

Of the Papiſtical Faſting.

THE Popiſh faſting is a right cave of murder, whereby many people have been utterly ſpoiled, in obſerving the times ſo ſtrictly, and chiefly in eating one ſort of food, inſomuch that nature's ſtrength thereby is wholly weakened.

For this cauſe Gerſon, that antient teacher, was conſtrained at Paris to write a book of *Comfort for troubled and perplexed conſciences*, to the end they might neither be diſcouraged nor deſpair. For thoſe that faſt, do break and ſpoil themſelves, and weaken their ſtrength. Such darkneſs hath been in Popedom, where they neither taught, nor intended to teach the Ten Commandments, the Creed, nor the Lord's Prayer.

That Hypocriſy and feigned Sanctity deceiveth People.

PEOPLE in Popedom are deſtroyed through feigned ſanctity, hypocriſy, and ſuperſtition; but the Holy Scripture and the office of the Holy Ghoſt is to lay open and diſcover the ſame. No logick can teach what difference is between ſubſtantial and accidental holineſs. As St. Francis once was ſubſtantially holy, only by and through the Word of faith, but afterwards he was accidentally holy through the holineſs (as they pretended) that ſtuck in the Friar's hood, inſomuch that he received the ſame as a precious ſanctity and holy relique; whereas the hood was no proper accidental thing of holineſs; but it was even like to one that putteth on a fool's cap, which he might well do without.

Of

Of Saint Bernard's Erections.

ST. Bernard (ſaid *Luther*) was thirty-ſix years of age, in which time he built and erected one hundred and threeſcore monaſteries, and richly provided for them with annual revenue. Let us but conſider what might belong to the maintaining of 160 monaſteries. In ſuch ſort ſuperſtition aroſe in a ſhort time to the higheſt, inſomuch that in the mean time the Goſpel went a-begging.

That the ſeeming-holy Workers do invent many new Ceremonies.

IN the New Teſtament, and in the Chriſtian church, God's worſhip conſiſteth in the plain ſimple truth; no coloured ſuperſtitions nor worſhipping of idols are therein to be found; from whence St. John, in his Epiſtle, writeth, There are three that bear witneſs in earth: (1.) The Spirit; that is, the function of preaching. (2.) Water; that is, baptiſm. (3.) Blood; that is, the ſupper of the Lord. But the Pope and his ſeducing ſpirits (ſaid *Luther*) do contemn theſe witneſſes, and have invented innumerable worſhippings, ceremonies, and offerings, and have prepared the ſame out of their own election without God's Word, inſomuch that through errors the church is expelled out of her Bridegroom's inſtitutions and ordinances.

Ceremonies (ſaid *Luther*) are only middle things, inſtituted for the end of policy; namely, to obſerve rules, and that every thing in the church might proceed decently and in order, as the law of nature alſo teacheth, and as we behold in the creating of all creatures how fine and orderly God hath created them.

Moreover, Chriſt ſaith, *In vain do they ſerve me, ſeeing they teach ſuch doctrine, which is nothing but commandments of men.* And St. Paul ſaith, *If either we, or an angel from heaven, ſhould preach unto you any other Goſpel then that which we have preached, let him be accurſed*; for the Goſpel teacheth, that for Chriſt's ſake only we are upright, juſtified, and ſaved before God.

Of true and upright Chriſtian Faſting.

LUTHER received advertiſement out of Denmark, that the ſame King and the Duke of Holſtein had inſtituted a faſt, to be obſerved three days together, thereby to admoniſh the people to prayer and peace; whereupon he ſaid, It is a very upright and good courſe, I would wiſh that all other Kings and Princes did the like; the ſame is the moſt external humiliation, and when we add thereunto the inward humility of the heart, as then it is exceeding good.

CHAP. XXV.

OF THE MASS.

Of the Maſs, the Foundation of Popedom.

POPEDOM (ſaid *Luther*) ſtandeth upon the Maſs two manner of ways; Firſt, Spiritually; for they hold that the Maſs is a worſhipping of God. Secondly, Corporally; for Popedom is maintained and preſerved, not by divine power, but by human and temporal Princes.

The

The Maſs is the Papiſt's rock, both ſpiritually and carnally; but now it is fallen in the ſpirit, and in due time God will alſo deſtroy it corporally, or in the fleſh.

Of the Abominations of the Maſs.

I HAVE ſeen in Italy (ſaid *Luther*) two Maſs-Prieſts ſtanding at one altar, the one right againſt the other, celebrating Maſs; the one turned himſelf towards the riſing, the other towards the going down of the Sun; the one read the Goſpel on this, the other on that ſide; they were exceeding expert in their trade, thereby ſeeking only gain and profit. They hold the Maſs neither for a ſacrifice nor ſacrament; they celebrate it only for lucre and gain of money, and other profit. Theſe monſtrous abominations the Pope both ſaw and heard, yet nothing regarded them.

Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) he muſt of neceſſity be either a groſs aſs, or a carnal devil; an aſs, in that he underſtood not ſuch errors; a devil, in that he maintained them.

Of the Private Maſs.

THE corner, or private Maſs, ſince the time of Gregory, now above 800 years, hath deceived many ſaints. John Huſs was taken captive by that deceitful painted ſtuff. I much wonder (ſaid *Luther*) how God drew me out of this idolatry. Three years ſince there was here a Morian, who ſhewed me for certain, that in Aſia no private Maſs was celebrated. I am aſſured, that in Armenia, in Ethiopia, India, and in the countries towards the Eaſt, many Chriſtians are ſtill to this day that never heard Maſs. In little Aſia they are all under the great Turk.

The Maſs in France was not ſo highly eſteemed as it hath been in Germany; for when in the morning one had heard Maſs, then he cared for no more how many ſoever had been held, but paſſed by them without ſhewing any particular reverence. When the French King heard Maſs, he always gave a French crown to the Prieſt, which he laid upon a book that was brought and held before him.

Of the Canon in the Maſs.

THE canon in the Maſs (ſaid *Luther*) is pieced and patched up out of many lies. The Greeks have it not. When I was in Italy, I ſaw that they at Milan had no ſuch canon, and when I offered to celebrate Maſs there, they ſaid unto me, *Nos ſumus Ambroſiani.* For they ſay, that at Milan they had been at debate in former time among themſelves, whether they ſhould receive into their church the book of Ambroſe, or of Gregory, and for that end they prayed to God by ſome miracle to ſhew the ſame unto them. Now at night they laid both thoſe books in the church; in the morning they found the book of Ambroſe altogether whole and unremoved, upon the high altar; but the book of Gregory they found torn all in pieces, ſcattered up and down in the church. The ſame they conſtrued after this manner; Ambroſe ſhould remain at Milan upon the altar, and Gregory ſhould be ſcattered through the whole world; inſomuch, that they of Milan do celebrate the Maſs otherwiſe than doth the Romiſh church.

From whence and how the gay Trimming and Ornaments came up, which they uſe in Popedom in celebrating Maſs.

THE ornaments and gay apparel which is uſed in Popedom in celebrating Maſs, and other ceremonies, were partly taken out of Moſes, and partly from the

Heathen. For as the Prieſts ſaw that by public ſhews and puppet-plays, which were held in the market-places, the people were drawn away and took delight therein. They were thereby moved to inſtitute ſuch manner of ſhews and puppet-plays in the churches, thereby to induce children and unlearned people to go to church, to behold ſuch fopperies and fooliſh actions, as thoſe toys which they uſe on Eaſter-eves, which were very pleaſing and acceptable unto them, not for devotion's ſake, but only to delight their fooliſh fancies.

As I (ſaid *Luther*) was a young Friar at Erfurt, and was conſtrained togo out into the villages for puddings and cheeſes, I came to a little town where I held Maſs. Now when I had put on my veſtments and trimming, and approached before the altar, the clerk or ſexton of the church began merrily to ſtrike upon the lute the *Kirieleiſon ad Patrem*, whereat I ſcarcely could forbear laughing (for I was unaccuſtomed to ſuch organings), and was conſtrained to direct and tune my *Gloria in exceſis*, according to his *Kirieleiſon*.

That the Maſs in Popedom is the greateſt worſhipping, and the chiefeſt good Work.

LUTHER diſcourſing much of the miſchievous and abominable errors of their own proper righteouſneſs (which hath drawn away many people from God's truth) ſaid, The Jews held their offerings *Ex opere operato*. When a work was accompliſhed only externally, then they thought that thereby ſins were reconciled and ſatisfied, whereas all their offerings and ſacrifices ought to have been ſigns of thankſgiving.

Even ſo is it likewiſe with the Papiſts errors in the Maſs, when the ſame is celebrated, then the Maſs-Prieſt (an unlearned aſs) preſumeth by ſuch a work to give full ſatisfaction for ſins.

At that time Luther continued his diſcourſe touching the horrible abuſes of the Maſs, which had captivated all people, both Maſs-Prieſts, ſtanders-by, and the hearers of the ſame. When a Prieſt was ſilenced from ſaying Maſs, that was the higheſt and ſevereſt puniſhment; for the celebrating of Maſs was *fac totum*, therefore (ſaid he) it is no marvel that the Maſs in England cannot be ſo ſoon aboliſhed, for it hath a great and glorious luſtre.

Of the firſt Maſs.

THE Maſs (ſaid *Luther*) was in high eſteem: it brought in much money and gain, and (indeed) it was a right money bank with gifts and offerings. When I celebrated my firſt Maſs at Erfurt, I was fearfully perplexed, for no faith was there; I beheld only the worthineſs of my perſon, as being no ſinner; I ſtood alſo in great fear, leſt I might leave out and omit ſomething in the Maſs with croſſings and pompous oſtentations.

Whether the Maſs be an Offering or Sacrifice or no?

THE Papiſts (ſaid *Luther*) at the Imperial aſſembly, dealt with us through threatenings; they would force us to conſent, that the Maſs was a ſacrificing of the life, to the end they might help themſelves only with this word, ſacrificing, as a cloak of their ſhame. I would permit the Maſs to be a ſacrifice of praiſe, if again they would yield and allow, that not only the Prieſt, but alſo every communicant which received, did offer thankſgiving unto God.

The Maſs ought to be aboliſhed, chiefly for two reaſons. Firſt, Becauſe natural underſtanding

underſtanding is able to judge, that it is a diſhoneſt kind of trading and gain, namely, to celebrate Maſs for a matter of two-pence; or to ſell it for three-half-pence. Secondly, Becauſe according to the Spirit, it is judged to be an abominable idolatry, inaſmuch that thereby Chriſt died in vain; ſeeing they pretend therewith to make full ſatisfaction for ſins only for the ſake of works accompliſhed. Theſe two abuſes are altogether inexcuſable, yet neverthēleſs, all univerſities have therein conſpired, conſented, and vowed to maintain and defend the Maſs. Therefore we neither may nor can agree with the Papiſts. For if they ſhould ſuffer the Maſs to fall, and to be aboliſhed, then of neceſſity they muſt make full reſtitution of all that which with the Maſs, by lies and deceits, they have gotten and ſtolen from Emperors, Kings, Princes, Nobility, and from other people. The Maſs (ſaid *Luther*) is a double impiety and abomination; firſt, it is a divine blaſpheming of God; ſecondly, a political ſin, namely, a deceit, and a theft.

That the Maſs by the Italians is the higheſt Worſhipping.

MANY Italians (ſaid *Luther*) are well inclined to the Proteſtant religion. They would therewith have been well ſatisfied, if I had not touched the Maſs, for to reject the maſs they hold moſt abominable. They depend thereon ſo faſt and ſure, and are of opinion, that, who had heard maſs, nothing evil could happen unto him that day, but was free from all danger; neither could he ſin in whatſoever he took in hand; from whence it came to paſs, that after hearing of Maſs, many ſins and murthers were committed; for in my time (being at Rome) there was one that had ſought after his enemy two whole years, to be revenged of him, but could not find him out; at laſt, he ſpied him in that church where he himſelf had heard Maſs, and newly was riſen from before the altar; then he preſently ſtepped to him, and ſtabbed him to death in the church, and fled. My book (ſaid *Luther*) touching the aboliſhing of the Maſs, is written very harſhly againſt the adverſaries, the blaſphemers. I would not that new beginners, nor young milk Chriſtians be offended thereat, for if twenty years ago any ſhould have preſumed to take from me the maſs, the ſame ſhould have tugged hard before he had got it from me; for my heart did hang thereon, and I did adore it, although now (God be praiſed) I am of another mind, and am fully aſſured, that the foundation and ground of the Maſs, and of Popedom, is nothing elſe than merely a whoring trade, and an abominable extortion and idolatry.

From whence the Maſs hath her name.

MISSA, the Maſs (ſaid *Luther*), cometh of the Hebrew word, *Maoſim*, that is, a collecting of alms, a ſtipend, or a tax for the ſake of Prieſts, or other poor people. The Maſs hath devoured infinite ſums of money, which for her ſake have been loſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

OF PURGATORY.

LUTHER's *Diſcourſe of Purgatory.*

AUSTIN, Ambroſe, and Hierom (ſaid *Luther*) held nothing at all of purgatory. Gregory (being in the night-time deceived by a viſion) taught ſomething of purgatory, whereas God openly forbade that we ſhould ſearch out and enquire nothing of ſpirits, but of Moſes and the Prophets.

Therefore we muſt neither own nor believe Gregory's opinion concerning this point; but the day of the Lord will ſhew and declare the ſame; for as then it will be revealed by fire.

This ſentence [*And their works do follow them*] muſt not be underſtood of purgatory, but of the doctrine of good works, or of godly and true Chriſtians, and of Hereticks. Arius, the Heretick, hath had his judgment, the fire of faith hath declared it. For the laſt day will diſcover and declare all things.

To conclude, God hath in his Word laid before us two ways; one, which by faith leadeth to ſalvation; the other, by unbelief to damnation.

As for purgatory, no place in Scripture maketh mention thereof, neither muſt we any way allow thereof; for it darkeneth and undervalueth the grace, the benefits, and the merits of our bleſſed ſweet Saviour Chriſt Jeſus.

The bounds of purgatory extend not beyond this world (ſaid *Luther*); for here in this life the upright, good, and godly Chriſtians are well and ſoundly ſcoured and purged.

CHAP. XXVII.

OF GENERAL COUNCILS.

Whereto Councils are profitable.

IN the year 1533, the 21ſt of March, the Emperor's ambaſſador came to Luther's houſe at Wittemberg to viſit him; he had commiſſion from his maſter the Emperor, to addreſs himſelf to the courts of all the Princes of the empire. Luther would not be ſeen of the ambaſſador, but appointed Doctor Houſeman to confer with him. He aſked the ambaſſador where his Imperial Majeſty was? The ambaſſador anſwered, at Mantua, where, for a long time, he hath been dealing with the Pope about holding a general council; but the Pope (ſaid he), by deferring and delays, much excuſeth himſelf; inſomuch that when the Emperor put it home unto him, preſſed and deſired that a general free council might be appointed and proclaimed, then the Pope ſecretly departed from Mantua, and left the Emperor there.

When

When Dr. Houſeman made this the Ambaſſador's ſpeech known to *Luther*, he ſaid, The Pope is a knave and a wicked wretch; I have always hoped for a council, not that our doctrine therein ſhould be continued and confirmed (for the ſame is given and confirmed already by another council, namely, by God himſelf), but only that thereby an union and a reformation might be made concerning ceremonies; but I ſee there will be nothing done. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) let no man be ſo fooliſh as to put the people in hope of a council: God's Word ſhall be the ground of our faith, whereon we muſt and will depend. Moreover it is very uncertain with a council; how many hundred thouſands of people in the mean time do die before a council is held? Therefore we ſhould lead the people to God's Word and Will, and not depend on councils.

Even in the ſelf ſame year 1533, the Emperor ſent his Ambaſſador to John Frederick, Prince Elector of Saxony, to ſet on and to further a council. His Highneſs anſwered the Ambaſſador, and ſaid, I am willing and deſirous that a free general Chriſtian council might be called and held, and will be content alſo to appear thereat, either myſelf in perſon, or by my Ambaſſador and council, ſo far that they might ſufficiently be ſecured by convoys and ſafe-conduct.

At that time *Luther* diſcourſed with Philip Melancthon, ſighed and complained concerning future dangerous times, in which there will be many maſters that will work confuſion. None will give ear nor hearken to the other, every one will be a Rabbi, from whence great offences will proceed. Oſiander and Grickle will do much miſchief, therefore it were beſt to be by a council prevented. But (ſaid *Luther*) the Papiſts will not hearken to the calling of a council; they ſhun and fear (like bats) to come into the light, for their cauſe is naught, and they have evil conſciences.

Then Philip Melancthon with great grief ſaid, The Pope will never be brought to yield to the calling of a general council; he uſeth only craft, deceit, and power againſt us. Biſhop Nicholas of Schonberg wrote to the Pope, adviſed, and with all diligence deſired him, to go ſeriouſly about the buſineſs of the church, and not to uſe his authority and power againſt the Germans; for they are ſuch people as will not yield (having a juſt and upright cauſe), neither are they to be broken nor overcome by any ſubtilty nor power, &c. But the Pope contemned that Biſhop's good and Chriſtian advice.

I could wiſh (ſaid *Luther*) that the Princes and States of the Empire would make an aſſembly, and hold a council and an union both in doctrine and ceremonies, ſo that every one might not break in and run on with ſuch inſolency and preſumption, according to his own brains (as already is begun), whereby many good hearts are offended. Truly (ſaid Melancthon) the church hath a very lamentable aſpect, which lieth hid under ſuch great weakneſs and offences.

Of an humble Letter which the Pope and his Cardinals wrote to one of King Ferdinand's Chaplains.

IN the year 1534, the Pope and Cardinals wrote a letter to Simon Nauſea, Chaplain to King Ferdinand, in which they humbled themſelves exceedingly, and admoniſhed him to be a means, by the King his maſter, to further the aſſembling of a council; therein alſo complaining of *Luther*, and of the Proteſtants, as thoſe which hindered the ſame. This letter being ſent unto *Luther* by Nauſea to peruſe, after the reading of which, *Luther* ſaid, They are not in earneſt, they will have no council except we be rooted out and deſtroyed. In former time the Cardinals would not have ſo much as looked upon ſo mean a

man as Nauſea is, much leſs would they have eſteemed him worthy of their writing unto. But now they muſt honour him, becauſe their conſciences do accuſe and prick them; now they muſt pay for that which they have done to Chriſt.

O Lord God! (ſaid *Luther*) righteous art thou, and thy judgments art juſt. Thy Name, and not ours, be ſanctified and praiſed.

Of the Pope's Boaſting.

THE Pope (ſaid *Luther*) ſtyleth himſelf a Biſhop of the Catholick church, which title he never dared to take upon him before; for at the time when the Council of Nice was held, then there was no Pope at all. The church at that time was divided into three parts; Firſt, into Ethiopia, in the land of the Moorians. Secondly, into Syria, to which Antioch belonged. The third was Rome, with her appertaining ſects. In this manner they ſwarmed ſoon after the Apoſtles time: inſtituted and ordained three ſorts of councils; Firſt, a General; Second, a Provincial; Third, an Epiſcopal; that is, that in every Biſhoprick a council ſhould be held, ſo far as the juriſdiction thereof reached.

Of the conſulting of a Council at Saltzburg, and what happened there.

THE Archbiſhop of Saltzburg cauſed many Biſhops, and 800 ſpiritual perſon, to be aſſembled; and as in the church they conſulted about a council, they were fearfully driven away and ſcattered by a mighty tempeſt of lightning and thunder. Afterwards the ſecond conſultation was held in the caſtle: then again, being the third time aſſembled together, they were ſeparated by fearful thunderings, that one ran this way, another that way, and ſo departed without any further conſultation. The Pope will needs build up the church *ex Accidentibus*, out of accidental things, which have no conſtant nor ſure ground; namely, out of an external aſpect and ſucceſſion. But we, on the contrary, do build the church *ex Subſtantia*, upon the true foundation; namely, upon God's Word and Sacraments, and alſo cenſure her accordingly.

Although the Pope ſhould hold a council, yet he would bind and oblige Kings and Princes, by oath, to direct themſelves according to his concluſions, and to hold with the Romiſh church. Surely the Pope is reſerved for God's judgment, who in the end, without all mercy, will do execution upon him; God's Word now hath ſtrangled him.

Of four principal Councils.

SINCE the time of the Apoſtles (ſaid *Luther*), threeſcore general and provincial councils have been held, among which only four were worthy of praiſe: two of them maintained and defended the Trinity and Godhead of Chriſt, as that of Nice, and of Conſtantinople; the other two, namely, the Council at Epheſus, and of Calcedon, maintained Chriſt's humanity.

In the Council of Nice, nothing is written nor mentioned of the Pope or Biſhop of Rome, that any ſuch had been there; only one, named Ozias, Biſhop of Cordua in Spain, was preſent there. The other Biſhops came thither from the churches in the Eaſt; as, out of Grecia, Little Aſia, Egypt, Africa, &c.

Ah, Lord God! (ſaid *Luther*) to what end are the councils and conventions of Biſhops, but merely for honour and ambition, wherein they are at diſcord and variance

variance about titles, honours, precedency of places, and other baſe and childiſh fopperies? Let us conſider what hath been handled in councils for the ſpace of three hundred years; only outward and external things and ceremonies, nothing at all touching true divine doctrine, upright worſhipping of God, and faith.

What Councils ought to order.

IN the year 1539, the 27th of January, a book was ſent to *Luther*, intituled, *Liber Conciliorum*, which with great diligence and pains was collected together: after the reading of which, he ſaid, This book will defend and maintain the Pope; whereas in his own decrees, innumerable canons are quite againſt him and this book. And beſides (ſaid *Luther*) councils have no power to make and ordain laws and ordinances in the church, what are to be taught and to be believed, nor concerning good works; for they have been and are already taught and confirmed. But councils have power to make ordinances only concerning external things, cuſtoms, and ceremonies; and yet no further neither, than ſo much as may concern perſons, places, and times. When the ſame do ceaſe and are no more, as then ſuch ordinances do alſo ceaſe, are exterminated and aboliſhed.

The Romiſh laws are now dead and gone, by reaſon Rome is not now, but hath been; for now it is another place. In like manner the decrees and ordinances of councils are now no more of value, by reaſon it is now and another time. As St. Paul ſaith, *Why, as though living in the world, are ye ſubject to ordinances? (touch not, taſte not, handle not, which all are to periſh with the uſing) after the commandments of men. Which things have indeed a ſhew of wiſdom in will-worſhip and humility, and neglecting of the body, not in any honour to the ſatisfying of the fleſh.*

Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) ſuch decrees and ſtatutes bind not the conſciences which do aim and are directed at perſons, times, and places; for like as theſe three (perſons, times, and places) do ceaſe and are changed, even ſo likewiſe ſuch ordinances do ceaſe and are altered. Such doctrine out of a mortal human creature will make an immortal; like as they name the Pope an earthly god; and indeed (ſaid *Luther*) very proper and fitly; for (in truth) all his laws, rights, decrees, and ordinances do ſavor and taſte of terreſtrial, and not of celeſtial things.

Of comparing God's Word with the Writings of the Fathers.

WHEN God's Word (ſaid *Luther*) is by the Fathers expounded, conſtrued, and gloſſed, then, in my judgment, it is even like to one that ſtraineth milk through a coal-ſack, which muſt needs ſpoil and make the milk black; even ſo likewiſe God's Word of itſelf is ſufficiently pure, clean, bright, and clear. But through the doctrines, books, and writings of the fathers it is very ſorely darkened, falſified, and ſpoiled.

Of the Council of Nice.

THE Council of Nice, held after the Apoſtle's time (ſaid *Luther*), was the very beſt and pureſt; but ſoon after, in the time of the Emperor Conſtantine, it was weakened by the Arians; for at that time, out of diſſembling hearts, they craftily ſubſcribed that they concurred in one opinion with the true and upright Catholick teachers, which in truth was nothing ſo; whereof enſued a great diſſention: as St. Paul ſaith, *There muſt be alſo hereſies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifeſt.*

Now

Now ſeeing that hereſies are already come while we yet live, what will then be when we are dead, and have laid our heads in the duſt? As Moſes ſaith, *From the day that I have learned to know you, ye have always been oppoſite; what will ye not do, then, after my death?* Let us therefore watch and pray (ſaid *Luther*), it is high time and needful.

That the Pope will be over and above a Council.

THE Papiſts highly extol the Four Councils, and do compare them with the Four Evangeliſts; with ſuch falſe and deceitful boaſting they intend to ſtrengthen and confirm their authority and power. Afterward they exalted themſelves above the councils. In the council at Coſtnitz it was concluded, that the council is above the Pope; therefore at that time they depoſed three Popes, and elected a fourth. There was one named Decius, an excellent lawyer, who in our time was baniſhed out of Italy by the Pope, becauſe he diſputed and taught, that a council was over and above the Pope.

The Papiſts earneſtly ſeek not that the Church might be Reformed but Suppreſſed.

THE aſſembly which in the year 1532 was appointed to meet at Nurenberg, gave to *Luther* no content at all; he ſaid, The Papiſts go craftily about, and endeavour to ſuppreſs us; they intend that a reformation ſhould be made, that will in no way ſuit us to give way to, or to give up any thing that we openly confeſſed and publiſhed at Auſpurg and Schmalkelden; for if, for the ſake of outward peace, we ſhould enter into an accord with the Papiſts, then we ſhould make the pure doctrine of our church to be ſuſpected and doubted. O no (ſaid *Luther*), no ſuch agreements for me. If Emperor Charles would appoint a national council, then there were ſome hope; but he will not go on: the Papiſts will not yield, but will ſit alone therein, and have power to determine and conclude. Therefore, by my conſent (if it ſo falleth out), we will all ariſe and leave them ſitting alone; for the Pope ſhall have no authority nor power over us and our doctrine. We need no council for the ſake of God's Word, for that is ſure enough, and therefore we want not to go to council. We can well appoint and order faſtings and ſuch like things without a council; but yet without enſnaring of the conſciences; thoſe ſhall be at liberty, and not troubled therewith, nor tied thereon. Chriſt did not inſtitute and command faſtings with laws, but ſaith, *When the bridegroom ſhall be taken from them, then they ſhall faſt.* Alſo he ſaith, *Go, ſell all what thou haſt*, &c. as then (ſaid *Luther*) faſting will follow thereupon.

Of Luther's Speech with the Pope's Legate Paulus Vergerius, touching a Council.

ANNO 1533, *Paulus Vergerius*, the Pope's Legate, came to Wittenburg to cite *Luther* to the council; *Luther* ſaid unto him, I will be there, God willing; but ye Papiſts (ſaid he) labor in vain, ye ſtrangle your ſelves with your exploits and devices; for although ye hold a council, yet ye treat nothing of wholeſome doctrine, nothing of the ſacraments, nothing of faith which only juſtifieth and ſaveth, nothing of good works which God hath commanded, nor nothing of an honeſt kind of life and godly converſation; but ye only treat of ridiculous and childiſh toys, namely, what long gowns and garments the ſpiritual perſons ſhall wear, how broad the girdles muſt be, how big and broad their bald crowns muſt be ſhorn, how and after what ſort Friars and Nuns muſt be reformed and more ſtrictly kept; ye

ye treat alſo of the differences of meat and drink, and ſuch like fooliſh fopperies. When *Luther* had ended this his ſpeech, the Pope's Legate turned himſelf from *Luther* towards his adjuncts, which were joined in commiſſion with him, and ſaid, Truly this man hitteth the nail right on the head concerning the whole principal dealings and proceedings. When the Legate had taken his leave of *Luther* and was gone, then *Luther* continued his diſcourſe and ſaid; Ah, loving Lord God! the Papiſts deſpair of their enterpriſes, practices, and councils, for they ſee and feel that Germany (which now, God be praiſed, hath her eyes opened, and is enlightened through the Goſpel) will henceforward do no more what formerly, through ſuperſtition and idolatry, it hath been bewitched and befooled to do and ſuffer; Germany will now no more be cozened and deceived, neither by Imperial Diets, nor with councils, be they never ſo wiſe and crafty. The Almighty God (ſaid *Luther*) preſerve what he hath wrought in us; the cauſe is his and not ours; God grant that we may be truly thankful for this his revelation. The Pope, by this his Legate, hath promiſed to give the Emperor one hundred thouſand crowns, in pretence as againſt the Turks; this may be called, corning to catch birds. The Papiſts (if a council be held) will ſtill maintain and keep their idolatries and ſuperſtitions; therefore (ſaid *Luther*) it is highly neceſſary that we watch and pray to God, to further the courſe of the Goſpel, that it may bring much fruit, and to preſerve his church, to the end that both with mouth and manner of living we may from our hearts confeſs the clear light of the Goſpel. Will the Papiſts preſs and force the people to errors and to conſtrained worſhippings? Then (indeed) they ſhall be driven by tyranny to ſuperſtitious honeſty, which cannot long ſubſiſt nor endure.

That the Pope will not endure an upright Council.

THE Italians and Walloons (ſaid *Luther*) are ſo ſtiff-necked and proud, that they will by the Germans not be reformed, no not although they be convinced with the clear truth of God's Word. I have thought oftentimes with myſelf, how we might by a council, in ſome meaſure, come to an agreement between us, but I ſee no means can be found. For if the Pope ſhould acknowledge that he had failed but in the leaſt article, and ſhould ſubject himſelf under a council in his very groſs and feeling errors, then he hath loſt his authority and power; for he braggeth and boaſteth, that he is the church's head, to whom all the members muſt ſhew and yield obedience; from hence proceeded the complaint in the council at Coſtnitz, and therefore that council ſet itſelf over and above the Pope, yea alſo, and depoſed him. Wherefore, if the Papiſts ſhould give place to us, and yield in the leaſt article, then the hoop in the garland were quite broken in ſunder; then all the world would cry out and ſay, Hath it not been conſtantly affirmed that the Pope is the head of the church and cannot err? How then cometh he now to acknowledge his errors, &c. As *Sylveſter Prieras*, Maſter of the Holy Palace, intended to affright me (ſaid *Luther*) with this thunderbolt, and ſaid, Whoſoever he be that doubteth of any one word or act of the Romiſh church, the ſame is an heretick.

At that time I was yet weak, and was afraid to touch the Pope, I eſteemed greatly of ſuch arguments, and held them in honour and great reverence. But now I am better taught, I will now write concerning councils, and will adviſe the Emperor not to leave to the Pope free power and authority to appoint, to order and conclude what he pleaſeth; as then we may beſt come to the buſineſs.

When and at what Time the upright Council is to be held.

LUTHER at that time aſked the Cardinal, *Quando Papa eſſet convocaturus Conſilium?* He anſwered, The council ſhall begin on the day of *All Saints*. I thought as much (ſaid *Luther*), that it would not be before the laſt day, nor until our Lord God himſelf holdeth a council; underſtanding that the right day of *All Saints* is the laſt day, when all the ſaints ſhall ariſe from the dead, and with Chriſt ſhall enter into everlaſting life.

How a Council ought to be handled.

IN a council (ſaid *Luther*) ought to be two manner of voices; the firſt they call *Vocem conſultivam vel deliberativam*, that is, when they conſult and diſcourſe concerning affairs; the ſame is common to all Kings, Princes, and Doctors, that every one delivereth his mind and opinion. The ſecond they call *Deciſivam vocem*, a deciding voice; when they conclude what is to be believed and done. But this voice the Pope and certain of his Cardinals have uſurped; for they decide and conclude what they will and pleaſe.

I doubt we ſhall never come ſo near together as we were at Augſpurg, Anno 1530. Theſe times are abominable, and they will proceed to the croſs and perſecution, to the end we may thereby be humbled, and not grow haughty and proud. But our Saviour Chriſt will be with us to the end. If the Emperor deſpaireth of a council, and ſeeth that it goeth not forward, then it is like, he will aſſemble and hold an Imperial Diet, and it may be, he will not call our Princes thereunto, but will condemn them as diſobedient, and will himſelf do execution upon them. But if he openly undertaketh to maintain the Pope's villainies, then he will be a moſt unfortunate Prince. As then the Emperor will loſe the good will and affections of all the Germans; for he hath already dealt very evil with them; they will not receive him with ſuch humility as heretofore. And although he raiſeth an army of Spaniards, yet he ſhall not eaſily force Germany and bring it under his yoke. Hitherto he hath overcome them with his goodneſs, but the cruelty and tyranny of the Spaniards is inſufferable; neither will our Princes give him aſſiſtance againſt the Turks, but will ſay, Ceſar, give us peace. Therefore a great inſurrection and tumult is to be feared: God divert it from us. Let us diligently pray, God (doubtleſs) hath ſome great matter in hand, and will ſuffer the puniſhment to proceed if we repent not. Mark (ſaid *Luther*) how the authority, power, and reputation of the Pope was weakened in the council at Coſtnitz, which depoſed three Popes, and ordained that a council ſhould be over and above the Pope: inſomuch that never ſince the Pope hath had any longing after a council. Therefore, for the ſpace of one hundred and twenty years, the Papiſts have laboured with higheſt diligence to exalt the Pope's power and authority above a council, which he loatheth and ſhunneth, as the devil flieth from holy-water; and unleſs the Emperor and Princes do convene a council, there is no hope at all of any to be held. For Popedom falleth very ſorely, and by degrees inclineth to confuſion. Four kingdoms in Europe are already fallen from Popedom, namely, England, Germany, Hungary, and Denmark, the other hold but ſlenderly; for whereas the protectors of the Pope have ſwallowed up the thunderings and lightnings of the bulls in his decrees, ſo will they alſo ſtrip and flay Popedom, and draw the ſkin over the ears. Like as now the King of England doth, and rendeth the church-livings to himſelf, and will not permit that money for *Annats*, *Pallias*, &c. ſhall be carried away to Rome, ſo that the Pope is like to loſe both money and power.

power. I am heartily glad that the ſame King proceedeth therein ſo ſoberly, and that he uſeth not thereunto the ſword nor wars, as is done in Bohemia, but goeth on peaceably.

Of the right Uſe of a Council.

A COUNCIL (ſaid *Luther*) ſhould be a purgatory; it ſhould purge, cleanſe, and reform the church. And when new errors and hereſies break and preſs in, then to confirm, to ſtrengthen, and preſerve pure doctrine; to reſiſt, hinder, and quench new fires, and condemn falſe doctrine. But the Pope would have a council ſo qualified, and to be held, that he daily might make and heap new decrees, new orders and ſtatutes touching good works, &c. but what better good works can we learn and find, than thoſe which God himſelf hath ſet down and charged in the Ten Commandments?

Which is the Upright and True Council.

NOW at this time (ſaid *Luther*) is an upright council; for Chriſt is precedent, and chief ruler therein; the angels are the aſſemblies, aſſiſtants, and benchers; we are accuſed therein and indited, but, through God's Word and promiſe, we plead, Not guilty.

Of a Council propounded and declared by the Pope's Legate to John Fredrich Prince Elector of Saxony, touching which, the ſaid Prince deſired Luther's Conſideration and Advice.

MOST gracious Prince (ſaid *Luther*), ſo much as I underſtand, I hold, that it otherwiſe will not ſeem fitting and expedient, but that we conſent to appear, yet with aſſurance of a free ſafe-conduct, and withal to proteſt, that we therein will not be tied and obliged by articles, as heretofore hath been required; for although we ſhould refuſe a council, yet nevertheleſs we muſt ſtand in the ſame danger wherein we now are, and we ſhould alſo thereby procure more bitterneſs of other nations againſt us, as if we ſhunned and feared a council. Moreover, our refuſal therein would alſo hinder that good which other nations do hope for and expect; all other nations now looking upon us in theſe parts. Likewiſe the Pope will take his advantage of us; notwithſtanding our refuſal, he will conſcribe a council, and will cite us thereunto, which would appear far more diſgraceful to this doctrine, if in caſe we ſhould ſhun the acknowledgment thereof. Therefore, better it were that we offered ourſelves now to appear. And when we come to the council, if as then we may obtain a light and an eaſy proceeding (as is promiſed), ſo ſhall we be well ſatisfied; but if the ſame be not obtained, then we have ſo much the better excuſe. We may alſo juſtly ſhew, why we refuſe to be bound and obliged; for the Pope ſaith, he will hold a council according to the cuſtom of the church in former times. Now the cuſtom and manner held in theſe times, is far different from that which hath been held and obſerved in the ancient councils. For then they were compelled to judge according to God's Word, as is to be ſeen in the Acts of the Apoſtles, and which is worthy of all praiſe. But afterwards in Popedom, they obſerved far another manner; they judged according to their own conſtitutions and proper power, as plainly appeareth.

Now it is apparently known that we oppoſe and fight againſt the conſtitutions which

which are oppoſite to God's Word, therefore this cauſe in no wiſe may be cenſured according to the Pope's conſtitutions, eſpecially as our adverſaries, the Papiſts, do boaſt that their doctrine and conſtitutions are upright, and grounded on God's Word. And beſides, this practice of binding and obliging is a new cuſtom, only uſed now to hinder the council, and to give occaſion unto us to refuſe a council.

Laſtly, I hold it good and fitting (ſaid *Luther*) diligently to admoniſh the Imperial Majeſty, that he would conſider how the Empire is inclined to hold a general and free council, which the high neceſſity of the whole Chriſtian world requireth. Therefore that his majeſty would labour in the cauſe, and aim at that ſcope, that the proceeding may be orderly heard, as the cauſe requireth; if otherwiſe his Majeſty intendeth to do any good.

CHAP. XXVIII.

OF IMPERIAL DIETS.

Of Imperial Diets and Aſſemblies in Cauſes of Religion.

IN the year 1518, the 9th of July, when I (ſaid *Luther*) was cited and ſummoned, I came and appeared: Frederick Prince Elector of Saxony having appointed me a great and ſtrong convoy and ſafe-conduct; I was warned in any caſe not to have converſation with the Italians, nor to repoſe any truſt or confidence in them. I was three whole days in Auſpurg without the Emperor's ſafe-conduct. In the mean time, an Italian came unto me, and carried me to the Cardinal Cajetan; and by the way he earneſtly perſuaded me to revoke and recant; I ſhould (ſaid he) need to ſpeak but only one word before the Cardinal, namely, *Revoco*; and as then the Cardinal would recommend me to the Pope's favour: ſo that with honour I might return ſafely again to my maſter, the Prince Elector. After three days the Biſhop of Tryer came, who, in the Emperor's name, ſhewed and declared to the Cardinal my ſafe-conduct. Then I went unto him in all humility, fell down firſt upon my knees; ſecondly, all along upon the ground; thirdly, when I had remained awhile ſo lying, then the Cardinal (three times) bade me ariſe; whereupon I ſtood up. This pleaſed him well, hoping I would conſider, and better bethink myſelf.

The next day, when I came before him again, and would revoke nothing at all, then he ſaid unto me, What? thinkeſt thou that the Pope careth for Germany? or doſt thou think that the Princes will raiſe arms and armies to maintain and defend thee? O, no; where wilt thou remain in ſafety? I ſaid, under Heaven. After this the Pope humbled himſelf, and wrote to our church, yea, he wrote even to the Prince Elector's chaplain, and to one of his counſellors, (Spalatine and Pfeffinger) that they would ſurrender me into his hands, and procure that his pleaſure and command might be put in execution. And the Pope wrote alſo to the Prince Elector himſelf after the following manner;

Although, as touching thy perſon, thou art to me unknown, yet I have ſeen thy father (Prince Erneſtus) at Rome, who was altogether an obedient ſon to the church; he viſited and frequented our religion with great devotion, and held the ſame in higheſt honour.

honour. I wiſh and would that thy illuſtrious ſerenity would alſo tread in his footſteps, &c.

But the Prince Elector well marked the Pope's unaccuſtomed humility, and his evil conſcience; he was alſo acquainted with the power and operation of the holy Scriptures. Therefore he remained where he was, and returned thanks to the Pope for his affection towards him.

My books and reſolutions (ſaid *Luther*) in a ſhort time went, yea, flew throughout Europe, (the fourth part of the world); therefore the Prince Elector was confirmed and ſtrengthened, inſomuch that he utterly refuſed to execute the Pope's commands, but ſubjected himſelf under the acknowledgment of the Scriptures.

If the Cardinal had handled me with more diſcretion at Augſpurg, and had dealt kindly with me when I fell at his feet, then it had never come thus far; for at that time I ſaw very few of the Pope's errors which now I ſee; had he been ſilent, ſo had I lightly held my peace. The ſtyle and cuſtom of the Romiſh court in dark and confuſed caſes, was this: that the Pope ſaid, We by papal power do take theſe cauſes unto us, we quench them out and deſtroy them. I am perſuaded (ſaid *Luther*) that the Pope willingly would give three Cardinals, on condition, that it were ſtill in that veſſel wherein it was before he began to meddle with me.

Of Luther's Journey and Proceedings at the Imperial Diet at Worms, Anno 1520.

ON Tueſday in the Paſſion week (ſaid *Luther*) I was cited by the herald to appear at the Diet; he brought with him a ſafe-conduct from the Emperor, and many other Princes (but the ſafe-conduct was ſoon broken, even the next day (Wedneſday), at Worms, where I was condemned, and my books burned.) Now, when I came to Erfurt, I received intelligence that I was caſt and condemned at Worms, yea, and that in all cities and places thereabout it was publiſhed and ſpread abroad; inſomuch that the herald aſked me, Whether I meant to go to Worms, or no?

Although I was ſomewhat aſtoniſhed at the news, yet I anſwered the herald, and ſaid, Although in Worms there were as many devils as there are tiles on the houſes, yet, God willing, I will go thither.

When I came to Oppenheim, in the Palatinate, not far from Worms, Bucer came unto me, and diſſuaded me from entering into the town; for (ſaid he) Sglapion the Emperor's confeſſor had been with him, and had entreated him to warn me not to go thither, for I ſhould be burned; but rather that I ſhould go to a gentleman there near at hand, Francis Von Sickingen, and remain with him, who willingly would receive and entertain me. This plot the wicked wretches (ſaid *Luther*) had deviſed againſt me, to the end I ſhould not appear; for if I had contracted the time, and ſtaid away three days, then my ſafe-conduct had been expired, and then they would have locked the town-gates, and without hearing, I ſhould have been condemned and made away. But I went on in all ſimplicity, and when I ſaw the city, I wrote preſently to Spalatine, and gave him notice of my coming, and deſired to know where I ſhould be lodged. Then they all wondered at my coming, which was ſo far from their expectation; for they verily thought I would have ſtaid away, as ſcared through their threatenings. There were two worthy gentlemen (John Von Hirſhfield, and St. John Schott) who received me by the Prince Elector's command, and brought me to their lodging.

No Prince came unto me but only Earls and gentlemen, who earneſtly looked upon me, and who had exhibited four hundred articles to his Imperial Majeſty againſt thoſe of the ſpirituality, and deſired a redreſs and a removing of thoſe their grievances; otherwiſe they themſelves ſhould be conſtrained to remedy the ſame; from all which

grievances they are now delivered through the Goſpel, which I (God be praiſed) have brought again to light. The Pope at that time wrote to the Emperor, that he ſhould not perform the ſafe-conduct; for which end all the Biſhops alſo preſſed the Emperor; but the Princes and States of the Empire would not conſent thereunto: for they alledged that a great tumult thereupon would ariſe. I received of them a great deal of courteſy, inſomuch that the Papiſts were more afraid of me, than I was of them.

For the Landgrave of Heſſen (being then but a young Prince) deſired that I might be heard, and he ſaid openly unto me, Sir! is your cauſe juſt and upright? Then I beſeech God to aſſiſt you. Now being in Worms, I wrote to Sglapian, and deſired him to make a ſtep unto me, but he would not. Then being called, I appeared in the Senate Houſe before the council and ſtate of the whole empire, where the Emperor, the Princes Electors in perſon were aſſembled.

Then Doctor Eck (the Biſhop of Tryers Fiſcall) began, and ſaid unto me, Martin, thou art called hither to give anſwer, whether thou acknowledgeſt theſe writings to be thy books or no? (the books lay on a table which he ſhewed unto me) I anſwered, and ſaid, I believe they be mine. But Hierome Schurfe preſently thereupon ſaid, Let the titles of them be read. Now when the ſame were read, then I ſaid, Yea, they are mine. Then he ſaid, Will you revoke them? I anſwered and ſaid, Moſt gracious Lord and Emperor, ſome of my books are books of controverſies, wherein I touch my adverſaries: ſome on the contrary are books of doctrine, the ſame I neither can nor will revoke. But if in caſe I have in my books of controverſies been too violent againſt any man, then I am content therein to be better directed, and for that end, I deſire reſpite of time: then they gave me one day and one night. The next day I was cited by the Biſhops and others, who were appointed to deal with me touching my revocation. Then I ſaid, God's Word is not my word, therefore I know not how to give it away; but whatſoever is therein, beſides the ſame, I will ſhew obedience. Then Marquis Joachim ſaid unto me, Sir Martin! ſo far as I underſtand, you are content to be inſtructed, excepting only what may concern the holy Writ. I ſaid, Yea; then they preſſed me to refer the cauſe to his Imperial Majeſty; I ſaid, I durſt not preſume ſo to do. Then they ſaid, Do you not think that we are alſo Chriſtians, who with all care and diligence would finiſh and end ſuch cauſes? You ought to put ſo much truſt and confidence in us, that we would conclude uprightly; to that I anſwered, and ſaid, I dare not truſt you ſo far, that you ſhould conclude againſt yourſelves, who even now have caſt and condemned me, being under ſafe-conduct; yet, nevertheleſs, that ye may ſee what I will do, I will yield up into your hands my ſafe-conduct, and do with me what ye pleaſe. Then all the Princes ſaid, Truly, he offereth enough, if not too much. Afterwards they ſaid, Yield unto us yet in ſome articles: I ſaid, in God's name, ſuch articles as concern not the Holy Scriptures, I will not ſtand againſt. Preſently hereupon, two Biſhops went to the Emperor, and ſhewed him that I had revoked. Then the Emperor ſent another Biſhop unto me, to know if I had referred the cauſe to him, and to the Empire; I ſaid, I had neither done it, nor intended ſo to do. In this ſort (ſaid *Luther*) did I alone reſiſt ſo many, inſomuch that my Doctor, and divers others of my friends, were much offended and vexed by reaſon of my conſtancy; yea, ſome of them ſaid, if I had referred the articles to their conſideration, they would have yielded, and given way to thoſe articles which in the council at Coſtnitz had been condemned. Then came Cocleus upon me, and ſaid, Sir Martin, If you will yield up your ſafe-conduct, then I will enter into diſpute with you. I, for my part (ſaid *Luther*), in my ſimplicity, would have accepted thereof. But Hieronimus Schurfe earneſtly entreated me not to do the ſame, and in deriſion and ſcorn, anſwered Cocleus and ſaid, O brave offer, if a man were ſo fooliſh as to entertain it!

Then

Then came a Doctor unto me, belonging to the Marquis of Baden, aſſaying, with a ſtrain of high-carried words, to move me, admoniſhed me, and ſaid, Truly (St. Martin), you are bound to do much, and to yield for the ſake of fraternal love, and to the end peace and tranquillity among the people may be preſerved, leſt tumults and inſurrections ſhould be occaſioned and raiſed. Beſides, it were alſo greatly befitting you to ſhew obedience to the Imperial Majeſty, and diligently to beware of cauſing offences in the world; therefore I would adviſe you to revoke. Whereupon (ſaid *Luther*) I ſaid, For the ſake of brotherly love and amity, I could and would do much, ſo far, that it were not againſt the faith and honour of Chriſt. When all theſe had made their vain aſſaults, then the Chancellor of Tryer ſaid unto me, Martin Luther, you are diſobedient to the Imperial Majeſty, therefore you have leave and licence to depart again with your ſafe-conduct. In this ſort I again departed from Worms with a great deal of gentleneſs and courteſy, to the wondering of the whole Chriſtian world, inſomuch that the Papiſts wiſhed they had left me at home. After my departure, that abominable edict of proſcribing was put in execution at Worms, which gave occaſion to every man to revenge himſelf upon his enemies, under the name and title of Proteſtant hereſy. But the tyrants, not long after, were conſtrained to recall the ſame again.

Of the Imperial Diet at Augſpurg, Anno 1530.

THE Imperial Diet held at Augſpurg, 1530, is worthy of all praiſe; for then, and from thence came the Goſpel among the people in other countries, contrary to the wills and expectations both of Emperor and Pope; therefore (ſaid *Luther*) what hath been ſpent there, ſhould be grievous to no man. God appointed the Imperial Diet at Augſpurg, to the end the Goſpel ſhould be ſpread further abroad and planted. They over-climbed themſelves at Augſpurg, for the Papiſts openly approved there of our doctrine. Before that Diet was held, the Papiſts had made the Emperor believe, that our doctrine was altogether frivolous; and when he came to the Diet, he ſhould ſee that they would put us all to ſilence, inſomuch that none of us ſhould be able to ſpeak a word in the defence of our religion; but it fell out far otherwiſe; for we openly and freely confeſſed the Goſpel before the Emperor and the whole Empire. And at that Diet we confounded our adverſaries in the higheſt degree. The Imperial Diet at Augſpurg was invaluable, by reaſon of the confeſſion of faith, and of God's Word, which on our part was there performed: for there the adverſaries were conſtrained to confeſs that our confeſſion was upright and true.

Of the Confeſſion and Apology which at Augſpurg was exhibited to the Emperor.

THE Emperor (ſaid *Luther*) cenſured underſtandingly and diſcreetly, and carried himſelf princely in this cauſe of religion; he found our confeſſion to be far otherwiſe than the Papiſts had informed him; namely, that we were moſt ungodly people, and led moſt wicked and deteſtable kind of lives; and that we taught againſt the firſt and ſecond tables of the Ten Commandments of God. For this cauſe, the Emperor ſent our confeſſion and apology to all the univerſities; his council alſo delivered their opinions, and ſaid, In caſe their doctrine were againſt the holy Chriſtian faith, then they thought fitting that his Imperial Majeſty ſhould ſeek to ſuppreſs it with all his power. But if it be only againſt ceremonies and abuſes (as now it appeareth to be) then to refer it to the conſideration and cenſure of learned people, &c. This (ſaid *Luther*) was good and wiſe council.

Doctor Eck confeſſed openly and ſaid, The Proteſtants cannot be confuted and oppoſed

oppoſed out of holy Scriptures; therefore the Biſhop of Mentz ſaid unto him, O, how finely our learned Divines do defend us and our doctrine? The Biſhop of Mentz (ſaid *Luther*) holdeth our doctrine to be upright and true, but he only courteth the Pope, otherwiſe long before this time he would have played ſtrange pranks with his Holineſs.

Of the Strength and Profit of the Confeſſion and Apology of Augſpurg.

GOD's Word is powerful, the more it is perſecuted, the more and further it ſpreadeth itſelf abroad. Behold the Imperial Diet at Augſpurg, which doubtleſs is the laſt trumpet before the dreadful day of Judgment; how raged the world there againſt the Word? O (ſaid *Luther*) how were we there fain to pray the Pope and Papiſts, that they would be pleaſed to permit and ſuffer Chriſt to live quietly in heaven? There our doctrine broke through into the light in ſuch ſort, that by the Emperor's ſtrict command the ſame was ſent to all Kings, Princes, and Univerſities. This our doctrine forthwith enlightened many excellent people, diſperſed here and there in Princes courts, among whom, ſome of God were choſen to take hold on this our doctrine, like unto tinder, and afterwards kindled the ſame alſo in others.

Our apology and confeſſion with great honour came to light; the Papiſts confutations are kept in darkneſs, and do ſtink; O (ſaid *Luther*) how willingly would I, that their confutations might appear to the world; then I would ſet upon that old torn and tattered ſkin, and in ſuch ſort would baſte it, that the flitches thereof ſhould fly about here and there, but they ſhun the light This time twelve month, no man would have given a farthing for the Proteſtants, ſo ſure the ungodly Papiſts were of us. For (ſaid *Luther*) when my moſt gracious Lord and maſter, the Prince Elector of Saxony, before other Princes came to the Diet, the Papiſts marvelled much thereat, for they verily believed, that he would not have appeared, by reaſon (as they imagined) his cauſe was too bad and foul to be brought before the light. But what fell out? even this, that in their greateſt ſecurity they were overwhelmed with the greateſt fear and affrightments; becauſe the Prince Elector, like an upright Prince, appeared ſo early at Augſpurg, then the other Popiſh Princes ſwiftly poſted away from Augſpurg to Iſpruck, where they held ſerious council with Prince George, and the Marquis of Baden, all of them wondering what the Prince Elector's ſo early approach to the Diet ſhould mean, inſomuch that the Emperor himſelf thereat was aſtoniſhed, and doubted, whether he might come and go in ſafety or not; whereupon the Princes were conſtrained to promiſe, that they would ſet up body, goods, and blood by the Emperor, the one offering to maintain 6000 horſe, another ſo many thouſands of foot ſoldiers, &c. to the end his Majeſty might be the better ſecured. There was a wonder among wonders to be ſeen, in that God ſtruck with fear and cowardlineſs the enemies of the truth. And although at that time the Prince Elector of Saxony was alone, and but only the hundredth ſheep, but the other were ninety-and-nine, yet, notwithſtanding, it ſo fell out, that they all trembled and were afraid. Now when they came to the point, and began to take the buſineſs in hand, then there appeared but a very ſmall heap that ſtood by God's Word.

But (ſaid *Luther*) we brought with us a ſtrong and mighty King, a King above all Emperors and Kings, namely, Chriſt Jeſus the powerful Word of God. Then all the Papiſts cried out, and ſaid, O, it is inſufferable, that ſo ſmall and ſilly a heap ſhould ſet themſelves againſt the Imperial power. But (ſaid *Luther*) the Lord of Hoſts fruſtrateth the councils of Princes. Pilate had power to put our bleſſed Saviour to death, but willingly he would not; Annas and Caiaphas willingly would have done it, but could not.

The

The Emperor, for his own part, is good and honeſt; but the Popiſh Biſhops and Cardinals are undoubtedly knaves. And foraſmuch as the Emperor now refuſeth to bathe his hands in innocent blood, therefore the frantick Princes do beſtir themſelves, do ſcorn and contemn the good Emperor in the higheſt degree. The Pope alſo for anger is ready to burſt in pieces, becauſe the Diet in this ſort, without ſhedding of blood, ſhould be diſſolved; therefore he ſendeth the ſword to the Duke of Bavaria, to proceed therewith, and intendeth to take the crown from the Emperor's head and to ſet it upon the head of Bavaria; but he ſhall not accompliſh it. In this manner ordered God the buſineſs, that Kings, Princes, yea, and the Pope himſelf, fell from the Emperor, and that we joined with him, which was a great wonder of God's providence, in that he whom the devil intended to uſe againſt us, even the ſame God taketh, maketh, and uſeth for us. O wonder (ſaid *Luther*) above all wonders!

Of the Aſſembly of the Princes at Brunſwick, 1531.

WHEN the Princes (profeſſing the Auguſtinian Confeſſion) held an aſſembly at Brunſwick, then *Luther* received letters, wherein was ſhewed that the Prince Elector of Saxony journeyed ſix days through the Marquiſate of Brandenburg, whereas Prince Henry of Brunſwick would neither give him convoy, nor permit him to go through his country. But the Prince Elector of Brandenburg, in his country, gave him princely entertainment in every place, and many went out of Brunſwick to meet and to receive him. But the Landgrave of Heſſen went on the other ſide, through Goſlar, without a convoy. Chriſtianus, King of Denmark, the ſecond day of the aſſembly, delivered up the confeſſion of his faith, and was held and eſteemed a ſecond David. Whereupon *Luther* ſaid, God of his mercy aſſiſt him for the ſanctifying of his name. But (ſaid he) the pride of the Duke of Brunſwick may eaſily redound to his own hurt and prejudice, who, contrary to all law and equity, denied a ſafe convoy to one of his beſt and trueſt friends. Moſes likewiſe deſired a ſafe convoy of the King of the Amorites; but being denied, he thereby took occaſion to raiſe war againſt him. The Lord of Heaven grant us peace. The ſame day other letters came to *Luther* from Brunſwick, ſhewing, that the King of Denmark in perſon, the Ambaſſadors of England and France, and of many Imperial Cities, were arrived there, among whom, ſome carried themſelves very ſtrangely towards thoſe of the Proteſtant league. *Luther* ſaid, under the name and colour of the Goſpel, they ſeek their own particular advantages, but in the leaſt danger they are afraid. Theſe politick and terreſtrial leagues and unions have no hand nor ſhare in the Goſpel: God alone preſerveth and defendeth the ſame in times of perſecution. Let us put truſt and confidence in him, and with him; let us erect and eſtabliſh an everlaſting league, for the world is the world, and will remain the world.

Of the Convention and Aſſembly of the Proteſtant State at Franckfort on the Main, 1539.

GOD of his infinite mercy (ſaid *Luther*) aſſiſt them at Frankfort on the Main, that they may Chriſtian-like conſult and conclude, to the end God's honour, the good and profit of the commonwealth may be furthered. Indeed, it is a very ſmall aſſembly, it hath a ſtrange aſpect to be held in an Imperial city; but foraſmuch as they are thereunto conſtrained by the adverſaries, they muſt be content.

The Papiſts, void of ſhame, do unwiſely undertake to poſſeſs themſelves of the cities, and by fraud to draw thereunto their adherents; then they make ſhew of keeping peace, but in the mean time they contrive how to ſeparate and confuſe the whole body, and of the members to make a maſſacre; they ſecretly fall upon Hambrough, upon Minden, and Franckfort. They might more wiſely go to work, if by open wars they aſſailed us. At Augſpurg they openly condemned us; and if thoſe of our party had not been patient, it had preſently gone on at that time. Anno 1539, the 16th of February, *Luther* commanded publick prayers to be made for the day at Franckfort, that peace might be confirmed. For if the Landgrave be incenſed, then all reſiſtance will be in vain. The Landgrave neither provoketh nor giveth occaſion to wars; but, on the contrary, when he is provoked, he ſtill ſeeketh peace; whereas notwithſtanding he is better furniſhed and provided for wars than his adverſary is, by 2000 horſe, for Heſſen and Saxon are horſemen; when they are ſet in the ſaddle, they are as then not ſo eaſily hoiſted out again. As for the high-country horſemen, they (ſaid *Luther*) are dancing gentlemen. God preſerve the Landgrave; for a valiant man and Prince is of great importance. Auguſtus Cæſar was wont to ſay, I would rather be in an army of ſtags, where a lion is general, then to be in an army of lions where a ſtag is general. The 25th of February, *Luther* prayed again with great devotion for peace, and for the day at Franckfort, that through civil wars (which are moſt hurtful) the religion, policy, and God's Word, might not be ſophiſticated and torn in pieces. Wars are pleaſing to thoſe that have had no trial or experience of them; God bleſs us from wars.

CHAP. XXIX.

OF THE BOOKS OF THE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH.

Luther's Diſcourſe of the Books of the Fathers of the Church.

A MAN may read Jerome (ſaid *Luther*) for the ſake of the hiſtory, for in his writings is not ſo much as one word either touching faith, or upright religion. As for Origen, I have baniſhed him already. Chryſoſtom I eſteem nothing worth; he is only a talker or a prater. Baſil is of no value at all, he is merely a Friar, I would not give an hair for him. The apology of Philip Melancthon ſurpaſſeth all the Fathers of the church, yea it ſurpaſſeth Auſtin. Hilary and Theophilact are good, and ſo is Ambroſe, for he ſometimes finely toucheth the remiſſion of ſins, which is the higheſt article, namely, that the Divine Majeſty pardoneth and forgiveth ſins.

That the Fathers of the Church are good for Teaching, but they are not to be valued for Diſputing.

PATRES, quanquam ſæpe errant, tamen venerandi propter teſtimonium fidei. We honour Jerome, Gregory, and others, becauſe in their writings we feel that they believed in Chriſt as we do, and as the church hath held of faith from the beginning of the world. When Bernard preacheth, then he is above all the Doctors in the church; but when he diſputeth, then he is altogether another man. Bonaventura

tura (ſaid *Luther*) is the beſt among all the ſchool divines and church writers. Auſtin always hath had the pre-eminence, the ſecond in eſteem was Ambroſe, Bernard the third. Tertullian among the church-teachers is a right Carleſtad; Cyril hath the beſt ſentences. Cyprian, the martyr, is a weak divine; Theophilact is the beſt expounder and interpreter of St. Paul.

Of the Book of Cyprian.

LUTHER reading Cyprian, *De ſingularitate Clericorum* (how ſpiritual perſons ſhould ſeparate themſelves and abſtain from women, and handling ſuch fooliſh and childiſh things in his book), ſaid, I doubt whether this be Cyprian's book or no: but howſoever, it is no marvel, when men fall from God's Word and ordinances, as then they wallow themſelves in filthy errors and offences, inſomuch that they reject even matrimony, which of God is ordained; likewiſe they therein reject the apparent witneſſes and examples of the Holy Scriptures, and betake themſelves to whoring and to adultery. This Cyprian (ſaid *Luther*) was almoſt the next teacher after the Apoſtles, in the time of Emperor Valerian, ſcarcely 200 years after the Apoſtles. Tertullian was the ancienteſt; after him was Gregory Nazianzen, then Jerome, Auſtin, Ambroſe, &c. At that time (ſaid *Luther*) the church degenerated greatly. We ſee how St. Paul complaineth over the Corinthians and Galatians. And Chriſt himſelf had Judas the Traitor among his diſciples; therefore (ſaid *Luther*) away with them that expect to have ſuch a church as is altogether pure like the dove; that is, to have no church at all. For this cauſe let us have precious regard to our vocations and callings, and be waking, for we lightly fall into ſin, yea ſometimes by reaſon of a ſmall and ſilly word. Therefore it is no wonder that ignorant people, that go on drowned in their opinions, regarding no man, and ſelf-conceited ſpirits, will ſoon be led into errors and fall from the truth, like as the heretick Pelagius did, who ſeduced many people touching the article of juſtification, only with this baſe argument, namely, We are (ſaid he) juſtified by grace; to know Moſes and the Law, is grace, therefore we are juſtified through the knowledge of the Law. The people (ſaid *Luther*) did neither ſee nor hear this open deceit. Even thus likewiſe the holy Fathers ſaid, in the fourth petition in the Lord's Prayer, we pray not for corporal and temporal things, for it is againſt the ſentence of Chriſt, where he ſaith, *Take no care what ye ſhall eat*, &c. As though that commandment did not mean the carping and caring for the daily bread.

The books which the Fathers wrote upon the Bible do leave the readers hanging between heaven and earth, they conclude nothing that is certain. I will not preſume to cenſure their writings, ſeeing they are received of the church, and have great applauſe, for then I ſhould be held an apoſtate; but whoſo readeth Chryſoſtom, will find that he digreſſeth from the chief points, and proceedeth to other matters, ſaith nothing (or very little) of that which pertaineth to the buſineſs. When I expounded the Epiſtle to the Hebrews (ſaid *Luther*), and beheld what Chryſoſtom had written thereupon, I found nothing therein that ſerved to the purpoſe; yet I believe that he at that time (as being the chiefeſt rhetorician) had many hearers, but taught without profit; for the chief office of a preacher is to teach uprightly, and diligently to look to the chiefeſt points, and grounds whereon he ſtandeth, and in ſuch ſort to inſtruct and teach the hearers, to the end they may underſtand aright, and be able to ſay, This is well taught. When this is done, then he may ſhew his rhetorick, to adorn his ſubject, and admoniſh the people.

Of

Of the Fathers.

BEHOLD (ſaid *Luther*) what great darkneſs is in the books of the Fathers concerning faith; for if the article of juſtification be darkened, then is it impoſſible to ſmother the groſſeſt errors of mankind. St. Jerome, indeed, wrote upon Matthew, upon the Epiſtles to the Galatians and Titus; but, alas! very coldly. Ambroſe wrote ſix books upon the firſt Book of Moſes, but they are very ſlender. Auſtin wrote nothing to the purpoſe concerning faith; for he was firſt rouzed up and made a man by the Pelagians, when he ſtrove againſt them. The Fathers, indeed, taught well and finely, but they could not openly deliver it, becauſe they had no combating nor ſtriving: I can find no expoſition upon the Epiſtles to the Romans and Galatians, wherein any thing is ſhewed and taught pure and uprightly. O (ſaid *Luther*), what a happy time have we now, in regard to the purity of the doctrine; but, alas! we little eſteem it. The loving Fathers taught better then they wrote. After the Fathers came the Pope, and fell in with his miſchievous traditions and human ordinances, and (like a breaking water-cloud and deluge) overflowed the church, ſnared the conſciences touching eating of meats, touching Friars hoods, maſſes, touching his dirty laws and decrees, inſomuch as daily and continually he brought abominable errors into the church of Chriſt; and, to ſerve his own turn, he took hold on St. Auſtin's ſentence, where he ſaith, *Evangelio non crederem*, &c. The aſs-heads could not diſcern, what occaſioned Auſtin to utter that ſentence, for he ſpake it againſt the Manichees; as if he ſhould ſay, I believe you not, for ye are damned hereticks, but I believe and hold with the church, the Spouſe of Chriſt, which cannot err.

Epiphanius deſcribed the hiſtories of the church long before Jerome, which are good and profitable; and if ſeparated from diſſentious arguments, then they were worth the printing.

The Fathers had a great luſtre and eſteem, by reaſon of their good converſation, and ſtrict kind of lives. Their luſtre conſiſted in watchings and faſtings, which indeed were ſurpaſſing, and (ſaid *Luther*) ſo it becometh ſuch people to be: for there muſt be either a ſeeming ſanctity (as the hypocrites have), or elſe there muſt be an upright eſſence and being, which proceedeth from the heart, as the great champions whom God awakeneth are endued with.

Of Prudentius.

I MUCH do applaud (ſaid *Luther*) the hymns and ſpiritual ſongs of Prudentius; he was the beſt Poet of the Chriſtians; if he had been in the time of Virgil, he would have been extolled above Horace, whom Virgil praiſed. I wiſh that the verſes and ſongs of Prudentius might be read in ſchools, but ſchools now begin to become heatheniſh, and the holy Scripture (upon which they are built) is ſophiſticated through philoſophy.

Among all the Fathers, Auſtin and Hilary wrote moſt clear; all the reſt ought to be read with judgment, with circumſpection and conſideration. Tertullian is harſh and ſuperſtitious; howſoever Cyprian boaſteth of him, in that he was his preceptor and maſter. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) let us read the Fathers conſideratively. Let us lay them in the gold balance, for the Fathers often ſtumbled and went aſtray; they mingle in their books many impertinent and monkiſh things. Auſtin had more work and labour to ſcrew and wind himſelf out of the Fathers writings, than he had with the hereticks. Gregory expoundeth the five pounds mentioned

mentioned in the Goſpel (which the huſbandman gave to his ſervants to put to uſe) to be the five ſenſes, which the beaſts alſo poſſeſs. But the two pounds, he conſtrueth to be, the reaſon and underſtanding.

Of the four Pillars of the Church.

AMBROSE (ſaid *Luther*) is the chiefeſt, then Jerome; after him Auſtin, who died 1011 years ſince; Gregory is the fourth. Ambroſe was a polititian, well experienced in temporal affairs. He was conſtrained to be elected Biſhop of Milan, and was much employed by the Emperor; he could not exempt himſelf from worldly buſineſſes, like as it now goeth with us; for we muſt ſerve the table in the conſiſtory about matrimonial cauſes, more than God's Word and command: even ſo was it with Ambroſe; he wrote indeed well and purely, was more ſerious in writing than Auſtin, who was amiable and mild. Jerome is called a Chriſtian Doctor; Bernard is called an under-aged Prince's teacher; Auſtin is called Aurelius; Bonaventura, Seraphicus; St. Thomas, Angelicus; Scotus, Subtilis; and Martin Luther is called an Arch-Heretick. Fulgentius is the beſt poet, and far above Horace, both with ſentences, fair ſpeeches, and good actions, he is worthy to be numbered among the poets. They pictured St. Auſtin, in a book, like a Friar, with a hood. Therewith they much wrong that holy man; for he lived a publick kind of a life, like another common citizen; he converſed with the people; he led no Monkiſh kind of life, as the Papiſts have feigned of him, thereby to cloak and colour their errors; like as Tetzel ſaid, Whoſo will miniſter good unto his ſoul, let him give liberally to monaſteries, thereby to redeem grace; for after your death your children will forget you, and will not perform your intentions.

Mercarius, Antonius, and Benedictus (ſaid *Luther*) brought apparent miſchief to the church with their Monkery. But in caſe they led a private and a grizly kind of life, yet it was far from a holy life; I believe that they are in a far lower degree in heaven, than an honeſt, God-fearing, married man and houſe-father.

Of Luther's eſteeming the Fathers and Teachers of the Church.

ALTHOUGH it becometh not me (ſaid *Luther*) to cenſure the Fathers (I being in compariſon of them a little worm and of no repute); yet, notwithſtanding, the more I read their books, the more I find myſelf offended; for they were but men, and (to ſpeak the truth) with their repute and authority they did undervalue and ſuppreſs the books and writings of the ſacred Apoſtles of Chriſt. From whence the Papiſts were not aſhamed to ſay, What is the Scripture? we muſt read the holy Fathers and Teachers, for they drew and ſucked the honey out of the Scripture. As if God's Word were not to be underſtood and conceived by none but by themſelves, whereas the heavenly Father ſaith, *Him ſhall ye hear*, who in the Goſpel taught moſt plainly in parables and ſimilitudes, as where he ſaith, *Whoſo believeth in me, the ſame ſhall not die*, John viii. Alſo, *Ye ſhall not reſiſt evil*, Matthew v. Likewiſe, *Behold, the fowls under heaven, and the flowers of the field*, &c. Yet, nevertheleſs, the Papiſh ſophiſts dare preſume to blaſpheme the holy Scriptures, and alledge they are dark, and not well to be underſtood, therefore it behoved the Fathers to expound and clear them; but (ſaid *Luther*) ſuch their expounding and clearing may rather be called overſhadowing and darkening.

Ah! (ſaid *Luther*) the Fathers were but men as we are, therefore we muſt

well conſider what they ſay; we muſt look to their lips. From hence Auſtin laboured wonderfully, who had ſtumbled and offended through human traditions, yet nevertheleſs he was ſtrong and powerful in the holy Scriptures, and had a fine judgment and underſtanding in cauſes: he was ſharpened by thoſe hereticks the Pelagians; he affected the ſtate of matrimony, ſpake well of good Biſhops (who then were miniſters), but thoſe times vexed and offended him much: if he now were living, he would, doubtleſs, be enraged, to ſee and hear the abominations of the Pope, in boaſting of St Peter's patrimony and inheritance; the ſame St. Auſtin would not endure.

To conclude: Faithful Chriſtians ſhould hear only the legation or embaſſage of our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt, and hearken to what he ſaith. Therefore all thoſe which alter and conſtrue the Goſpel through human authority, power, and repute, do deal very unchriſtian-like and againſt God. No temporal Potentate alloweth his Ambaſſador to exceed his enjoined inſtructions, no, not in one word; yet we, in this celeſtial and divine embaſſage and legation, will be ſo preſumptuous as to add and diminiſh to and from our heavenly inſtructions, according to our own vain conceits and ſelf-will.

I am perſuaded if at this time St. Peter, in perſon, ſhould preach all the articles of holy Scripture, and but only deny the Pope's authority, power, and primacy, and ſhould ſay, that the Pope were not the chief head of all Chriſtendom, then ſurely they would cauſe him to be hanged. Yea, if Chriſt himſelf were yet on earth, and ſhould preach, without all doubt the Pope would crucify him again. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) let us expect the ſame entertainment; better it is to build upon Chriſt, than upon the Pope. If from my heart I did not believe that after this life there were another, then I would ſing another ſong, and would lay the burthen on another's neck.

Of the Commentaries of Lyra upon the Bible.

LYRA'S Commentaries upon the Bible (ſaid *Luther*) are worthy of all praiſe; I will give order that with diligence they may be read, for they are exceeding good; eſpecially, they ſerve well for the hiſtorical part of the Old Teſtament. Lyra is very profitable to him that is well ſeen in the New Teſtament. The commentaries which Paulus and Simigerus made upon the ſame are very chill and cold, they may well be omitted and left out, if Lyra ſhould be reprinted.

At what Times the Fathers and Teachers in the Church did live.

ATHANASIUS, Biſhop of Alexandria, lived Anno Domini 379,	died, 387.
Baſilius Magnus, and Gregorius,	380.
Ambroſe, Biſhop of Milan,	380.
Aurelius Prudentius,	380.
Auſtin, Biſhop of Hippo, his age 76	430.
Beda, a Benedict in England, aged 72	737.
Cyprian, Biſhop of Carthage,	259.
Cyril, Biſhop of Alexandria,	432.
Chryſoſtom, Biſhop of Conſtantinople,	420.
Gregory, the Firſt Pope,	511.
Hierom, Preſbyter, and the eldeſt of Striden,	522.
Irenæus, Biſhop of Leon,	175.
Polycarpus, Tutor to Irenæus,	175.

Nicolas de Lyra, ... 320.
Origen, Preſbyter of Adomantz, ... 261.
Philo the Jew, ... 50.
Joſephus, ... 100.
Ignatius, Biſhop of Antioch, ... 111.
Proſperus, Biſhop of Rogen, Auſtin's diſciple, that drew Auſtin's ſentences together, 460.
Sedulius, the eldeſt Preſbyter, ... 430.
Tatianus, the Heretick, ... 170.
Tertullian, the Elder, at Carthage, ... 200.
Thomas Aquinas, ... 1274.
Bonifacius, Biſhop of Mentz, ... 755.
Bernard, Abbot of Ciſtern, ... 1140.
Hugo Pariſienſis, ... 1130.
Anſelmus, ... 1110.

CHAP. XXX.

OF SCHOOL DIVINES.

Luther's Diſcourſe of School Divines.

THE Terminiſts (ſaid *Luther*) were ſectaries in the high ſchools, among whom I was: they oppoſe the Thomiſts, the Scotiſts, and the Albertiſts: they are called alſo Occamiſts, of Occam, their firſt beginner and founder. They are of the neweſt ſect, and now are the ſtrongeſt in Paris.

The ſtrife and diſcord among them was, whether the word Humanitas was called a general Humanity, which is in every human creature, as Thomas and others do hold. The Occamiſts and Terminiſts ſay, It is not in general, but it is ſpoken in particular of every human creature; like as a picture of a human creature ſignifieth every human creature.

But now in this caſe they muſt be called Terminiſts, which ſpeak of a thing in its own proper words, as they found and are called of themſelves, and not to conſtrue and ſignify the words after a ſtrange and barbarous ſort, which is called a ridiculous kind of ſpeaking; as with a carpenter, we muſt ſpeak in his terms, and with ſuch words as is uſual in his faculty; namely, a chiſel, an axe, and not an hatchet. Even ſo we muſt let the words of Chriſt remain, and ſpeak of the Sacraments *in ſuis terminis*, with ſuch words as Chriſt uſed and ſpake; as *Do this*, muſt not be ſaid, *Offer this:* and this word *Corpus* muſt not ſignify both kinds, as the Papiſts tear and torment the words, and wilfully wreſt them from the highway againſt the clear text.

Of Luther's Cenſure of Longobard.

MAGISTER *Sententiarum*, the Maſter of high Sentences, Peter Longobard, was a very diligent man, and of a high underſtanding; he wrote many excellent things. If he had wholly and fully given himſelf to the holy Scriptures, then he had been indeed a great and principal Doctor of the church: but he confuſed his books with many unprofitable queſtions, ſophiſticating and mingling all together. The ſchool divines were fine and delicate wits, but they had not ſuch times as we now

now have. They came ſo far, that they taught mankind was not complete, pure, nor ſound, but was wounded in part; yet ſo that people by their own power, without grace, were able to fulfil the law; but when they had obtained grace, as then they were able more eaſily to accompliſh the law of their own proper power only.

Such and the like horrible things they taught; but they neither ſaw nor felt Adam's fall, nor that the law of God is a ſpiritual law, which requireth a complete and full obedience inwardly and outwardly both in body and ſoul.

When Popedom ſtood in the higheſt flouriſhing ſtate, then Scotus, Bonaventura, Gabriel Biel, Thomas Aquinas, &c. were idle fellows, prone to entertain fantaſies and frivolous toys.

Gabriel Biel wrote a book upon the canon in the Maſs, which at that time I held for the beſt; my heart bled when I read therein. I ſtill keep thoſe books which in ſuch ſort tormented me. Scotus wrote very well upon the book ſtiled, *Magiſtri Sententiarum*; he diligently endeavoured to teach orderly and uprightly touching thoſe matters. Occam was an underſtanding and a rich ſenſible man; he uſed much diligence in making a thing great, to enlarge and to ſpread it abroad. Thomas Aquinas was only a talker and a bawler.

Of John Huſs the Martyr.

PROLES, the beſt preacher (going into the monaſtery at Gotha, where he ſaw Andreas Zacharias pictured on a wall; who, as they ſay, convinced John Huſs with a roſe, which he wore on his Italian cap), ſaid, God preſerve me from wearing this roſe, for he convinced John Huſs wrongfully, through a falſified Bible; namely, where, in the prophecy of Ezekiel, the 24th chapter, it is written, *Behold, I myſelf will viſit and puniſh my ſhepherds*, there was added thereunto theſe words, *Non populus*, not the people. This they found in John Huſs his own Bible, ſhewed him the words, and concluded thereout in this manner; Behold, thou muſt not reprove the Pope, but God himſelf will do it. Hereupon that good and godly man was condemned and burned. Spalatin ſaid, The devil put that text into the Bible. John Agricola read the writings of John Huſs, rich and full of the ſpirit, of patience, and of prayer, and how they tormented him in priſon with ſtones. He was a precious man (ſaid *Luther*), his death was thoroughly revenged; for ſoon after his death, Emperor Sigiſmund had ſtrange and ſudden misfortunes, and remained an unhappy governor, being always (after Huſs his death) beaten by the Turks, over whom before he had continual victories.

Of St. Auſtin.

AMONG all the writings of the Fathers (ſaid *Luther*), I took moſt delight to read St. Auſtin's works; but ſince the time that (by God's grace) I underſtood St. Paul, I could eſteem nothing of any Father whatſoever; they are all of very ſmall value. At the firſt I willingly read Auſtin, but when the door of St. Paul was opened unto me (inſomuch that I knew what was the righteouſneſs of faith), then had I done with Auſtin. The beſt and chiefeſt ſentences in Auſtin are theſe: *Sins are forgiven* (ſaith he), *not that they are no more preſent, but in that they are not imputed.* Likewiſe he ſaith, *The law as then is fulfilled, when that is pardoned which is not fulfilled nor performed.*

Of

Of Hieronymus.

HIERONYMUS (ſaid *Luther*) ſhould not be numbered among the teachers of the church, for he was an heretick; yet nevertheleſs I believe that he is ſaved through faith in Chriſt. He ſpeaketh nothing of Chriſt, but only carrieth the name in his mouth. I know none among the teachers whom I hate like Hieronymus; for he writeth only of faſting, of victual, of virginity, &c. he teacheth nothing neither of faith, nor of hope, neither of love, nor of the works of faith. Truly (ſaid *Luther*) I would not willingly have entertained him for my Chaplain.

Of Gerſon.

GERSON ſaith, Chriſt inſtituted his laſt ſupper for a communion; that is, to the end it ſhould be uſed and enjoyed generally one with another, that thereby we might know that we ought not to be ſolitary or alone: the loving good man ſaw (when we are alone) that the devil hunteth us like a loſt ſheep. Gerſon only (ſaid *Luther*), among all the teachers in the church, wrote of ſpiritual tribulations; all the reſt were ſenſible and felt but only corporal temptations. The church, which now is in the fulleſt age, ſhould juſtly be ſenſible of ſuch ſpiritual tribulations. Wilhelmus Pariſienſis felt ſome of thoſe ſpiritual trials, but the ſchool divines never came to the knowledge of the catechiſm. Gerſon, by extenuating and undervaluing the law, delivered many poor ſorrowful conſciences from deſpair; for which cauſe he was condemned by the Pope.

Of John Huſs.

THE blood of John Huſs, to this day, is yearly damned by the Papiſts. Truly (ſaid *Luther*) he was an honeſt and a learned man, as is to be ſeen in his book of the church, which I love exceeding well; indeed there was in him a Chriſtian's weakneſs; yet nevertheleſs God's power raiſeth him up again. The combat of the fleſh and ſpirit in Chriſt and in Huſs is ſweet and delightful to behold; every man's witneſs ſtandeth and will remain, ſhewing that Jerome of Prague, was an eloquent, but Huſs a very learned man. He accompliſhed more than the whole world was able to do, but innocently was condemned. From that time Popedom by degrees began to fall. Coſtnitz, ſince the death of Huſs, is grown a miſerable poor city, inſomuch that I do believe that God's puniſhment ſtruck it, in regard the citizens therein armed themſelves, led and conveyed that holy man, Huſs, to the fire. In Huſs the Holy Ghoſt was powerful, who ſo joyfully and conſtantly held over God's Word againſt ſo many great people and nations; namely, againſt Germany, Italy, Spain, England, and France, which were aſſembled together in the Council at Coſtnitz, againſt whoſe aſſaults, cries, and alarms he only ſtood, was conſtrained to bear them, and thereupon was burned to aſhes. Even ſo (ſaid *Luther*) ſhall I (God willing) be more ſecure in death than in this life.

Of Luther's Cenſure touching certain School Divines, the Sons of certain Nuns.

THREE great learned men (ſaid *Luther*) were begotten of nuns; Peter Longobard, a divine; Gratianus, a civil lawyer; and Comeſter, who wrote the church hiſtories.

Of Dionyſius.

DIONYSIUS prateth much (ſaid *Luther*) of the Divine name, of the celeſtial and church hierarchies, inſomuch that he was named *Diviniloquim*, God's eloquent ſpeaker, that writeth of high divine things; but it is a mere fable, neither was it that Dionyſius who was Paul's diſciple, nor he that was a martyr; but this was one of Paris, for there have been three of that name.

CHAP. XXXI.

OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

LUTHER's *Diſcourſe of the Books of the Old and New Teſtaments, and his Cenſure of the ſame.*

CHRIST, in the 5th of Matthew, and in the next two chapters, teacheth briefly theſe points; firſt, of the eight happineſſes or bleſſings, how every Chriſtian ought particularly to live as it concerns himſelf; ſecondly, of the office of teaching, what and how a man ought to teach in the church; namely, we muſt ſeaſon with ſalt, and enlighten, that is, we muſt teach the law and the Goſpel; we muſt reprove and comfort, and exerciſe the faith; thirdly, he confuteth and oppoſeth the falſe expounding of the law; fourthly, he condemneth the wicked hypocritical kind of living; fifthly, he teacheth which are upright and good works; ſixthly, he warneth them of falſe doctrine; ſeventhly, he cleareth and ſolveth that which might be found doubtful and confuſed; eighthly, he condemneth the hypocrites and falſe ſaints which abuſe the precious word of Grace.

Of St. Luke and St. John, how they deſcribed the Paſſion of our Saviour Chriſt.

THE Evangeliſt, Luke (ſaid *Luther*), above the reſt deſcribed the hiſtory of Chriſt's ſufferings in the beſt and moſt copious manner: but John diſplayeth the chiefeſt buſineſs; he deſcribed the audience, and how the cauſe was handled, and in what ſort they proceeded before the ſeat of judgment; how Chriſt was queſtioned, and for what cauſe he was ſlain. When Pilate aſked him, *Art thou the King of the Jews?* yea, (ſaid Chriſt) I am: but not ſuch a king as the Emperor is, for then my ſervants and armies would fight and ſtrive to deliver and defend me; but I am a King ſent to preach the Goſpel, to give record of the truth which I muſt ſpeak. What? (ſaid Pilate), Art thou ſuch a King, and haſt thou ſuch a kingdom as conſiſteth in word and truth? Then ſurely thou canſt be no prejudice to me. Doubtleſs Pilate took our Saviour Chriſt to be a good, plain, honeſt man, that talked of a kingdom which no man knew nor heard of, to be one that happily came out of a wild wilderneſs, a ſimple fellow, or a hermit, who knew or underſtood nothing of the world, nor of government.

That St. John and St. Paul in particular were certain and ſure of their Doctrine.

IN the writings of St. Paul and St. John (ſaid *Luther*) is a ſurpaſſing certainty, knowledge, and *plerophoria*. They ſpake thereof ſo directly, as if thoſe paſſages had been already done before their eyes. Therefore Chriſt not in vain touching St. Paul, ſaith, He ſhall be a choſen inſtrument and veſſel unto me, there he was made a Doctor, and therefore he ſpake ſo certainly of the cauſe. Whoſo readeth Paul may, with a ſafe conſcience, build upon his words; for my part, I never read more ſerious writings. St. John in his Goſpel deſcribeth Chriſt, that he is a true and natural man *(à priori)* from former time, where he ſaith, *In the beginning was the word*, &c. Likewiſe, *whoſo honoureth me, the ſame honoureth alſo the Father*. But Paul deſcribeth Chriſt *(à poſteriori et effectu)* from that which followed, and according to the actions or works, as where he ſaith, *They tempted Chriſt in the Wilderneſs*, &c. And alſo, *Take heed therefore to yourſelves*, &c. Acts xx.

Of Solomon's Proverbs.

THE book of Solomon's Proverbs is a fair book: Rulers and Governors ſhould diligently read the ſame; for therein is ſeen how it goeth in the world, it containeth leſſons touching God's fear, wherein Governors and Rulers ought to exerciſe themſelves.

I bid adieu to the third Book of Heſter (ſaid *Luther*); thoſe things which Heſter dreamed of in the fourth book are fair and pretty knacks; as, *The Wine is ſtrong, The King is ſtronger, Women ſtrongeſt of all*; but the truth is ſtronger than all theſe.

I cannot conceive (ſaid *Luther*) that the Book of Judith is a hiſtory. Beſides, the country therein is not ſpecified where thoſe particulars ſhould have happened; therefore I hold, that like as the legends of the ſaints were deviſed, even ſo likewiſe, this poem or imagination was made by ſome good man, to the end he might teach, that God-fearing people (where God was known and confeſſed) overcame and vanquiſhed all the kingdoms of the world; and that all tyrants ſhould be deſtroyed.

The maſter of the ſame Book of Judith (ſaid *Luther*) doubtleſs intended, that it ſhould be a figure and ſignification. And like as the poet Homer took occaſion to pen his conceit of Troy, and Virgil of Æneas, (wherein is ſhewed how a great Prince ought to be adorned with ſurpaſſing virtues, like a brave champion, with wiſdom and underſtanding, with great courage and alacrity, with fortune, honeſty, and juſtice, &c.) even ſo, Judith is placed before our eyes in ſuch manner of conceit and imagination. Therefore I conceive Judith to be a tragedy, wherein is deſcribed and ſhewed what the end of tyrants is. I alſo take the Book of Tobias to be a comedy concerning women. This is an example for houſe-government, but the other for temporal diſcipline, wherein is ſhewed how it uſeth to go with rulers. When Luther corrected the ſecond Book of the Maccabees, he ſaid, I am ſo great an enemy to this book, and to Heſter, that I wiſh they were not at all, for they are too much jewiſhized, and have many heatheniſh unnaturalities. The Jews much more eſteem the Book of Heſter than any of the Prophets: they utterly contemn Daniel and Iſaiah. It is dreadful that the Jews do contemn the prophecying of theſe two holy and glorious Prophets, whereas the one in the moſt rich and pureſt manner teacheth and preacheth Chriſt, the other deſcribeth and pourtrayeth the kingdom of Chriſt, and the monarchies and empires of the world in a ſtriking light.

When Doctor Juſtus Jonas had tranſlated the Book of Tobias into High Dutch, he

he attended Luther therewith, and ſaid, Many ridiculous things are contained in this book, eſpecially concerning the three nights, and the liver of the broiled fiſh, wherewith the devil was ſcared and driven away. Whereupon Luther ſaid, It is a Jewiſh conceit, and the devil, as a fierce and powerful enemy, will not be hunted away in ſuch ſort, for he hath the ſpear of Goliah; yet, nevertheleſs, God giveth him ſuch weapons, to the end, that when he is overcome by the Godly, it may be the greater terror and vexation unto him. Daniel and Iſaiah are the moſt excellent Prophets. I am Iſaiah (ſaid *Luther*, be it ſpoke with humility) to the advancement of God's honour (whoſe work alone it is), and to ſpight the devil. Philip Melancthon is Jeremiah; *that Prophet ſtood always in fear*, even ſo it is with Melancthon.

In the Book of the Judges the excellent and valiant champions and deliverers are deſcribed, which by God were ſent, and who believed and truſted wholly in God, according to the firſt commandment (touching whom Moſes preached), they committed themſelves, their actions, and enterpriſes to God, and gave him thanks: they relied only upon the God of Heaven, and ſaid, Lord God, Thou haſt done theſe things, and not we, to thee only be praiſe, glory, &c.

The Book of Job (ſaid *Luther*) is a very good book, not written only touching himſelf, but alſo for the comfort and conſolation of every ſorrowful, troubled, and perplexed heart. When the devil and human creatures ſorely vexed and ſet themſelves againſt him, he endured and ſuffered it patiently, and ſaid, *The name of the Lord be bleſſed.* But when he conceived that God began to be angry with him, then he became impatient, and was much offended. It vexed and grieved him to the heart that the ungodly proſpered ſo well. Therefore this ſhould be a comfort to poor Chriſtians that are perſecuted and forced to ſuffer; namely, that in the life to come, God will give unto them exceeding great and glorious benefits, and everlaſting wealth and honour; and he alſo limiteth their ſufferings, how far and long the perſecutors ſhall touch and vex them, and not as they willingly would.

For what Cauſe the Hiſtories of the Patriarchs were ſo briefly deſcribed.

THE reaſon (ſaid *Luther*) why Moſes ſo briefly deſcribed the hiſtory of the holy Patriarchs (which are wrapt up together, and noted in the ſhorteſt mannner) is in regard they lived ſo long a time. For let us but conſider what experience and knowledge was in thoſe that lived, ſome ſix hundred years, ſome more, ſome leſs, and yet were as ſtrong in body and underſtanding, as we are now at the age of thirty years.

Moreover we need not wonder at Moſes touching this particular; for the Evangeliſts, in the ſhorteſt meaſure, do deſcribe alſo the ſermons in the New Teſtament; how briefly do they run through the ſame? yea, they give but a touch of the preachings of John the Baptiſt, who, doubtleſs, made the beautifulleſt ſermons; this ſentence only therein is ſhewed, where St. John ſaith, *Behold the Lamb of God which takes away the ſins of the world.*

Of the Goſpel of Saint John.

SAINT John the Evangeliſt ſpeaketh majeſtically, with very plain and ſimple words, as where he ſaith, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The ſame was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light ſhineth in darkneſs, and the darkneſs comprehended it not.*

Behold

Behold (ſaid *Luther*) how he deſcribeth God the Creator, and alſo the creatures, with very plain and ſimple words; as with a ſun beam. If one of our philoſophers or high learned ſhould have deſcribed the ſame, what wonderful ſwelling and high-trotting words would he have breathed out and prattled *de ente & eſſentia*, of a ſelf-being thing; inſomuch that no man could have underſtood any thing that he meaned. Hereby we ſee, and experience teacheth us how mighty and powerful divine truth is, ſhe preſſeth through, though ſhe be hemmed in; the more ſhe is read, the more ſhe moveth, and taketh poſſeſſion of the heart.

CHAP. XXXII.

OF THE PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS.

Of David.

DAVID's fall (ſaid *Luther*) was very offenſive, for the holy man fell into adultery, murther, and deſpiſing of God. He was afterwards viſited and puniſhed by God in ſuch ſort, that the whole nation forſook him. His counſellors, yea, his beſt beloved ſon conſpired and made a league againſt him, who before had ſuch great fortunes, and was held in high eſteem.

On account of thoſe offences, the ungodly, doubtleſs, boaſted and ſaid, Where is the King now? where is now his God? what is become of his good fortunes and proſperity? For without doubt, there were many Kings more powerful than David; as, the King of the Moabites, whom Iſaiah calleth a three-yeared cow; that is ſtrong, powerful, and fat.

Such offences always have been in the world; namely, that it hath gone evil with the godly, but well with the ungodly; of which, complaint is made in many Pſalms. We ſee the ſame alſo to this day, that the Popiſh Biſhops and ungodly Princes do live in great honour, wealth, and power: but good and God-fearing people are in poverty, diſgrace, and trouble.

That David was conſtrained to connive at many Things.

DAVID (ſaid *Luther*) was a fine underſtanding King, he could connive and diſpenſe with many things, as with his nephew Joab, &c.

All the Grecian tragedies were not to be compared to the hiſtories of David.

All Kings, Princes, and Governors, that are in publick offices, do ſin of neceſſity, therefore they have ſpecial need of the remiſſion of ſins. I am perſuaded that Ahab was ſaved, inaſmuch as God ſaid to the prophet, *Seeſt thou not how Ahab boweth himſelf before me?* For to whom God affordeth ſpeech, that is, his word and promiſe, with him it ſtandeth well. Therefore, doubtleſs, he was ſaved, notwithſtanding the Scriptures witneſs againſt him, even to his death. He believed the promiſe of the Meſſiah to come, inſomuch that at his death he got hold of the forgiveneſs of ſins. In like manner (ſaid *Luther*) I am perſuaded alſo of all thoſe of whom the Scripture ſaith, *And he ſlept with his fathers*, that they are all in heaven: For this word [ſlept] ſheweth ſome good in the Scriptures. But of whom it is written, *They were made away and ſlain by the enemies, or were devoured and torn in pieces by wild beaſts*, I am perſuaded that they are loſt and damned.

Of the Cauſe why David did not build the Temple.

ALTHOUGH (ſaid *Luther*) God formerly charged David to build the Temple yet he could not perform it; becauſe he had ſhed much blood, and had carried the ſword; not that he did wrong therein, but that he could not be the figure or type of Chriſt, who ſhould have a peaceable kingdom without ſhedding of blood. But Solomon muſt accompliſh it, who (in the German language) is called [*Fridich*] peaceable, through which Chriſt's kingdom was ſignified.

Of Judas Maccabeus.

IT goeth with us as it did in the time of Judas Maccabeus, who defended his people, and yet was not able to ſuppreſs the enemies which had the government in poſſeſſion; but his own people were unthankful, and wrought him the greateſt miſchief; theſe two oppreſſions make one weary.

The legends of the Patriarchs far excelled the holineſs of all the ſaints; for they went on in ſimple obedience towards God in the works of their vocation. They performed ſuch things as came to their hand, according to God's command, without reſpect; therefore Sara, Abraham's wife, excelleth all other women.

Philip Melancthon demanded of *Luther*, How it was, that though David was inſtituted and ordained a King immediately by God, yet he had many knocks and plagues as his Pſalms do ſhew, where he ſaith, *Lord help thy people*, &c. Alſo *We have a God that helpeth, and the Lord of Lords that delivereth from death*, &c. which are Pſalms of mourning: whereupon *Luther* ſaid, David was not acquainted with many good days: he was plagued by the ungodly and falſe teachers, he ſaw that his people banded themſelves againſt him, he endured and ſuffered many inſurrections and tumults, which taught him his leſſon to pray. As he was without tribulation he grew giddy-headed and ſecure, as we ſee in the adultery and murthering of Uriah.

Ah, Lord God! (ſaid *Luther*) How is that thou ſuffereſt ſuch great people to fall: this David had ſix wives, which doubtleſs were wiſe and underſtanding women; as, that wiſe Abigail; if they were all ſuch, then he was furniſhed with excellent ſurpaſſing wives. Moreover, he had ten concubines, yet notwithſtanding he was an adulterer.

Of Job.

JOB (ſaid *Luther*) had many tribulations; he was alſo plagued of his own friends, who fiercely aſſaulted him. The text ſaith, That his friends fell upon him, and were full of wrath againſt him; they tormented him thoroughly, but he held his peace, ſuffered them to talk their talking; as if he ſhould ſay, You know not what you prate about. Job is an example of God's goodneſs and mercy; for how upright and holy ſoever he was, yet he ſorely fell into temptation; but he was not forſaken, he was again delivered and redeemed through God's grace and mercy.

That

That Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob were poor plagued People.

I HOLD (ſaid *Luther*) that Zacheus was richer then Abraham, who digged ſo many wells, which the inhabitants of that country filled and ſtopped up.

Iſaac was alſo a miſerable plagued man, and ſo was Jacob likewiſe; yet they poſſeſſed ſuch a faith that I do much admire, how they were able to brook and endure ſo many knaveries as were put upon them.

Of the Revelation of the Holy Prophets.

MELANCTHON diſcourſed with *Luther* touching the Prophets, who continually do boaſt in this ſort, and with theſe words, *Thus ſaith the Lord*, &c. whether God in perſon ſpoke with them or no.

They (ſaid *Luther*) were very holy, ſpiritual, diligent, people, who ſeriouſly did contemplate upon holy and divine cauſes; therefore God ſpake with them in their conſciences, which the Prophets held for ſure and certain Revelations.

Of Iſaiah, why he was ſlain.

WE read in the books of Jews (ſaid *Luther*) that Iſaiah was ſlain by King Ahaz, becauſe he ſaid, *I ſaw the Lord ſitting upon a throne*, &c. For, doubtleſs, Ahaz ſaid unto him, Thou wretch! how dareſt thou preſume to ſay, *Thou haſt ſeen the Lord*, whereas God ſaith to Moſes, *Shall a man ſee me, and live?* Thou art an heretic, out of thy wits, and frantic; thou blaſphemeſt God, thou art worthy of death, take him away. And many think it agreeth well with the truth, that Iſaiah was ſlain for the ſame, for they could endure no man that ſaid, he had done or ſeen greater things then Moſes.

Of Elias.

THE hiſtory of Elias (ſaid *Luther*) is aweful, and almoſt incredible. It was a fierce anger indeed, that ſo holy a man ſhould pray, that it might not rain for ſo long a time; he ſaw that the teachers were ſlain, and that good and God-fearing people were hunted away and perſecuted. Therefore he prayed againſt thoſe, whom with words and preaching he could not prevail; for they regarded the ſame as nothing at all: wherefore they ſaid, Thou troubleſt Iſrael, for he had oftentimes threatened them, and complained of the great want which he with them had ſuffered.

Of the Prophet Jonah.

THE majeſty of the Prophet Jonah (ſaid *Luther*) is worthy to be advanced. He hath but four chapters, and yet he moved therewith the whole kingdom, therefore under weakneſs he was juſtly a figure and a ſign of the Lord Chriſt. Indeed it is ſurpriſing, that Chriſt ſhould remember this but only in four words. Moſes likewiſe, with few words deſcribeth the creation, the hiſtories of Abraham, and ſuch great myſteries; but he ſpendeth much time about deſcribing the tent, the external ſacrifices, the kidneys and excrements, for he ſaw that the world greatly eſteemed outward things which they beheld with their carnal eyes; but that which was ſpiritual they ſoon forget.

This hiſtory of the prophet Jonah is ſo great, that it is almoſt incredible; yea, it ſoundeth more ſtrange than any of the poet's fables; and (ſaid *Luther*) if it ſtood not in the Bible, I ſhould take it for a lie; for conſider, how for the ſpace of three days he was in the great belly of the whale, whereas in three hours he might have been digeſted and changed into the nature, fleſh and blood of that monſter; may not this be ſaid, to live in the midſt of death? In compariſon of of this miracle, that wonderful paſſage through the Red Sea was nothing.

But what appeareth more ſtrange is, that after he was delivered, he then began to be angry, and to expoſtulate with a gracious God, touching a ſmall matter, not worth a ſtraw. It is a great myſtery; I am aſhamed of my expoſition upon this Prophet, in that I ſo weakly touch the main point of this wonderful miracle.

Of the ſharp Sermons of the Prophets againſt Hypocriſy and Idolatry.

THE harſh and ſharp words of the Prophets, go to the heart, for when they ſay, *Jeruſalem ſhall fall, and be deſtroyed*, then the Jews held ſuch preaching to be altogether heretical, they could not endure them.

Even ſo ſay I, the Romiſh church ſhall fall, and be deſtroyed; but the Papiſts will neither believe nor endure it; for (ſay they) it is impoſſible to be believed, becauſe it is written in the article, *I believe in the holy Chriſtian church.* Indeed many Kings were in ſuch ſort deſtroyed before Jeruſalem, as Sennacherib, &c. yet when the Prophet Jeremiah ſaid, *Jeruſalem ſhall be deſtroyed*, (which he ſpake through the Holy Ghoſt), then ſo it fell out, and was done accordingly.

If the Pope (ſaid *Luther*) could bring againſt me only one argument (as the Jews had againſt Jeremiah, and other Prophets) then it were not poſſible for me to ſubſiſt.

The Pope diſputeth with me, not according to juſtice and equity, but with the ſword, and his power. He uſeth no written laws, but club laws. If I had no other argument againſt the Pope than *de facto*, of the deed or fact, I would inſtantly hang myſelf; but my diſpute is *jus*.

Of the Hiſtory of Jonah.

AN upright Chriſtian is like unto Jonah, who was caſt into the ſea, yea, into hell. He beheld the mouth of that monſter gaping, and lay three days in his dark belly without conſuming. This hiſtory ſhould be unto us one of the greateſt comforts, and an apparent ſign of the reſurrection from the dead.

In ſuch ſort God uſeth to humble thoſe that are his. But afterwards Jonah went too far, would preſume to maſter God Almighty, became a great man-ſlayer and a murtherer, and would have had ſo great a city and ſo many people utterly deſtroyed. This (ſaid *Luther*) was a ſtrange ſaint.

That it is a difficult matter to tranſlate the Prophets.

TO tranſlate the Prophets well (ſaid *Luther*) according to the Hebrew tongue, is a precious, a great and a glorious work, no man ever attained thereunto; to me it is alſo a hard taſk; may I be once exempted from it, ſo will I (in God's name) let it reſt.

Of

Of the Cauſe, why David took Bathſheba to Wife.

IT is eaſy to be conceived, that David dealt uprightly, and repented himſelf, in not rejecting Bathſheba Uriah's wife, but married her: And foraſmuch as he had ſhamed her, it was therefore fitting for him to bring her again to honor. God was alſo pleaſed with that conjunction; howſoever, for a puniſhment of that adultery, God cauſed the ſon, begotten in adultery, ſoon to die.

Of Abraham's Legends.

NO man (ſaid *Luther*) ſince the Apoſtles time rightly underſtood the Legends of Abraham. The Apoſtles themſelves did not ſufficiently extol nor explain Abraham's faith, according to the worth and greatneſs thereof. I much marvel, that Moſes ſo ſlightly remembereth him.

Of Job and David.

JOB at one time loſt ten children and all his cattle, he was puniſhed in body and goods, yet it was nothing in compariſon of David's troubles, for he had the promiſe which could neither fail nor deceive; namely, where God ſaith, *Thou ſhalt be King*, but God thoroughly powdered and peppered his kingdom for his tooth; no miſerable man ſurpaſſeth David; the Grecian tragedies are nothing like unto David's calamities.

Of Adam.

ADAM (ſaid *Luther*) begat more children than thoſe three which are ſpecified in the Bible. But, in that mention is made of Seth, the ſame was done by reaſon of the lineage of our Lord Chriſt, who was born of that deſcent. Adam (doubtleſs) had many ſons and daughters. It is like, that Cain was born thirty years after the fall, as they were comforted again: I believe, they were often comforted by the angels, otherwiſe, it had been impoſſible for them to have lain together, by reaſon they were filled with great ſorrows and fears. At the laſt day it will be known that Eve did exceed all women in ſorrow and miſery; never came into the world a more miſerable and ſorrowful woman than Eve; ſhe ſaw, that for her ſake we were all to die. Therefore, all other women may hold their peace and ſtop their mouths before Eve. Some affirm that Cain was conceived before the promiſe of the ſeed that ſhould cruſh the ſerpent's head. But (ſaid *Luther*) I am perſuaded, that the promiſe was made not half a day after the fall. For they entered into the garden about noon, and having appetites to eat, ſhe took delight in the apple, then, about two of the clock (according to our account) was the fall.

Of Agar, Abraham's Concubine.

THE reaſon why Abraham gave ſo ſlender a diſpatch to Agar his concubine with Iſmael his ſon, giving her only one flaggon, or bottle of wine, was this, ſhe was thereby to know, that ſhe had no right to demand any thing of the inheritance; but that which was given her, proceeded out of good will, not of any obligation or reaſon of law, yet, nevertheleſs, ſhe might repair again to Abraham, and fetch more.

The text in Geneſis ſaith, *Iſaac and Iſhmael buried Abraham*; from hence it appeareth that Iſhmael was not continually with his father, but was nurtured out of the father's goodneſs and bounty; the ſame was done for this end, that Abraham intended to lead Chriſt through the right line; therefore Iſmael was ſeparated like Eſau.

Of Jacob.

I HOLD that Jacob was a poor perplexed man; I would willingly (if I could) frame a Laban out of the rich glutton in the Goſpel of Luke, and a Jacob out of Lazarus which lay before the gate. I am glad (ſaid *Luther*) that Rachael ſate upon the idols, thereby to ſpite her father Laban.

That David was an Eloquent Man.

NEITHER Cicero, Virgil, nor Demoſthenes, are to be compared with David for eloquence, as we ſee in the 119th Pſalm, where he divideth one ſenſe and meaning into two-and-twenty parts, making no variation but in words; he had a great gift, and was highly favoured of God; I hold that God ſuffered him to fall ſo horribly, leſt he ſhould be too haughty and proud.

David's hiſtory is a right tragedy, but at laſt it was reduced to a comedy. Oh, the offence which the heathen took in him, without doubt it vexed him ſore, when they ſaw that his own ſon procured the mother's fall. The ſame made him ſo chill and cold, that it took away all his ſtrength. I hope that all his wives were not then living, ſeeing the Scripture maketh no mention thereof. If they were, then it was a great matter.

Of the Puniſhment of Shimei.

SOME are of opinion that David dealt not well and uprightly, in that upon his death-bed he commanded Solomon his ſon to puniſh Shimei, who curſed and threw dirt at him in his flight before Abſalom. But (ſaid *Luther*) I ſay, he did well and right therein; for the office of a magiſtrate is to puniſh the guilty and wicked malefactors. He made a vow indeed not to puniſh him, but that is to be underſtood ſo long as he lived.

In ſo ſtrange and confuſed a government, where no man knew who was cook or who was butler, as we uſed to ſay, David was often conſtrained to look through the fingers at many abuſes and wrongs. But afterwards, when in Solomon's time, there was peace, then through Solomon he puniſhed. In tumultuous government, a ruler dareth not proceed as in time of peace, yet at laſt it is fitting that evil be puniſhed; for David ſaith, *Maledixit mihi maledictionem malam*, the wretch curſed me ſorely.

Of Hezekiah.

HEZEKIAH (ſaid *Luther*) was a very good and godly king, full of faith, yet he fell; for God cannot endure that an human creature ſhould truſt and depend upon his own works: No man entereth into heaven without the remiſſions of ſins.

Of

Of Eliſha.

ELISHA (ſaid *Luther*) dealt uprightly, in permitting the forty youths to be torn in pieces of two bears, becauſe they called him, bald-pate; for they mocked not him, but his God. As the ſame was alſo a jeering and mocking of Elijah, where they ſaid unto him, *Thou man of God*, &c. Therefore fire came down from Heaven and devoured them.

Of David.

MANY ſtrange things are written in the books of the Kings, according to human ſenſe and reaſon; they ſeem to be ſlight and ſimple books, but in the ſpirit they are of great weight. David endured much, Saul perſecuted and plagued him ten whole years; yet notwithſtanding all this, David remained conſtant in faith, and believed that the kingdom pertained unto him. I (ſaid *Luther*) ſhould have gone my way, and ſaid, Lord! thou haſt deceived me, wilt thou make me a king, and ſuffereſt me in this ſort to be tormented, perſecuted, and plagued? But David was like a ſtrong wall, and he was alſo a good and a godly man; he refuſed to lay hands on the king when he had fit opportunity; for he had God's Word, and that made him to remain ſo ſtedfaſt; he was ſure that God's Word and promiſe never would or could fail him.

Surely Jonathan was an honeſt man, whom David loved entirely; he marked well, that the kingdom belonged to David, therefore he entreated David not to root out him and his. Jonathan alſo wrought wonders, when he with his armour-bearer alone, went over the mountain, and ſlew and deſtroyed the Philiſtines; for, doubtleſs, he ſaid with himſelf, The Lord that overcometh with many, is able alſo to overcome with few. But in that he wretchedly was ſlain, was a great grief to David; the ſame often happeneth, that the good are puniſhed for the ſake of the wicked and ungodly. As we ſee the Son of God himſelf was not ſpared.

CHAP. XXXIII.

OF THE APOSTLES AND DISCIPLES OF CHRIST.

Of the Diſciples Fear.

THE cauſe why the Diſciples were afraid when Chriſt came unto them, (the doors being ſhut) was this, they ſaw how it lately went with their Lord and Maſter, fearing it might go even ſo with them, eſpecially conſidering that at the ſame time the Jews intended to act with violence againſt them. For as yet they ſcarely believed that Chriſt was riſen again from the dead, as may be gathered from the two diſciples going to Emaus, who ſaid, We hoped he ſhould have redeemed Iſrael, as if they ſhould ſay, now all our hope is at an end.

Of

Of the Cauſe why the Pope extolleth not St. Paul as much as St. Peter.

THE cauſe (ſaid *Luther*) why the Papiſts boaſt more of St. Peter than of St. Paul, is this; St. Paul had the ſword, St. Peter the keys: They eſteemed more of the keys (to open the coffers, to filch and ſteal, and to fill their thieviſh purſe) than of the ſword. That Caiaphas, Pilate, and St. Peter came to Rome and appeared before the Emperor are mere fables; the hiſtories touching that point do not accord; for that reaſon I give no credit thereunto. Chriſt died under the reign of Tiberius Cæſar, who governed five years after his death. All hiſtories unanimouſly agree, that St. Peter and St. Paul died under the Emperor Nero, whoſe laſt year was the five-and-twentieth year after the death of Chriſt. But St. Peter was eighteen years at Jeruſalem after Chriſt's death, as the Epiſtle to the Galatians witneſſeth. And after that, he was ſeven years at Antioch. Then (as they fable) he ruled afterwards five-and-twenty years at Rome.

No Pope, among them all, yet ruled five and twenty years; and, according to this reckoning, St. Peter was not crucified under Nero. To concludé, the accounts in thoſe hiſtories agree not together. Saint Luke writeth alſo, that Saint Paul was two whole years at liberty in Rome, and went abroad; he mentioneth nothing at all of Saint Peter: it is a thing dangerous to believe, that Saint Peter ever was at Rome.

Of Saint John's Canons and Epiſtles.

SAINT John the Evangeliſt wrote his Goſpel touching the true nature of faith; namely, that our ſalvation dependeth only upon Chriſt the Son of God and Mary, who ſo dearly purchaſed the ſame with his bitter paſſion and death, and through the Word is received into the heart by faith, out of his mere mercy and grace. At laſt he was conſtrained to write in his Epiſtle alſo of works, by reaſon of the wickedneſs of thoſe, that, void of all ſhame, abuſed the Goſpel through indulging the fleſh.

That the Miracles of the Apoſtles were Neceſſary.

SO long as Jupiter, Diana, and other worſhipping of idols and abominable idolatries of the heathens reigned, ſo long it was needful that Chriſt and his Apoſtles wrought corporal and viſible miracles, to confirm the doctrine of faith, and to pull down and deſtroy all other doctrines and idolatrous worſhippings. And ſuch viſible miracles to endure and to be wrought until the Goſpel and baptiſm ſhould be confirmed, and no longer. But the ſpiritual wonders, which Chriſt holdeth for miracles indeed, the ſame remain continually to the world's end. As that of the Centurion, who took hold on ſo great a faith in Chriſt, although he was not preſent with his ſick ſervant.

John the Baptiſt had a great ſpirit, ſtrength, and courage, who boldly opened his mouth againſt the holieſt people, the Jews; for he touched them home, when he ſaid *Do not think to ſay in yourſelves, we have Abraham to our Father*, &c. Truly (ſaid *Luther*) that was ſearching deeply.

CHAP. XXXIV.

OF ANGELS.

What an Angel is.

AN Angel (ſaid *Luther*) is a ſpiritual creature created by God (without a body) for the ſervice of Chriſtendom, eſpecially in the office of the church.

How and what we ought to teach concerning Angels.

THE acknowledgment of Angels (ſaid *Luther*) is needful in the church. Therefore good and godly preachers ſhould plainly, orderly, and Chriſtian-like teach the ſame logically. Firſt, to ſhew what Angels are, namely, ſpiritual creatures without bodies. Secondly, what manner of ſpirits they are, namely, good ſpirits and not evil. And, here evil ſpirits muſt alſo be ſpoken of, which of God were not ſo created, but out of a ſettled hatred againſt God they fell, the ſame hatred began in Paradiſe, and ſo will continue and remain againſt Chriſt and his Church to the world's end. Therefore the Angels we are treating of are not evil, but good ſpirits. Thirdly, we ought alſo to ſpeak touching their offices, as the Epiſtles to the Hebrews ſheweth.

In them a looking-glaſs of humility is preſented to godly Chriſtians, in that ſuch pure and glorious creatures do miniſter unto us, poor and baſe people in houſekeeping, in policy, and in religion. And therein they are our true and truſty ſervants, they perform ſuch offices and works as one poor, miſerable creature, would be aſhamed to do for another. In this ſort we ought to teach touching the ſweet and loving Angels; whoſo obſerveth not ſuch order according to logick, the ſame indeed may ſpeak of many impertinent things not belonging to the matter, but he ſhall ſpeak little or nothing to edification.

Of Good and Evil Angels.

THE Angels (ſaid *Luther*) are near unto us, and to thoſe creatures, who by God's command they are to keep and preſerve, to the end they receive no hurt of the devil. And withall, they behold God's face, and ſtand before him. Therefore when the devil intendeth to hurt us, then the loving holy Angels do reſiſt and drive him away; for the Angels have long arms, and although they ſtand before the face and in the preſence of God and his Son Chriſt, yet they are hard by and about us in our affairs, which by God in our vocations we are commanded to take in hand. The devil is alſo near and about us, and every twinkling of an eye tracketh our ſteps in order to deprive us of our lives, our ſaving health, and ſalvation. But the holy Angels do defend us from him, inſomuch that he is not able to work us ſuch miſchief as willingly he would. Many devils are in woods, in waters, in wilderneſſes, and in dark pooly places, ready to hurt and prejudice people; ſome (ſaid *Luther*) are alſo in the thick black clouds, which do cauſe hail, lightnings, and thunderings, do poiſon

the air, the paſtures and grounds; when theſe things happen, then the Philoſophers and Phyſicians do ſay, it is natural, they aſcribe it to the planets, and ſhew I know not what reaſons for ſuch misfortunes and plagues as proceed thereupon.

That the Angels are Lords Protectors.

IT were neither good nor fitting for us to know, how earneſtly the holy Angels do ſtrive for us againſt the devils, how hard a combat it is; for (ſaid *Luther*) if we ſhould ſee, that one devil made work for ſo many angels, and put them to it, then we ſhould be diſcouraged. Therefore the holy Scripture with few words ſaith, *He hath given his angels charge over thee*, &c. Alſo, *The angel of the Lord encampeth round about thoſe that fear him*, &c. Now, whoſoever thou art, that feareſt the Lord, be of good courage, take thou no care, neither be faint hearted, nor make any doubt of the angels waking, watching, and protection; for moſt certainly they are about thee, and do carry thee upon their hands. But how or in what manner it is done, take thou no care for that. God ſaith it, therefore it is moſt ſure and certain. In Job it is written, *Behold he put no truſt in his ſervants; and his angels he charged with folly*; namely, the evil angels.

Concerning the angels, this is my opinion (ſaid *Luther*), and whereupon I ſtand ſtedfaſt, I do verily believe, that they are already up in arms, they are putting on their harneſs and girting their ſwords about them. For (ſaid he) their judgment draweth near, and the angels prepare themſelves for the fight and combat, and that within the ſpa e of a few hundred years they will ſtrike down both Turk and Pope into the bottomleſs pit of hell.

CHAP. XXXV.

OF THE DEVIL AND HIS WORKS.

That an Ungodly Human Creature is a perfect Picture of the Devil.

WHOSO (ſaid *Luther*) would ſee the true picture, ſhape, or image of the devil, and would alſo know how he is qualified and diſpoſed, let him mark well all the commandments of God in order one after another, and then let him place before his eyes an offenſive, a ſhameleſs, a lying, a deſpairing, an ungodly, inſolent, and blaſphemous man or woman, whoſe mind and conceptions are directed in every way and kind againſt God, and who taketh delight in doing people hurt and miſchief; there thou ſeeſt the right devil carnal and corporally. Firſt, in ſuch a perſon there is no fear, no love, no faith nor confidence in God, but altogether contempt, hatred, unbelief, deſpair and blaſpheming of God, &c. There thou ſeeſt the devil's head, which directly oppoſeth the firſt commandment. Secondly, a believing Chriſtian taketh God's name not in vain, but ſpreadeth abroad God's word, calleth upon Him from his heart, thanketh Him for his benefits, confeſſeth Him, &c. But this picture and child of the devil doth quite the contrary, he holdeth God's word for a fable, he fearfully abuſeth God's name, blaſphemeth God, and withall he ſweareth and rageth abominably, calleth upon the evil one and yieldeth unto him. There thou ſeeſt the mouth

mouth and the tongue of the devil, directed againſt the ſecond commandment. Thirdly, a true Chriſtian eſteemeth worthily of the office of preaching; he heareth and learneth God's word, with true earneſtneſs and diligence, according to Chriſt's inſtitution and command, not only to the amendment and comfort of himſelf, but alſo for good example to others, he honoureth and defendeth good and godly ſervants of the Word, permitteth them not to ſuffer want, &c. But this image and child of the devil regardeth no preaching, heareth not God's word (or very negligently) ſpeaketh evil thereof, perverteth it, and maketh a ſcoff thereat; yea, he hateth the ſervants thereof, who, for aught he careth, may famiſh for want of food, &c. There thou ſeeſt the ears of the devil, his throat and neck of ſteel, directly againſt the third commandment. Further, deſireſt thou to know, how the body of the devil is ſhapen and faſhioned, then hearken to the following commandments of the ſecond table, and take good heed thereunto. For the firſt, a good Chriſtian honoureth his parents, and hearkeneth unto them, to the magiſtrates, and to the ſhepherds of ſouls, according as God hath commanded. But this child of the devil hearkeneth not to his parents, ſerveth and helpeth them not; nay, he diſhonoureth, contemneth, and vexeth them, he forſaketh them in their need, he is aſhamed of them when they are poor, he ſcorneth them in their old age, he his diſobedient to the magiſtrate, and ſheweth unto them no reverence, but ſpeaketh evil of them, he regardeth no admonition, no reproof, no civility, nor honeſty, &c. There thou ſeeſt the breaſt of the devil. Secondly, an upright and true Chriſtian, envieth not his neighbour, he beareth no ill will towards him, he deſireth not to be revenged of him, although he hath cauſe, yea, he condoleth with his neighbour, when hurt and grief aſſaulteth him, helpeth, and to his power defendeth him againſt thoſe which ſeek his life, &c. But this child of the devil, although he cannot hurt his neighbour in body and life, or murther him with the fiſt; yet, he hateth and envieth him, he is angry with him, and is his enemy in his heart, wiſheth his death, and when it goeth evil with his neighbour, then he is glad and laugheth in his ſleeve, &c. There thou ſeeſt the devil's wrathful and murthering heart. Thirdly, a God-fearing Chriſtian, liveth modeſtly and honeſtly, he ſhunneth all manner of wrongful dealing, ſtandeth in fear of God's wrath and everlaſting puniſhment, who will judge the whoremongers and adulterers, &c. Hebrews the 13th, and Saint Paul to the Epheſians ſaith, *No whoremonger nor unclean perſon*, &c. *hath inheritance in the kingdom of Heaven.* But the child of the devil doth quite the contrary, void of all ſhame and chaſtity, with words, with behaviour, with the act, if he hath opportunity, through whoring, adultery, inceſt, ſodomy, &c. There thou ſeeſt the belly of the devil. Fourthly, a godly Chriſtian liveth by his labour, by his trade, with a good conſcience, deceiveth no man of that which is his, yea, he lendeth, helpeth and giveth to the needy according to his ability, &c. But this deviliſh child helpeth none, no, not in the leaſt kind, but he tradeth in uſury, coveteth, robbeth and ſtealeth, as he may, by power and deceit; he taketh all manner of advantge to cheat and to cozen his neigbour by falſe wares, meaſures, weights, &c. There thou ſeeſt the hands and ſharp-pointed claws of the devil. Fifthly, a godly creature ſpeaketh evil of no man, he belieth not his neighbour, nor beareth falſe witneſs againſt him; yea, although he knoweth his neighbour faulty, yet out of love he covereth his infirmities and ſins, except by the magiſtrate he be called to confeſs the truth, &c. But this child of the devil doth quite the contrary, he ſlandereth and backbiteth, betrayeth, and falſely accuſeth his neighbour, perverteth that which he hath rightly ſpoken, &c. There thou ſeeſt the devil's evil and wicked will. Sixthly, and laſtly, a true Chriſtian coveteth not his neighbour's houſe, his inheritance,

nor

nor his wealth, miſleadeth not his wife nor his daughter, enticeth not away his ſervants, coveteth nothing that is his, yea, according to his power, he helpeth to keep and preſerve that which belongeth to his neighbour, &c. But this child of the devil imagineth, endeavoureth, and day and night ſeeketh opportunity to defraud his neighbour of his houſe, his grounds, lands, and people, to draw and entice his wife away unto himſelf, to flatter away his ſervants, to inſtigate his neighbours tenants againſt him, to get his cattle from him, &c. There thou ſeeſt the devil's luſt. Chriſt, with ſhort words, pourtrayeth and draweth the wicked villain in his right colours; where he ſaith, *He abideth not in the truth.* Alſo, *He is a murtherer.* For (ſaid *Luther*) through lies, yet under the colour of the truth, he ſeduceth and deceiveth godly people, like as he did Adam and Eve in Paradiſe; therefore the more holy the people be, the greater is the danger they ſtand in. For this cauſe, we ought to beware of the devil, and to take our refuge in Chriſt, who cruſhed his head, and delivered us from his lies; he, as the only right maſter and teacher, taught us the truth, as it is written, Him ſhall ye hear. He, through his death, hath redeemed us from everlaſting death, and hath purchaſed everlaſting life.

Of the Cauſe, why the Devil is an Enemy to Upright Chriſtians.

THE devil (ſaid *Luther*) is provoked to be our enemy, becauſe we are againſt him with God's Word, wherewith we deſtroy his kingdom. Now, he is a Prince and a god of the world, he hath a greater power than all the Kings, Potentates, and Princes upon earth, therefore, doubtleſs, he would be revenged of us, as indeed he aſſaulteth us, without ceaſing, which we both ſee and feel. On the contrary, how great ſoever he be, yet we have no more in the world to encounter him with, than what is incloſed within fleſh and blood. But the ſpirit is that little bag or purſe, wherein that *viaticum*, that pure Arabian gold, lieth hid, the ſame muſt the devil leave untouched and unremoved, and ſhall have no thanks at all for his pains. Is it not provoking that the helliſh fiend, that utter enemy of God, who brought the fall of human nature, and is the cauſe of ſin and death, ſhould ſo lamentably plague, affright, and accuſe us poor creatures, and, by reaſon of our ſins, preſume to condemn us? What hath the wicked villain to do therewith, allowing that we have ſinned? we have done him no harm, much leſs have we ſinned againſt him, for he gave no laws unto us, but alas, we have ſinned againſt God, and tranſgreſſed his commandments. Therefore we have nothing to do with that arch-enemy, but we confeſs, and ſay, *Againſt thee, Lord, have we ſinned*, &c. We know, through God's grace, that we have a gracious God and a merciful Father in Heaven, whoſe wrath againſt us, Chriſt Jeſus, our only Lord and Saviour, hath appeaſed with his precious blood. Now foraſmuch as through Chriſt we have remiſſion of ſins and peace with God, ſo muſt the envious devil be content to let us alone and to live in peace, ſo that from henceforward he can neither upbraid nor hit us in the teeth concerning our ſins againſt God's laws, for Chriſt hath cancelled and torn in pieces the bill or hand-writing of our conſciences which was a witneſs againſt us, and hath nailed the ſame to his croſs; to God be everlaſting honour, praiſe and glory in Chriſt Jeſus for the ſame. Amen.

That the Devil knoweth the Thoughts of ungodly People, and through his Miniſters hath a Gueſs what in future ſhall come to paſs.

THE devil (ſaid *Luther*) knoweth the thoughts of the ungodly, for he poſſeſſeth them therewith. He ſeeth and ruleth the hearts of all ſuch people as are not kept ſafe and preſerved by God's word; yea, he holdeth them captive in his ſnares, inſomuch that they muſt think, do, and ſpeak according to his will. And St. Paul ſaith, *The God of this world blindeth the minds of them that believe not, leſt the light of the glorious Goſpel of Chriſt, who is the image of God, ſhould ſhine unto them*, &c. And Chriſt giveth a reaſon, and ſheweth how it cometh to paſs, that many do hear the word, yet they neither underſtand nor keep the ſame, where he ſaith, *The devil cometh, and taketh the word out of their hearts, leſt they ſhould believe, and be ſaved.* Therefore it is no marvel, that the devil through his prophets declareth what ſhall happen and come to paſs: as he knew touching the wars of Bavaria, and declared the ſame before they began; for he ſaw that Rupert Prince Palatine was haughty and rich, audacious and bold, and that he contemned Maximilian the Emperor. Again, the devil marked that the Emperor was poſſeſſed with a civil, upright mind and diſpoſition, and therefore he knew, that the Emperor would not endure ſuch contempt; whereupon, *anno* 1540, the ſame war aroſe and proceeded accordingly.

Of the Knowledge of the Devil.

THE Scripture clearly ſheweth (ſaid *Luther*) that the devil giveth unto mankind evil thoughts, and blindeth the minds of the ungodly; as of Judas is written, *That the devil put it into his heart to betray Chriſt.* And he not only gave into Cain's heart to think evil of his brother Abel, and to become his enemy; but alſo he inſtigated and ſtirred him up to murther his brother. The devil knoweth not the thoughts of the faithful, until they utter them: Chriſt was too wiſe for him, for he knew not the thoughts of Chriſt's heart, neither knoweth he the thoughts of the godly, in whoſe hearts Chriſt dwelleth. But he is a powerful, a crafty, and a ſubtle ſpirit; Chriſt himſelf nameth him a Prince of the world, who goeth about and ſhooteth fearful thoughts (which are his fiery darts) into the hearts even of the good and godly, as diſcord, wrath, hatred againſt God, deſpair, blaſpheming, &c. St. Paul partly underſtood them; yea, he vehemently complaineth thereof, when he ſaith, *There was given to me a thorn in the fleſh*, namely, *the meſſenger of Satan to buffet me*, &c. Thoſe were the high ſpiritual tribulations which no Papiſt underſtandeth.

Of the Devil's Trade or Occupation.

THE Apoſtle giveth this title to the devil, *That he hath the power of death*, Heb. ii. And Chriſt calleth him a murtherer. He is ſuch a maſter that he is able to procure death even out of the leaf of a tree; he hath more boxes and pots full of poiſon, wherewith he deſtroyeth people, than all the apothecaries in the world have of healing medicine; if one poiſon will not diſpatch, ſo will another. To conclude, the power of the devil is greater than we can imagine or believe, by reaſon that only God's finger can reſiſt him. Chriſt himſelf ſaith (touching the crooked woman which could not lift up herſelf), *That Satan had bound her eighteen years.* And St. Peter ſaith, *Chriſt healed all that were oppreſſed of the devil.*

That the Devil is the Cauſe of Death and of all Sickneſſes and Diſeaſes.

I VERILY think (ſaid *Luther*) that all dangerous deſeaſes are mere blows and plagues of the devil; yet nevertheleſs he maketh uſe of natural inſtruments and means, as murtherers uſe ſwords, or other weapons; like as God alſo uſeth means to preſerve the lives and health of people, as with ſleep, food, &c. for God commonly worketh by means; even ſo the devil through means hurteth and killeth people.

A phyſician helpeth corporally; we divines ſpiritually. We make the caſe good again, when the devil hath ſpoiled it. A phyſician giveth phyſick, inſomuch that a creature, through creatures, helpeth creatures. Phyſick hath not its deſcent and original out of books, but God revealed the ſame; or, as Syrach ſaith, *It cometh from the moſt Higheſt; the Lord hath created medicines out of the earth.* Therefore we may juſtly uſe corporal phyſick, as God's creature. The mayor of Wittemberg lately aſked me, If it were againſt God to uſe phyſick; for, ſaid he, Doctor Carlſtad openly preached, that whoſo fell ſick, the ſame ſhould uſe no phyſic, but commit the cauſe to God, and pray that his will be done, &c. Whereupon I aſked him again, If he uſed to eat when he hungered? He anſwered, Yea. Then ſaid I to him, even ſo likewiſe ye may uſe phyſic, which is God's creature as well as meat and drink, or what elſe we uſe for the preſervation of life.

That the Devil diſquieteth People, yea, alſo in their Sleep.

SATAN plagueth and tormenteth people all manner of ways, inſomuch that he fooleth and affrighteth ſome in their ſleep, with heavy dreams and viſions, ſo that now and then the whole body ſweateth by reaſon of anguiſh of heart. Moreover, he leadeth ſome alſo ſleeping out of their beds and chambers up into high dangerous places, inſomuch that if, through the defence and ſervice of the loving angels, which are about them, they were not kept and preſerved, he would throw them down, and cauſe their death.

That Chriſt only fruſtrateth the Power and Craftineſs of the Devil.

INDEED (ſaid *Luther*) although the devil be not a commenced doctor, yet he is both deeply learned and well experienced; he hath been in practice, hath uſed his art, his trade and occupation, now almoſt ſix thouſand years. No human creature can prevail againſt him but only Chriſt; yet nevertheleſs he hath made trial of his art and trade alſo againſt him, as when, drily, he ſaid unto him, *If thou wilt fall down and worſhip me, I will give thee all the kingdoms of the whole world*, &c. he ſaith not as before, *Art thou the Son of God*, but ſaith, I am God, thou art my creature, for all the power and glory of the world is mine, I give the ſame to whom I pleaſe: Therefore if thou wilt worſhip me, ſo will I give them unto thee. This blaſpheming of God Chriſt could not endure, but calleth him by his right name and ſaith, *Avoid Satan*, &c.

No man (ſaid *Luther*) is able to comprehend or underſtand this temptation; I would willingly die, on condition that I could fundamentally preach thereof. Doubtleſs, the devil moved Chriſt much when he ſaid, *All this is mine, and I give it to whom I will*; for they are words of the Divine Majeſty, and belong only to God. True it is, the devil giveth alſo, but let us make a ſtrong diſtinction between the true giver, who giveth all that we have and are, and between the diſſembling murtherer, who giveth to thoſe that ſerve and worſhip him for a ſhort time, yet ſo, that afterwards they muſt everlaſtingly periſh. Chriſt contradicteth him

him not, in that he is a lord and a Prince of the world; but he will not therefore worſhip him, but ſaith, *Avoid Satan*, &c. Even ſo ought we to do likewiſe. He muſt be, indeed, a moſt wicked, a poiſoned, and a thirſty ſpirit, in that he durſt preſume to tempt the Son of God to fall down and worſhip him. The arch-villain, doubtleſs, in the twinkling of an eye, laid before the Lord a deluſion of all the kingdoms of the world, and ſhewed the glory of the ſame, as Luke writeth, thereby to move and allure him, to the end he ſhould think, ſuch honour might one receive, and yet nevertheleſs be the child of God. But the Lord meeteth him rightly, and ſaith, *Avoid Satan*; *Thou ſhalt worſhip the Lord thy God*, &c. The Evangeliſt Matthew ſaith clearly, *Jeſus was led by the ſpirit into the wilderneſs to be tempted of the devil.*

That we muſt reſiſt the Evil Spirit when he tormenteth the Conſcience.

WHEN the envious poiſoned ſpirit, the devil, plagueth and tormenteth us, as he uſeth, by reaſon of our ſins, and intendeth thereby to lead us into deſpair, then we muſt meet him in this manner, and ſay, Thou deceitful and wicked ſpirit! how dareſt thou preſume to perſuade me to ſuch things? Knoweſt thou not that Chriſt Jeſus my Lord and Saviour, who cruſhed thy head, hath forbidden me to believe thee, yea, even when thou ſpeakeſt the truth, in that he baptizeth and nameth thee a murtherer, a liar, and a father of lies. I do not grant unto thee, that I, as thy captive, ſhall be condemned to everlaſting death and helliſh torments by reaſon of my ſins, as thou falſely ſuggeſteſt; but thou thyſelf, on the contrary, long ſince, by Chriſt my Lord and Saviour, art ſtripped, judged, and with everlaſting bonds and chains of darkneſs art bound, caſt down and delivered to hell, inſomuch that thou art reſerved to the judgment of the great day, and finally, with all the ungodly, ſhalt be thrown into the bottomleſs pit of hell.

Further, I demand of thee, by what authority thou preſumeſt to exerciſe ſuch power and right againſt me? whereas thou haſt given me neither life, wife, nor child; no, not the leaſt thing I have: neither art thou my Lord, much leſs a creator of my body and ſoul, neither haſt thou made the members wherewith I have ſinned. How then, thou wicked and falſe ſpirit, art thou ſo inſolent, as to domineer over that which is mine, as if thou waſt God himſelf.

Of the Charmers of the Devil.

THE people which in Popedom are poſſeſſed of the devil, are not rid of him by ſuch arts, words or geſtures, as their charmers do uſe: the devil ſuffereth not himſelf to be driven out with ſlight words; as, Come out, thou unclean ſpirit, &c. for thoſe charmers mean it not earneſtly. The power of God muſt effect it; and one muſt not venture his life thereupon, in that the devil terrifieth him with great anguiſh of heart; for without fears and frightings it will not be accompliſhed.

When the woman with the bloody iſſue touched the hem of Chriſt's garment, he ſaid, *I perceive that virtue is gone out of me*, Luke viii. Likewiſe when he intended to awaken Lazarus from the dead, he groaned in the ſpirit, and was troubled, John xi.

The devil (ſaid *Luther*) is driven out either by the prayers of the whole church, ſo that they join all their prayers together, which are ſo ſtrong and powerful, that they

even

even pierce the clouds; or elſe he that driveth out the wicked enemy muſt be highly enlightened, and muſt have a ſtrong and a ſtedfaſt courage, and be certain of the cauſe; as Elijah, Eliſha, Peter, Paul, &c.

That in the Time of Chriſt many were poſſeſſed of the Devil.

THE cauſe (ſaid *Luther*) that ſo many poor people in the time of Chriſt were poſſeſſed, was, that the true doctrine was almoſt ſunk and quenched by the people of Iſrael, few excepted; as Zacharias, Elizabeth, Simeon, Anna, &c. And I believe if the Phariſees ſhould have continued to rule, and that Chriſt had not come, then ſurely Judaiſm would have been turned into Paganiſm, and an Heatheniſh kind of being; as, before the ſhining of the Goſpel, was ſeen in Popedom, where the people underſtood as little of Chriſt and his Word, as the Turks and Heathens.

Whether the Devil knew Chriſt according to the Fleſh, or no?

THE devil (ſaid *Luther*) well knew the Scripture, where it is ſaid, *Behold a virgin ſhall conceive and bear a child.* Alſo, *Unto us a child is born*, &c. All this the devil knew very well.

But becauſe Chriſt carried himſelf humble and lowly, went about with public ſinners, and by reaſon thereof he was held in no eſteem; therefore the devil looked another way over Chriſt, and knew him not; for the devil looketh a-ſquint upwards, after that which is high and pompous; he looketh not downwards, nor on that which is humble and lowly.

But the everlaſting merciful God doth quite the contrary, he beholdeth that which is lowly, as the 113th Pſalm ſheweth, *Our God hath his dwelling on high, and yet humbleth himſelf to behold what is in heaven and on earth.* And Iſaiah the 66th, *I will look to him that is poor, and of a contrite ſpirit, and trembleth at my Word.* God careth not for that which is high; yea, it is an abomination before him. St. Luke ſaith, *That which is highly eſteemed among men, is abomination in the ſight of God.* Therefore he that intendeth to climb high, let him beware of the devil, leſt he throw him down; for the nature and manner of the devil is, firſt to hoiſt up into heaven, and afterwards to caſt down into hell.

That all Sadneſs and Melancholy cometh of the Devil.

IN caſes of melancholy and ſickneſſes (ſaid *Luther*) I conclude, it is merely the work of the devil. For God maketh not melancholy, neither doth he affright nor kill, becauſe he is a God of the living. From hence the Scripture ſaith, *Rejoice, and be of good comfort*, &c. God's Word and Prayer is phyſic againſt ſpiritual tribulations.

That it is more laudable to be made away by the Devil, than by Human Creatures.

I WOULD wiſh (ſaid *Luther*) rather to die through the devil, then through the Emperor or Pope; for then I ſhould die through a great and mighty Prince of the world. But if it ſhould be ſo he ſhould eat ſuch a bit of me as will be his bane, he ſhall ſpew me out again; and, at the day of judgment, I in requital will devour him.

The devil (ſaid *Luther*) needeth not to tell me, that I am neither good nor upright;

right; neither would I wiſh to be ſo, that is, to be without feeling of my ſins, and think that I need no remiſſion of the ſame; for, if that were the caſe, all the treaſure of Chriſt were loſt on me, ſeeing he ſaith himſelf, *He came not for the ſake of the juſt, but to call ſinners to repentance.*

When the Devil is once overcome, whether as then he returneth again, or no?

I HOLD (ſaid *Luther*) when a devil, who is once overcome with God's Word and Spirit, muſt then be gone, and dareth not return again with the ſame temptation; for Chriſt ſaith, *Avoid Satan*, &c. And in another place he ſaith, *Come out thou unclean ſpirit*, &c. Then ſay the devils, *Suffer us to enter into the herd of ſwine.* Origen ſaith, I believe that the ſaints do ſtrangle and ſlay many devils in combating; that is, break their power.

How the Devil bewitcheth People.

WITCHCRAFT (ſaid *Luther*) is the devil's own proper work, wherewith (when God permitteth) he not only hurteth people, but oftentimes through the ſame he maketh them away; for in this world we are as gueſts and ſtrangers, both in body and ſoul caſt under the devil. For ſeeing he is god of this world, ſo are all things under his power whereby we are preſerved in temporal life; as meat, drink, air, &c.

The devil is ſo crafty a ſpirit, that he can ape and deceive our ſenſes. He can cauſe one to think that he ſeeth ſomething, which notwithſtanding he ſeeth not. Alſo, that one heareth a thundering, or a trumpet, which he heareth not. Like as the ſoldiers of Julius Cæſar thought they heard the ſound of a trumpet (as Suetonius writeth), and yet there was no ſuch thing. Therefore, Satan is a maſter in aping and deceiving people, and every human ſenſe.

And eſpecially, he is an artificial maſter; as when he deceiveth people ſpiritually, when he bewitcheth and deceiveth the hearts and conſciences in ſuch ſort, that they hold and receive erroneous and ungodly doctrine and opinions for the upright and divine truth.

We ſee at this day (ſaid *Luther*) how eaſy a matter it is for him ſo to do, by the ſectaries and ſeducers; for he hath in ſuch ſort bewitched and deceived their hearts, that they hold that for the clear truth, which is altogether lies, errors, and and abominable darkneſſes. They hold themſelves wiſe and learned in Divine cauſes; but other people they hold merely for geeſe, and ſuch as neither ſee nor underſtand any thing at all.

That the Devil plagueth upright and true Chriſtians with his Deluſions.

THE poiſoned ſerpent taketh ſuch delight in doing miſchief, that he not only deceiveth and apeth the ſecure and proud ſpirits with his deluſions, but alſo he undertaketh through his deceptions to bring into error thoſe which are well inſtructed and grounded in God's Word. He vexeth me oftentimes (ſaid *Luther*) ſo powerfully, and aſſaulteth me ſo fiercely with heavy and melancholy thoughts, that I forget my loving Lord and Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, or at leaſt I behold him far otherwiſe than he is to be beheld.

To conclude, there is none of us all that is free, but that oft he is deceived and bewitched with falſe opinions; that is, hath now and then other

thoughts and meanings of our Lord God, of Chriſt, of faith, and of his ſtate God-ward, than indeed he ought to have.

Therefore we ſhould learn how to know this conjurer, to the end he might not come behind us (being ſleepy and ſecure), and ſo delude us with his witchcraft. And truly, if in caſe he findeth us not ſober and watching, and not armed with ſpiritual weapons, that is, with God's Word and with faith, then moſt ſure and certain he will overcome us. 1 Pet. v. Epheſ. vi.

As in the year 1521 I made in my journey a ſtay at Wartburg (ſaid *Luther*), in the high caſtle in Pathmo, the devil many times plagued me there; but I reſiſted him in faith, and with this ſentence I encountered him, God is my God, who hath created mankind, and hath put all thinks in ſubjection under their feet. Now, if thou thinkeſt (Satan) that thou haſt any power over me, ſo try it.

That Faith overcometh the Devil.

ANNO 1521, As I departed from Worms (ſaid *Luther*), and not far from Eiſenach, I was taken priſoner, and was lodged in the caſtle of Wartburg in Pathmo, in a chamber far from people, where none could have acceſs unto me, but only two boys that twice a day brought me meat and drink. Now, among other things, they brought me haſel nuts, which I put into a box, and ſometimes I uſed to crack and eat of them. In the night time, my gentleman the devil came and got the nuts out of the box, and cracked them againſt one of the bed-poſts, making a very great noiſe and rumbling about my bed, but I regarded him nothing at all; when I began to ſlumber, then he kept ſuch a racket and rumbling upon the chamber ſtairs, as if many empty hogſheads and barrels had been tumbled down; and although I knew that the ſtairs were ſtrongly guarded with iron bars, ſo that no paſſage was either up or down, yet I aroſe and went towards the ſtairs to ſee what was the matter, but finding the door faſt ſhut, I ſaid, Art thou there? ſo be there ſtill; I committed myſelf to Chriſt, my Lord and Saviour, of whom it is written, *Omnia ſubjeciſti pedibus ejus*, and then laid me down to reſt again.

That the Devil may be driven away by contemning and jeering.

AT ſuch a time (ſaid *Luther*) when I could not be rid of the devil with uttering ſentences out of the Holy Scripture, then I made him often fly with jeering words; as when he intended to burthen my conſcience, I ſometimes ſaid unto him, Devil! if Chriſt's blood, which was ſhed for my ſins, be not ſufficient, then I deſire thee that thou wouldſt pray to God for me. When he findeth me idle, and I have nothing in hand, then he is very buſy, and before I am aware he wringeth from me a bitter ſweat; but when I offer him the pointed ſpear, that is, God's Word, then he flieth, yet before he goeth, he maketh a grievous hurricane. When at the firſt I began to write againſt the Pope, and that the Goſpel went on, then the devil laid himſelf ſtrongly therein, he ceaſed not to rumble and rage about, for he willingly would have preſerved purgatory at *Magdeburg*; & *diſcurſum animarum*. For there was a citizen whoſe child died, for which he refuſed to have *Vigilia* and ſoul-maſſes to be ſung; then the devil played his reaks, came every night, about twelve of the clock, into the chamber where the child died, and made a whining like a young child. The good citizen being therewith full of ſorrow, knew not what courſe to take. The Popiſh Prieſts cried out, O, now you ſee how it goeth when vigils

vigils are not ſolemnized, &c. Whereupon, the citizen ſent to me, deſiring my advice therein, (for my ſermon which I had lately preached touching this ſentence, *They have Moſes and the Prophets*, was gone out in print, which the citizen had read); then I wrote unto him from Wittemberg, and adviſed him, not to ſuffer any vigils at all to be held, for he might be fully aſſured, that thoſe were merely pranks of the devil; whereupon, the children and ſervants in the houſe jeered and contemned the devil, and ſaid, What doeſt thou, Satan? Avoid, thou curſed Spirit, and get thee gone to the place where thou oughteſt to be, into the pit of hell, &c. Now, as the devil marked their contempt, he left of his game, and came there no more; *Quia eſt ſuperbus Spiritus, & non poteſt ferre contemptum ſui*

That it is profitable for Chriſtians to be tempted of the Devil.

ALTHOUGH Satan ceaſeth not to plague the Chriſtians (ſaid *Luther*), and to ſhoot at us his darling fiery darts, but prepareth one combat after another, yet the ſame is very good and profitable for us, for thereby he maketh us the more ſure of the Word and Doctrine, inſomuch that faith encreaſeth and is ſtronger in us; indeed, we often lie under, and it may be well that now and then the devil hunteth out of us a ſour and bitter ſweat, yet notwithſtanding he cannot bring us into deſpair; for Chriſt always hath kept the field, and through us he will keep it ſtill. Through hope in all manner of trials and temptations we hold ourſelves on Chriſt.

That the Devil raiſeth Sectaries and Seducers.

SURE it is (ſaid *Luther*) the devil in theſe times befooleth the frantick ſectaries and ſeditious ſpirits, and maketh them ſo ſtiff, hard, and inſolent, that no anvil can poſſibly be more hard; for they will not to be taught; they receive no inſtructions; they permit no ſcripture to be of value, but think how they may ſpin their own conceits and gloſſes out of their brains, thereby to make frivolous oppoſition againſt the clear and open ſentences, which are againſt them, out of Holy Writ; they will preſume to defend and maintain their dreaming opinions, which they bring into the Scripture, &c. Hereby we may apparently know, that for certain the devil rideth them, and through his ſorcery hath taken them captives.

That the Devil can maſk himſelf in Chriſt's Perſon.

IT is a fearful thing when Satan intendeth to torment the ſorrowful conſciences with intolerable melancholy; then the wicked villain, maſter-like, can maſk and diſguiſe himſelf into the perſon of Chriſt, ſo that it is impoſſible for a poor creature (whoſe conſcience is troubled, to diſcover the villainy of the devil. From hence it falleth out, that many of thoſe (that neither know nor underſtand the ſame) run headlong into deſpair, and make themſelves away; for they are blinded and deceived ſo powerfully by him, that they are fully perſuaded it is not the devil, but Chriſt himſelf that vexeth and tormenteth them in ſuch ſort.

I (ſaid *Luther*) am a Doctor of Holy Scripture, and for many years have preached Chriſt; yet, to this day, I am not able to put Satan off, nor to drive him away from me, as willingly I would; neither am I able ſo to comprehend Chriſt and to take hold on him, as in Holy Scripture he is placed before me; but the devil continually ſeeketh how to put another Chriſt into my mind. Yet, nevertheleſs, we ought to render humble thanks to Almighty God, who hitherto hath preſerved us by his holy Word, through faith and by prayer, ſo that we know how to walk before him in humility and fear, and not to depend or preſume on our own wiſdom, righteouſneſs,

righteouſneſs, ſtrength, and power, but to cheer and comfort ourſelves in Chriſt, who is always more than ſufficiently ſtrong and powerful; and although we be weak and faint, yet we continually vanquiſh and overcome through his power and ſtrength in us poor, weak, and feeble creatures. For this may his holy name be bleſſed and magnified for evermore. Amen.

Of the Devil's Work.

THE devil goeth about with two things, wherewith he advanceth his kingdom, and raiſeth tumults in the world; namely, lying and murdering, which he driveth with all diligence, and without ceaſing. God commandeth, and ſaith, *Thou ſhalt do no murder.* Alſo, *Thou ſhall have none other Gods but Me.* Againſt theſe two commandments, the devil, in his members, dealeth ſeriouſly without intermiſſion. He neither can nor may do any thing elſe but lie and murder, as, alas! we find by ſad experience.

He now dallieth and playeth no more with people, as heretofore he hath done, with and by rumbling ſpirits; for he well ſeeth, that the condition of the time is far otherwiſe than what it was twenty years paſt. Truly (ſaid *Luther*), he now beginneth at the right end, and uſeth great diligence. The rumbling ſpirits are now mute among us; but the ſpirits of ſedition do encreaſe above meaſure, and get the upper hand: God reſiſt them.

Of the Power of the Devil.

THE power which the devil uſeth is not by God commanded, but God reſiſteth him not, but ſuffereth him to make tumults, yet no longer nor further than he willeth; for God hath ſet him a ſtint and mark, over and beyond which he neither can nor dareth to ſtep.

Like as when a great lord beheld another ſetting his barn on fire and reſiſted him not, but looked through the fingers; even ſo doth our Lord God likewiſe with the devil. But in that God ſaid (concerning Job) to Satan, *Behold, he is in thy hands, yet ſpare his life*, &c. That power (ſaid *Luther*) was by God permitted, who gave him leave thereunto; as if God ſhould ſay, I will once permit and give thee leave, but touch not his life.

That God through human Weakneſs deſtroyeth the Power of the Devil.

IT is almoſt incredible (ſaid *Luther*) that God commandeth us (weak fleſh and blood) to enter combat with the devil, and to ſtrive and fight with ſo powerful a ſpirit as he is, and, hath given into our hands no other weapon, but only his Word, which by faith we take hold on, and therewith we beat and overcome him; the ſame muſt needs grieve and vex that great and powerful enemy. But in ſuch combating, it is very difficult and heavy, eſpecially, in that we know the devil to be the devil; for no man is able with words to expreſs, much leſs to believe, how that malediсted majeſty can diſguiſe and transform itſelf into an angel of light, as Paul ſaith, 2 Cor. xi.

That the Devil is a Fowler.

THE devil is like a fowler. Thoſe birds which he catcheth, the necks of the ſame he wringeth aſunder, keeping very few alive; only thoſe that do allure other birds to his ſnare, and alſo do ſing the ſong which he will have, the ſame he putteth into

into a cage, to the end, that by their alluring, he may catch more; all the reſt muſt go to the pot. I hope (ſaid *Luther*) he ſhall not get me into his cage.

Therefore, if thou intendeſt to reſiſt Satan, then look that thou be well armed and weaponed with God's Word, and with prayer. For if thou art ſecure, and without God's Word, then the devil is near thee, and lieth upon thee; thou haſt no way to reſiſt him, but only and alone through God's Word and prayer. For he cannot endure thoſe blows of defence; otherwiſe, though thou giveſt him once his diſpatch, and turneſt him away, yet he will quickly return again, eſpecially if thou art ſecure, lieſt ſnoaring, and thinkeſt that now all is ſafe.

Let no man flatter himſelf (ſaid *Luther*) and think, that the devil is far from the ungodly, and in hell, as the Archbiſhop of Mentz thinketh; whereas the devil dwelleth in his hard heart, and driveth him according to his will and pleaſure. For if the devil had none other power, but only to plague us in body and in wealth, and that he vexed and tormented us only with the cares and troubles of this life, then he were no devil to make account of. But he hath learned a higher art; namely, when he taketh away from us and falſifieth the article of juſtification, both *privativè & poſitivè*, when he either teareth the ſame quite out of our hearts, as is done in Popedom, or elſe defileth it through ſects and hereſies, in that they talk and babble much thereof; but, nevertheleſs, they hang thereon a gloſs concerning works, or ſomewhat elſe, which is not pure, ſo that they leave the huſks or pealings of the nuts to their people and hearers, but the kernels are gone.

What Shape or Form the Devil carrieth.

THE devil carrieth two manner of ſhapes or forms, wherein he diſguiſeth himſelf; he either appeareth in the ſhape of a ſerpent, thereby to affright and to kill; or elſe, into the form of a ſilly ſheep, to lie and deceive; theſe (ſaid *Luther*) are his two court-colours. The devil is a fooliſh ſpirit, for he giveth means and occaſion to Chriſt to defend himſelf, in that he plagueth the poor and weak Chriſtians; for thereby he confirmeth the authority of Chriſt and his Apoſtles: as when they make the ſick whole and ſound, then the devil ſhould rather wiſh he had left them at peace and quiet, but his wicked deſire in doing miſchief driveth him forward, to the end he might be brought to confuſion.

That the Words and Works of Godly People do much vex the Devil.

OUR ſongs and pſalms (ſaid *Luther*) do ſorely vex and grieve the devil; on the contrary, our paſſions and impatiencies, our complainings and cryings, Alas! or, Woe is me! do pleaſe him well; yea, he laugheth thereat in his fiſt. He taketh delight in tormenting us, eſpecially when we confeſs, praiſe, preach, and laud Chriſt. For ſeeing the devil is a prince of this world, and our utter enemy, therefore we muſt be content to let him paſs through his country; he will needs have impoſts and cuſtoms of us, and ſtriketh our bodies with manifold plagues.

Over whom and how far God permitteth the Devil to plague the People.

GOD giveth to the devil and to witches power over human creatures two manner of ways: Firſt, Over the ungodly, when he will puniſh them by reaſon of their ſins. Secondly, Over the juſt and godly, when he intendeth to try them, whether they will be conſtant in the faith, and remain in his obedience, or no. For without God's will, and our own conſent, the devil cannot hurt us; for God ſaith,

Whoſo toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye. And Chriſt ſaith, *There cannot fall an hair from your head, without your heavenly Father's notice.*

Of the Nature of the Devil.

THE devil hath even the nature and manner in devouring like a wolf; who beginneth not to eat, until he hath torn in pieces and murdered all the ſheep in the fold; for the devil (if God reſiſted him not) would deſtroy and kill all human creatures at once.

That the Devil's Power is ſeen by the Falling of the Saints.

THE devil's power (ſaid *Luther*) is not ſo well to be ſeen by the falling of carnally minded people, and of the wiſe of this world (which live like ſenſeleſs creatures and heathens), as it is ſeen by the falling of the ſaints that were endued with the Holy Ghoſt; as Adam, David, Solomon, Peter, &c. who committed great ſins, and fell by God's determinate council, to the end they ſhould not proudly exalt themſelves by reaſon of God's gifts; for which cauſe God ſuffered David to fall ſo fearfully into adultery and murder, to the end he ſhould learn to know his ſpoiled nature, and to pray the *Miſerere* for our example, that we alſo continually may live in God's fear, may watch and pray.

A fearful Hiſtory of a Scholar who gave himſelf over to the Devil.

ANNO 1538, the 13th of February, a young ſtudent at Wittemberg, named Valerius, of Leipzig, was by me pronounced abſolved in the ſacriſty, in the preſence of the deacons and his tutor, George Mayor. The ſame was very rude and diſobedient to his tutor. At laſt, being examined and aſked, why he lived ſo lewd and diſſolute kind of life, fearing neither God nor men? He thereupon confeſſed, That five years paſt he had given himſelf over to the devil, with theſe words, *I renounce and deny thy Faith* (O Chriſt), *and henceforward will be entertained by another maſter.* Touching theſe words (ſaid *Luther*) I examined him; I reproved and chid him ſharply, and I aſked him, if he had ſpoken any words more to the devil? He anſwered, No. Then I aſked him, if he was ſorry for it, and if now he would return again to our Saviour Chriſt? Whereupon he anſwered, and ſaid, Yea, and earneſtly perſiſted in praying. Then I laid my hand upon him, and with the reſt that were by, I kneeled down, prayed the Lord's Prayer, and afterwards ſaid,

Lord God, heavenly Father, who through thy well-beloved Son haſt commanded us to pray, and in thy holy church haſt ordained and inſtituted the office of preaching, that with meek ſpirit we ſhould inſtruct and recover again ſuch of our brethren, which through ſome fault might be overtaken. And Chriſt thy only Son himſelf ſaith, I am not come, but only for the cauſe of ſinners: Wherefore we pray thee, for this thy ſervant, that thou wouldſt pardon and forgive him his ſins, and receive him again into thy holy church, for thy dear Son's ſake, Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, Amen.

I afterwards ſpake theſe words to the youth in the High German tongue, which he ſpake after me: I, Valerius, confeſs before God and all his holy Angels, and and before the aſſembly of this church, that I did renounce and deny the faith of my God, and gave myſelf over to the devil: the ſame is grievous unto me, and I am heartily ſorry: I will henceforwards, by God's help, be a profeſſed enemy to the devil, and will conform myſelf to the will of my Lord God, and amend myſelf, Amen.

Hereupon

Hereupon I admoniſhed him again to repentance, and God's fear, and that henceforth he ſhould in godlineſs, civility, and in obedience live, and ſhould by faith and prayer reſiſt the counſels of the devil: and when the devil ſhould take hold on him with wicked cogitations, then he ſhould arm himſelf with God's Word, and ſhould repair to his tutor, or miniſter, diſcover the ſame unto him, and ſhould reject the devil, with his counſels and advices. This young ſtudent (ſaid *Luther*) from that time forward grew and became a very good and godly Chriſtian.

How we ought to carry ourſelves in Time of Tribulation.

WHEN tribulations approach, then (ſaid *Luther*) excommunicate them in the name of Chriſt Jeſus, and ſay, God hath forbidden me to receive that coin, becauſe it is minted by the devil; therefore we reject it, as being prohibited.

When heavy temptations come upon thee, then expel them by what means thou beſt mayeſt: talk with good friends of ſuch things as thou takeſt delight in. But here a man may ſay, Without due conſideration, nothing that is good can be effected. Hereunto I anſwer, We muſt make a difference of cogitations. Thoſe of the underſtanding do produce no melancholy, but the cogitations of the will cauſe ſadneſs; as, when one is grieved at a thing; or when one doth ſigh and complain, thoſe are melancholy and ſad cogitations, but the underſtanding is not melancholy.

When I write againſt the Pope, I am not melancholy; for then I labour with the brains and underſtanding: then I write with joy of heart; inſomuch, that not long ſince Dr. Reiſenpuſch ſaid unto me, I much marvel that you can be ſo merry; if the caſe were mine, it would go near to kill me. Whereupon I anſwered him, and ſaid, Neither the Pope, nor all his ſhaven retinue, can make me ſad; for I know that they are Chriſt's enemies; therefore I fight againſt him with joyful courage.

Since the time that Silveſter wrote againſt me, and in his book gave himſelf this title, *The Maſter of the Holy Palace*, and that I ſaw the bigot wrote ſuch ſtuff as conſtrained me thereat to laugh and jeſt; I ſay, ſince that time, I ſcorned him, his maſter the Pope, and all his Popiſh crew.

Now in my old age I am vexed and tormented with nothing, but with the temptations of the devil, who walketh with me in my bed-chamber; who pouteth and knitteth his brows at me: can he gain nothing of me in my heart, ſo falleth he on my head, and ſoundly plagueth me.

He oftentimes troubleth me touching praying; he ſtriketh thoughts into my breaſt, as though I neglect to pray diligently: although I know, that in one day I pray more than all the Popiſh prieſts and friars, but I babble not ſo much. My earneſt advice is (ſaid *Luther*), that no man contemn written or deſcribed prayers; for whoſo prayeth a pſalm, the ſame ſhall be made thoroughly warm.

The devil oft-times argued againſt me the whole cauſe which (through God's grace) I lead; he objecteth alſo againſt Chriſt. But better it were that the temple brake in pieces, than that Chriſt ſhould therein remain obſure and hid.

Of the Devil's Kindneſſes.

THE devil is ſo kind, that he giveth Heaven to people before they ſin, and after their ſins, he bringeth their conſciences into deſpair. But Chriſt dealeth quite contrary, for he giveth Heaven after ſins committed, and maketh joyful conſciences.

Laſt

Laſt night (ſaid *Luther*) as I waked out of my ſleep, the devil came and intimated, that God was far from me, and heard not my prayers; whereupon I ſaid, Very well, ſo will I call and cry the louder. I will place before my ſight the world's unthankfulneſs, and the ungodly doings of Kings, Potentates, and Princes; I will alſo think upon the raging hereticks; all theſe will enflame my praying.

Of the Difference between the Obedience towards God, and towards the Devil.

AMONGST the external obediences towards God and the devil, nothing carrieth a fairer luſtre than ſuperſtition and unbelief. People are very diligent in practiſing God's Worſhip without his word and command. God commandeth the obedience of faith and of good works. But the obedience towards the devil conſiſteth in evil works; that is, in ſuperſtition and worſhipping of idols.

That the Devil is a Hell-Hound.

THE helliſh-hound (ſaid *Luther*), in Greek, is called Cerberus; in Hebrew, Scorphur: he hath three throats, which are ſin, the law, and death.

Of the Whale the Devil.

IN Job are two chapters concerning Behemoth the whale, that by reaſon of him no man is in ſafety. *Wilt thou* (ſaith the text) *draw Leviathan out with a hook? Will he make many ſupplications unto thee? will he ſpeak ſoft words unto thee?* Theſe are coloured words (ſaid *Luther*), and figures whereby the devil is ſignified and ſhewed. The whale careth for no ſhip, neither doth Behemoth; he careth for no art, for no wiſdom nor power. The prince of this world regardeth theſe like ſtraw or ſtubble. But one thing there is that ſhall deſtroy him; namely, God's Word in faith: *The woman's ſeed will do the deed.*

CHAP. XXXVI.

OF TEMPTATION AND TRIBULATION.

How Luther was tried and tempted of the Devil, by reaſon of his Doctrine, and how he defended himſelf.

WHOSO, without the word of grace and prayer, diſputeth with the devil touching ſin and the law, the ſame hath loſt; therefore (ſaid *Luther*) let him leave off betimes. For the devil is armed againſt us with Goliah's ſword, with his ſpear and weapons; that is, he hath on his ſide to aſſiſt him, the teſtimony of our own conſciences, which witneſs againſt us in that we have tranſgreſſed all God's commandments; therefore the devil hath a very great advantage againſt us.

The Devil oftentimes aſſaulteth me, by objecting, that out of my doctrine great offences and much evil hath proceeded, wherewith he many a time vehemently perplexeth

perplexeth me. And although I make him this anſwer, That much good is alſo raiſed thereby (which by God's grace is true), yet notwithſtanding, he is ſo nimble a ſpirit, and ſo crafty a rhetorician, that, maſter-like, he can pervert the ſame merely into ſin. He was never ſo fierce and full of rage, as he is now. I feel him exceeding well.

But when I remember myſelf, and take hold on the Goſpel, and meet him therewith, then I overcome him and confute all his arguments; but many times I fail therein: therefore he ſaith, The law is alſo God's Word, why then is the Goſpel always objected againſt me? Then I ſay unto him, True: the law is alſo God's Word; but it is as far different from the Goſpel, as heaven is from earth: for in the Goſpel God offereth unto us his grace; he will be our God, merely out of love, and he preſenteth unto us his only begotten Son, who delivereth us from ſin and death, and hath purchaſed for us everlaſting righteouſneſs and life; thereon do I hold, and will not make God a liar. Indeed, God hath alſo given the law, but in every reſpect for another uſe and purpoſe.

What I teach and preach, the ſame (ſaid *Luther*) I lead openly by clear daylight, not hidden in a corner. I direct and ſquare the ſame by the Goſpel, by baptiſm, and by the Lord's prayer. Here Chriſt ſtandeth, him I cannot deny; upon the Goſpel do I ground my cauſe, &c. Yet notwithſtanding all this, the devil, with his crafty diſputing, bringeth it ſo near unto me, that the ſweat of anguiſh droppeth from me, inſomuch, that I feel many times that he ſleepeth nearer unto me than my wife Kate; that is, he diſquieteth me more, than ſhe comforteth or pleaſeth me.

Thus St. Paul was conſtrained to defend and comfort himſelf at Philippi, when both Jews and Gentiles hit him in the teeth, and ſaid, *That he troubled their city*, &c. And at Theſſalonica they ſaid, *Theſe are they that turn the world upſide down, they do contrary to the decrees of Cæſar*, &c. And at Ceſaria, Tertullus ſaid, *This is a peſtilent fellow, that hath moved ſedition among all the Jews throughout the world*, &c. This was as much as to ſay, He was a rebel againſt the Emperor. Likewiſe the devil ſtirred up the Jews againſt Chriſt, accuſing him of rebellion alſo, and that he forbade to pay tribute unto Cæſar. Alſo that he blaſphemed, in making himſelf the Son of God.

Therefore, I ſay to Satan, Like as thou cameſt to confuſion by Chriſt and St. Paul, even ſo (Mr. Devil) ſhall it go with thee, if thou meddleſt with me.

How a Chriſtian ought to defend himſelf againſt heavy Thoughts.

AS I ſaid before, ſo I ſay ſtill, That all heavineſs of mind and melancholy cometh of the devil; for he is the lord of death, Hebrews vii. eſpecially when a man is poſſeſſed with ſuch thoughts, as, that God is not gracious unto him; or, that God will have no mercy upon him, &c. Therefore whoſoever thou art, that art poſſeſſed with ſuch heavy thoughts, know for certain, that the ſame is a work and driving of the devil: for God hath ſent his Son into world, not to affright but to comfort ſinners. From hence theſe and the like ſentences are oftentimes expreſſed in Holy Scripture; *Rejoice: be joyful in the Lord. Be not afraid. Be not diſcouraged. Be of good comfort, I have overcome the world. The ſting of death is made blunt upon me; yea, it is altogether broken in pieces*, &c.

Therefore in ſuch tribulations thou oughteſt to be of good courage, and to think, that henceforward thou art not the child of an human creature, but of God through faith in Chriſt, in whoſe name thou art baptized; therefore the ſpear of death cannot

enter into thee; he hath no right unto thee, much leſs can he hurt or prejudice thee, for he is everlaſtingly ſwallowed up through Chriſt.

That Tribulations are ſure and certain Tokens that God loveth us.

IT is better for a Chriſtian (ſaid *Luther*) to be ſorrowful then to be ſecure, as the people of the world be. Well is he (ſaith the wiſeman, Prov. xxviii.) that ſtandeth always in fear; yet ſo, that he knoweth he hath in Heaven a gracious God, for Chriſt's ſake, as the Pſalm ſaith, *The Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their truſt in his mercy.*

There are two ſorts of tribulations; one, of the ſpirit; another, of the fleſh. Satan tormenteth the conſcience with lies; he perverteth that which is done uprightly and according to God's Word. But the body, or the fleſh, he plagueth in another kind.

No man ought to lay a croſs upon himſelf, or to make choice of a tribulation (as is done in Popedom): but if a croſs or tribulation cometh upon him, then let him ſuffer it patiently, and know that it is good and profitable for him. For by that means we muſt learn through experience, that Satan is a liar and a murtherer, and that heavineſs of ſpirit cometh of the devil, who, out of mere hatred, wiſheth that we might not enjoy ſo much as one hour's ſolace or comfort. But (ſaid *Luther*) be thou of good comfort in the Lord, it will be better; for Chriſt will make good his promiſe, where he ſaith, *I live, and ye ſhall live.* Likewiſe, *I will not leave you comfortleſs.* And, *I will take you unto me, ſo that ye ſhall be where I am*, &c.

Therefore I hope, that our loving Lord God will graciouſly help us, and put an end to our tribulations. In the mean time let us cheer up ourſelves in patience, and let us with joy and comfort keep in mind what St. Paul ſaith, Through much tribulation we muſt enter into the kingdom of heaven. And all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt ſuffer perſecution.

That blaſpheming of God is Two-fold.

LUTHER being informed of one that was fiercely tempted and plagued in his conſcience, becauſe he found not in himſelf a complete righteouſneſs; that he was not ſo righteous as God in the law required; and that in praying he always felt blaſpheming againſt Chriſt, ſaid, It is a good ſign; for blaſpheming of God is two-fold; one is *activa*, or operative, when one wilfully ſeeketh occaſion to blaſpheme God; the other is a conſtrained blaſpheming of God *paſſiva*; when the devil, againſt our wills, poſſeſſeth us with ſuch evil cogitations unawares, which we deſire to reſiſt. With ſuch God will have us to be exerciſed, to the end we may not lie ſnoaring in lazineſs, but that we ſhould ſtrive and pray againſt the ſame. By this means ſuch reaſonings, in time, will vaniſh away and ceaſe, eſpecially at our laſt end; for then the Holy Ghoſt is preſent with his Chriſtians, ſtandeth by them, driveth away the devil, and maketh a ſweet, a quiet, and a peaceable conſcience. Wherefore (ſaid *Luther*) write unto him, that he take, for his ſpiritual diſeaſe, this my phyſic; namely, that he trouble not himſelf about any thing, but be of good comfort, truſt in God, and hold himſelf on the Word: as then, the devil, of his own accord, will ceaſe from ſtirring up ſuch temptation.

But concerning his tribulation, in not finding a full and complete righteouſneſs in himſelf, let him know, that no human creature findeth the ſame in this life; it is altogether angelical, which ſhall fall unto us in the life to come. Here we muſt content ourſelves with Chriſt's righteouſneſs, which he fully merited for us with his innocent and ſpotleſs life.

The evil Doings which one cannot hinder, call for Patience and Prayer.

DAVID (ſaid *Luther*) was a wonderful diſcreet man, in that he dared openly to teach and ſpeak againſt the falſe worſhipping of the Jews, but he was not able to hinder the ſame: doubtleſs he ſaw in this corner one celebrating Maſs, another in that place teaching falſely (the ſame were both powerful and numerous), which if by force he could have deſtroyed, no doubt he would have done it; but ſeeing he knew not how to remedy the ſame, he was forced to have patience, and to compoſe a ſong thereof unto the Lord, ſang, and called upon him.

Of Phyſick againſt unprofitable Reaſonings.

WHEN I (ſaid *Luther*) am troubled with reaſonings concerning temporal or domeſtick affairs, then I take a pſalm, or a ſentence out of St. Paul, and ſo I lay me down to reſt and ſleep. But the cogitations that come of the devil are ſomewhat more chargeable unto me, then I muſt look well about me, and valiantly ſtrive to work myſelf thereout.

Of the Chriſtians Victory through the Holy Ghoſt.

HUMAN weakneſs (ſaid *Luther*) muſt lie open to all tribulations and dangers inwardly and outwardly, to corporal and ſpiritual trials; yea alſo, muſt lie open to the devil; inſomuch, that if God held not over us, defended and protected us not, none of us could remain the ſpace of an hour. Therefore the Holy Scripture giveth a very fair epithet of the Holy Ghoſt, calling him an advocate and aſſiſtant, that pleadeth our cauſe, ſpeaketh our words, ſtandeth in our ſtead, and when we are fallen, he helpeth us up again. Thus we keep the victory through faith, we overcome the devil and the world; yet not by our ſtrength or ability, but through the ſtrength and operation of the Holy Ghoſt, by Faith.

That Chriſtians muſt ſuffer.

WE which are Chriſtians muſt to the taſk, and ſuffer *Activè & Paſſivè*, of God, who worketh and formeth us as a potter prepareth his clay; we muſt alſo ſuffer of the world and the devil, who doth ſo plague and torment us, that we are made martyrs continually.

Our Lord God vexeth all his ſaints, they muſt all drink of the cup; for even ſo he dealt with the Virgin Mary. Thoſe which are loving and acceptable unto him, the ſame muſt ſuffer: and when we ſtrive, then we loſe. This (ſaid *Luther*) affrighteth me.

It is impoſſible that an human heart, without croſſes and tribulations, ſhould think upon God, and not forget him.

That all cannot bear equal Tribulations.

NOT all (ſaid *Luther*) are able to bear tribulations alike; for, if an human creature were merely fleſh without bones, then the body would fall into a lump, or bunch; the bones and ſinews do keep up the fleſh, &c. Even ſo it is in the Chriſtian congregation, ſome muſt be able to bear a blow of the devil; as we three, Philip Melanchon, John Calvin, and myſelf: therefore we pray continually in the church; for it is prayer that muſt do the deed.

That

That David's Tribulations were much more heavy then ours are.

DAVID, doubtleſs, had worſe devils then we have, for without great tribulations he could not have had ſo great revelations, which, indeed, were great and glorious. David made Pſalms, and ſang: we alſo will make Pſalms, and ſing as well as we can, to the honour of our Lord God, and to ſpite and deride the devil and his ſpouſe.

How we ought to comfort one that is in Trouble, thinking he hath ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

SUCH a one (ſaid *Luther*) ought earneſtly to be diſſuaded from entertaining thoſe temptations, and not to vex himſelf therewith, for he is not guilty of ſuch ſins. No adulterer or murderer treadeth Chriſt's blood under foot; but when they are ſorry for their ſins, and believe on the Son of God, then their ſins are remitted; as Chriſt ſaid to the adultreſs, and to the murderer on the croſs: to the adultreſs he ſaid, *Neither do I condemn thee, go, and ſin no more.* To the murderer he ſaid, *This day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe.* But to the Scribes and Phariſees (who ſet themſelves againſt the righteouſneſs of the Goſpel) Chriſt ſaid, *Woe be unto you.*

When one out of weakneſs denieth God's Word (as many at this time do under Prince George), ſo is it no ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt. Peter ſinned in denying Chriſt, but not againſt the Holy Ghoſt. On the contrary, Judas perſiſted in ſinning, he repented not aright, but remained hardened.

How Luther anſwered the Devil when he tempted and plagued him in the Night-Seaſon.

WHEN in the night time the devil cometh upon me with his temptations and tribulations, then I give him theſe and the like anſwers, and ſay, Devil! I muſt now ſleep; for the ſame is God's command and ordinance, to labour by day, and to reſt and ſleep by night; but thou, Devil, art ſo holy, that thou never committeſt any ſin; if otherwiſe, then go thy way to God, and purchaſe grace for thyſelf; and in caſe thou intendeſt to make me good and juſt, then I ſay unto thee, Phyſician heal thyſelf.

Of the Reaſon why good and godly People are plagued of the Devil.

A GOD-FEARING perſon (ſaid *Luther*) is chaſtiſed, to the end he ſhould not be condemned with the world; but the ungodly, that they may either confeſs their ſins, or elſe be more hardened. The better Chriſtian, the more tribulations; the more ſins, the more fear.

Of David's Tribulations.

WHEN David ſang this ſong, O my ſon Abſalom, my ſon, my ſon Abſalom, would God I had died for thee, O Abſalom my ſon, my ſon, &c. Ah! how ſorrowful and perplexed a man was he at that time? The very words do denote that his grief of heart was great.

The good and holy King had vehement tribulations and croſſes, which altogether

gether eclipſed and darkened the promiſes, which by God were made unto him; yea they were thereby more darkened, than cleared up. They were fearful and horrible examples of offences; his grief of heart was ſuch that he lamented that ever he was born. His kingdom, indeed, was thoroughly powdered and peppered unto him: for although he was anointed King, yet for the ſpace of ſeven years he had but only two tribes: and afterwards, when he was confirmed King in Iſrael, then they rebelled againſt him. Abſalom ſlew his brother Amnon; the ſiſter by the brother was deflowered, and made a ſhame to the world, &c. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) to hold faſt and ſure to the Word, in time of ſuch trials and vexations (as David did), O! the ſame is of ineſtimable value.

Of Luther's admoniſhing to Patience in Tribulation.

IF (ſaid *Luther*) we rightly conſidered how great the glory of the life to come will be (which we expect when we riſe again from the dead), then ſhould we not be ſo heavy and unwilling to ſuffer all manner of tribulations, which by the wicked world are put upon us.

When the Son of Man, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, ſhall appear at the laſt day to judge the living and the dead, and ſhall pronounce the ſentence both over the God-fearing and ungodly, then from our hearts we ſhall be aſhamed, that ſo unwillingly we ſuffered but a ſlight croſs or tribulation; as impriſonment, or a caſting into the dungeon, &c. Then we ſhall ſay, O, fie upon me! in that I threw not myſelf under the feet of the ungodly to be trampled upon, for the ſake of the glory which now I ſee revealed, and proceedeth out of the truth of the promiſes of God's Word, and which is ſhewed to all thoſe that received and believed the ſame; therefore St. Paul joyfully ſaith, *For I reckon that the ſufferings of this preſent time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which ſhall be revealed in us*, Rom. viii.

That ſpiritual Tribulations are moſt grievous.

THE upright and true Chriſtian church hath not to ſtrive with fleſh and blood, but with ſpiritual wickedneſs in high places, at St. Paul ſaith, Eph. vi. The ſpiritual combat is moſt heavy and dangerous: for fleſh and blood taketh away but only body, wife and children, houſe, land, and what is temporal; but the ſpiritual evil taketh away the ſoul, everlaſting life and ſalvation.

Let us be of good comfort and never be diſmayed (ſaid *Luther*), all will turn to the beſt; for our tribulations ſhall tend to God's honour, to the profit and ſaving health of us, and of many people. Let us ſtand ſtedfaſt and endure the blow, let the devil rage and ſwell as long as he will; for certainly he ſhall run himſelf on the rock.

Comfort againſt Melancholy.

DR. Jeronymus Weller being deeply plunged into melancholy fits and humours, *Luther* ſaid unto him, be of courage, you are not the only one that ſuffereth tribulation, I alſo have greater ſins upon me, then you and your father have; for I blaſphemed my God fifteen years together with celebrating that abominable idol the Maſs, inſomuch that I wiſh from my heart I had been at that time rather a pander or a thief.

That God helpeth out of Tribulations.

I HAVE found by experience (ſaid *Luther*), that in my higheſt tribulations (which tormented and exhauſted my body in ſuch ſort, that I could ſcarcely pant and take my breath), I went dried up and preſſed out like a ſponge; no creature was able to comfort me; inſomuch that I ſaid, am I alone the man that muſt feel ſuch tribulations in the ſpirit? but ten years paſt, I being ſolitary and alone, God comforted me again through his holy angels, and enabled me to ſtrive and fight againſt the Pope.

That the true Church is always in Danger and Tribulation.

WE learn both in Holy Scripture, and alſo by experience, that the church continually ſtandeth in danger and in need, ſo that ſhe might eaſily fall into deſpair. For what did we ſee and feel (before the Imperial Diet held at Auſpurg, *anno* 1530), but that the cauſe of religion and the church had quite been extinguiſhed? But ſeeing that (by God's grace) we are now delivered from that fear, there ariſeth a greater danger and tribulation concerning ſeditious ſpirits, eſpecially the Antinomians. Therefore the church muſt continually ſtand trembling and in danger, as is written, *If I conſidered not thy Law, ſo had my ſoul remained in hell*; that is, I ſhould have fainted and deſpaired.

Tribulations and hurtful cogitations are certain ſigns of the death of ſelf-confidence; they ſhoot more ſurely at the heart, than any arrow or bullet is ſhot at a mark; they dry up marrow and bone; ſuch evil reaſonings plagued me more than all my labours, which have been innumerable.

Oft I took buſineſs in hand, thereby intending to drive away the devil; but all would not do, he would neither depart nor deſiſt. For Satan (as a founder of death) hath ſo ſpoiled and fouled our nature, that we refuſe to be comforted. Therefore he that feeleth ſuch deviliſh cogitations and ſpiritual temptations, take my adviſe in order to expel them. Let him think on ſomewhat elſe that is pleaſant; let him take in hand ſome honeſt and civil matter, and as much as poſſible let him ſeriouſly meditate thereon. But above all things, let him uſe the principal phyſick, namely, let him ſtedfaſtly believe in Jeſus Chriſt; for he came to comfort and to revive, and will deſtroy the works of the devil. And inaſmuch as all melancholy and heavy cogitations proceed from the devil, ſo muſt we pray to God for his Holy Spirit, who is a ſtout and a courageous contemner of death and all danger: he is the daring champion.

A true Chriſtian (ſaid *Luther*) ſhould be a joyful creature; and although we we muſt ſuffer many plagues and tribulations outwardly and inwardly, both of the world and the devil, let it go on, let us not be diſmayed, but call upon God and have patience; he is a help in time of need; he will not leave us comfortleſs, nor let us die in tribulations, for they are good and neceſſary for us, to the end God's ſtrength, in our weakneſs, may be the ſtronger. Let us behold how, and in what manner, the holy Patriarchs, the Prophets, and Apoſtles were dejected and diſcouraged. How then ſhould we go ſcotfree, that are poor, miſerable, and weak worms.

Where

Where the Goſpel is purely taught, there are always Perſecutions and Tribulations.

THE Goſpel cannot be without perſecution; for that man, who is called Chriſt, muſt taſte of blood, as Moſes's wife ſaid to her huſband, *Thou art to me a bloody bridegroom.* For Antichriſt is not Chriſt's friend, as in this our time we find by experience, in that the Pope ſo fiercely rageth and thundereth againſt the Goſpel. If (ſaid *Luther*) I had not been circumſpect and diligent, ſo had the Pope devoured me. *Niſi ego fuiſſem Mordax, Papa fuiſſet Vorax.* I am the Pope's pearch, that have ſharp pointed fins, which he is not able to ſwallow nor devour: the Pope on me hath found a hedge-hog to chew on.

Comfort for perplexed Conſciences.

THE Lord our God is a God of the humble and perplexed hearts, which are in need, in tribulation, and in danger, in whom he ſheweth his power; for if we were ſtrong, then ſhould we be proud and haughty. God cannot ſhew his power, nor make proof thereof, but only in our weakneſs: he will not quench the glimmering flax, neither will he break in pieces the bruiſed reed.

God loveth tribulations, and he alſo hateth them; he loveth them, when wethereby are ſtirred up to pray, and to truſt in God; again, he hateth them, when by reaſon thereof we grow faint and diſmayed. Therefore, when we are well, then let us ſing to God a Pſalm and praiſe him; but if we be not well and merry, then let us call upon God, and pray; for the Lord hath pleaſure in in them that fear him, and wait upon his mercy.

He that feeleth himſelf weak in faith, let him always have a deſire to be ſtrong therein, for that is a nouriſhment which God reliſheth in us with an appetite. Therefore faint not, but lift up and comfort thyſelf with God's Word, and with examples of Holy Scripture: for God, who hath holpen all the Patriarchs, the Prophets, and the Saints, will not forſake thee.

Of Faith's Tribulation.

FAITH's tribulation is the greateſt and ſharpeſt torment, for faith muſt overcome all other tribulations whatſoever; now, if faith be foiled and lieth under, then all other tribulations muſt needs fall upon human creatures; but if faith holdeth up his head, if that be ſound and in health, then all other tribulations and vexations muſt grow ſick, weak, and decreaſe. This tribulation of faith was that thorn which St. Paul felt, and which pierced through fleſh and ſpirit, through ſoul and body, &c. Such tribulations was David poſſeſſed with, when he made this Pſalm, *Lord rebuke me not in thine anger*, &c. No doubt (ſaid *Luther*) he would rather have been ſlain with a ſword, than to have ſuffered ſuch wrath and indignation from God, which was heavy upon him. I am perſuaded that ſuch do far excel thoſe martyrs which corporally are plagued and pained, for they ſee daily in the world, offences, hereſies, errors, the falſifying of the pure doctrine; they ſee that the ungodly are fortunate, and whatſoever they take in hand proſpereth according to their hearts deſire; on the contrary, they ſee, that the righteous and godly Chriſtians are daily baniſhed, hanged, drowned, and perſecuted in the fierceſt manner, like as ſheep appointed to be ſlain, inſomuch that they are ready to break their heart for very ſorrow.

That

That Solitarineſs in Tribulations ought to be abandoned.

IT is written of St. Paul, that when he had ſuffered ſhipwreck, and great hunger fourteen days together, he went afterwards to his brethren, who received him courteouſly, and ſo was refreſhed and comforted. Even ſo (ſaid *Luther*) when I am in heavy tribulations, then I rather go to my ſwine-herd than to remain alone. The heart of an human creature is like a mill-ſtone in a mill, when corn is ſhaked thereupon, it runneth about, rubbeth and grindeth it to meal, but if no corn be preſent (the ſtone nevertheleſs ſtill running about), then it rubbeth and grindeth itſelf thinner and becometh ſmaller; even ſo the heart of an human creature will be occupied, if it hath not in hand the works of its vocation to be employed therein; then cometh the devil and ſhooteth into him heavy cogitations and vexations; then the heart conſumeth itſelf with melancholy, inſomuch that it muſt ſtarve and famiſh. Many a one therewith grieveth and perplexeth himſelf to death, as Syrach ſaith, Sorrow killeth many people, and melancholy conſumeth marrow and bone, it produceth no profit at all.

That heavy Cogitations do ſicken the Body.

HEAVY thoughts (ſaid *Luther*) do enforce rheums; when the ſoul is buſied therewith, then the body muſt partake of the ſame. Auſtin ſaid well, *Anima plus eſt ubi amat, quàm ubi animat.* When cares, heavy cogitations, ſorrows, and paſſions do exceed, then they weaken the body, which, without the ſoul, is dead, or like a horſe without one to rule it. But when the heart is at reſt and quiet, then it taketh care of the body, and giveth it what pertaineth thereunto. Therefore we ought to abandon and reſiſt anxious thoughts by all poſſible means whatever.

That every one hath his particular Tribulations.

THE life of no human creatures is peaceable without diſcontent, every one hath his tribulations, and many a one, rather than be without them, will procure diſquietneſs to himſelf; for no man is content with that which God giveth and ſendeth: hath one a wife, ſo wiſheth he that he had her not; a ſingle man deſireth to have a wife; a maſter wiſheth to be a ſervant; a poor man would willingly be rich; a rich man continually coveteth more, he cannot be filled nor ſatisfied. Even ſo fareth it with the heart of a human creature, which never can be at reſt. To conclude (ſaid *Luther*), I never yet knew a troubled and perplexed man that was right in his own wits.

Of Luther's Wiſh and Deſire in his Sickneſs.

AH! (ſaid *Luther*) how willingly would I now die, for I am faint and overwrought, and at this time I have a joyful and peaceable heart and conſcience. I know full well, ſo ſoon as I ſhall be again in health, I neither ſhall have peace nor reſt; but ſorrow, wearineſs and tribulations do attend me. For could not that great man, St. Paul, be free or exempt from tribulations; how then ſhould I, poor man, have peace and be without vexations and tribulations? for through many troubles we muſt enter into the Kingdom of God. How willingly would I be inſtructed of St. Paul, if he were now living; what manner of tribulation his was at that time, he called a thorn in the fleſh. I am perſuaded, it was ſomething higher than

then deſpairing by reaſon of his ſins, as in Iſaiah xliv. ſuch tribulations are expreſſed, *For a ſmall moment have I forſaken thee; in a little wrath I hid my face from thee*, &c. And in the 22d Pſalm, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* As if he had ſaid, thou hateſt me without a cauſe; for in Chriſt was no ſin. Alſo, in the 73d Pſalm, we read, *I was pricked in my reins*, that is, a ſpear went through my reins.

That Corporal Tribulations are far lighter than the Spiritual.

WHEN ſpiritual tribulations do approach, then we breathe out and ſay, Curſed be the day wherein I was born, &c. Then we begin to ſweat. In ſuch tribulations almoſt was our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt in the garden, when he ſaid, *Father, let this cup paſs from me*; here the will was againſt the will, yet he turned himſelf preſently according to his Father's will, and was comforted by an angel Chriſt (who in our fleſh was plagued and tempted) is the beſt Mediator and Advocate, by God, in our tribulation. He is preſident, when we are only reſpondents, if we will but ſuffer him to mediate. Be it ſo, that it ſeemeth God is angry with us when we are in tribulation and temptation; yet when we repent and believe, then we ſhall find, that under ſuch anger, God's grace and goodneſs towards us lieth hid. Therefore let us patiently attend our Lord God's leiſure, and conſtantly remain in hope; let us not be offended at ſuch vizards, but diligently pray.

To have Patience in Suffering.

ON the 8th of Auguſt, 1529, *Luther*, together with his wife, lay ſick of a fever; then he ſaid, God hath toucheth me ſorely, and I have been impatient: but God knoweth better than we whereto it ſerveth. Our Lord God doth like a printer, who ſetteth the letters backwards; we ſee and feel well his ſetting, but we ſhall ſee the print yonder, in the life to come: in the mean time we muſt have patience.

The tribulations of God-fearing Chriſtians are ſtrong and profitable. Tribulation is a right ſchool, and an exerciſe for fleſh and blood: whoſo is without them, the ſame underſtandeth nothing. Therefore the Pſalms, almoſt in every verſe, ſpeaketh of nothing but tribulations, and perplexities, ſorrows, and troubles: it is a book of tribulations.

Comfort in Spiritual Tribulations.

DID Chriſt receive the thief on the croſs (ſaid *Luther*), and Paul, after ſo many blaſphemings and perſecutions? then have we no cauſe at all to doubt thereof. And, indeed, we muſt all in that way attain to ſalvation; and although we have no cauſe to fear God's wrath, yet, for old Adam's ſake, we muſt ſtand in fear; for he cannot take ſuch hold on the grace and mercy of God, as he ought to take hold thereof; and although old Adam had but only the firſt three words in the creed, *I believe in God the Father*, yet were they far above his natural wiſdom, reaſon, and underſtanding.

Of Satan's Tribulations.

THE devil uſeth to plague and torment us in that place where we are moſt tender and weak; ſo he did in Paradiſe, he fell not upon Adam, but he aſſaulted Eve. It commonly raineth there where it was wet enough before.

When one is poſſeſſed with theſe doubts, namely, that although he calleth upon the Lord, yet he cannot be heard, therefore concludeth, that God hath turned the heart from him, and is angry. Theſe are cogitations which we ſuffer, not which we make, for they are forced upon us. Againſt the ſame thou muſt arm thyſelf with God's Word, in which he hath promiſed that he will hear thee. But in that thou wilt appoint through whom, when, and how God ſhall hear thee, the ſame is ſtark naught; for place, times, and perſons are accidental things, but the ſubſtance and eſſence itſelf is the promiſe, that thou ſhalt be heard; for ſeeing thou art baptized, and believeſt in Chriſt, moſt certainly God heareth thee. But it is God's manner and cuſtom to hide his love from us, inſomuch that we ſuffer ourſelves to dream that he heareth us not. God hath ſaid that he would dwell in the thick darkneſs, and that clouds and darkneſs are round about him. Sometimes we muſt ſee God's back parts, &c. Indeed we are caſt down, but not forſaken. Whoſo feeleth not theſe thoughts, the ſame cannot find nor know what Chriſt can do. Therefore let us with Job ſay, *Although he ſlay me, yet I will truſt in him.* My Lord Jeſus Chriſt (ſaid *Luther*) hath won, conquered, and kept the field, therefore ſhall I well remain. That, and no other, is my ground and comfort in my tribulations. We ſay, *I believe*, &c. The Holy Ghoſt with his finger muſt write the ſame in our hearts, that with the mouth we confeſs, and with the heart we believe, &c These are true ſigns that we belong to the fellowſhip, brotherhood, and congregation of Chriſt.

To reſiſt Evil Thoughts.

I HAVE need oftentimes in my tribulations (ſaid *Luther*) to talk even with a child, thereby to expel ſuch thoughts as the devil poſſeſſeth me with: and the ſame is done, to the end we may not boaſt, as if of ourſelves we were able to help ourſelves, and to ſubſiſt; but ſhould know that the ſtrength of Chriſt in us ought to be extolled and praiſed. Therefore ſometimes ſuch a one muſt help me, who in his whole body hath not ſo much divinity as I have in one finger, to the end I may learn that without Chriſt I am able to do nothing. It was ſaid to St. Paul, *My ſtrength is ſtrong in weakneſs.* This is not ſuch a ſtrength as ſtriveth with raging and power, but it ſtriveth and fighteth in weakneſs, in ſilence, and in patience; ſo that an afflicted heart ſaith, I a poor ſinner do believe in thee, O Chriſt! let it go with me as it will. Haſt thou forſaken me, or art thou angry with me, yet will I be a Chriſtian; I will ſtill maintain that thou, O Chriſt! diedeſt for me, &c. Now when this remains ſtedfaſt and unremoved, which is the ſubſtance, then all the reſt which is accidental muſt be gone and depart. Therefore, thou that art in tribulation and ſpiritual temptation, fear God, and doubt not; thou art a member of Chriſt, and waſhed with his blood, and delivered from the chains of Satan; therefore eaſe thy corporal ſmart with ſpiritual joy; have patience, and thou ſhalt find, that Chriſt will keep and preſerve thee in thy faith, and will deal with thee according to his good and gracious fatherly will. *Amen.*

Of Luther's *Example, touching the Profit of his Tribulations.*

MY tribulations (ſaid *Luther*) are more neceſſary for me than meat and drink; therefore thoſe that feel them ought to uſe themſelves thereunto, and learn to bear them. If Satan in ſuch manner had not plagued and exerciſed me, then I ſhould not have been ſo great an enemy unto him, neither ſhould I have been able to do him ſuch hurt. Tribulations do keep us from pride, and therewith they increaſe the acknowledgment of Chriſt, and of God's gifts and benefits. For from the time that I began to be in tribulation, God gave me the glorious victory in overcoming that confounded, that malediƈted and blaſphemous kind of life wherein I lived in curſed Popedom. And truly (ſaid *Luther*) ſeeing that God conduƈteth the buſineſs in ſuch a way, that neither the Emperor nor the Pope are able to ſuppreſs me; therefore the devil muſt come and ſet upon me, to the end God's ſtrength might be known in my weakneſs. We that feel our ſins have no cauſe to fear; but thoſe that are not ſenſible of their ſins, they indeed may juſtly be afraid.

Our tribulations and doubtful reaſonings wherewith the devil plagueth us, can be driven away by no better means, than by contemning of him; as when one contemneth a fierce cur, by paſſing quietly by him, the dog as then not only deſiſteth from biting, but alſo from barking: but when one enrageth him by ſtriking and throwing at him, then it is to be feared that he will fall upon him, and bite him. Even ſo, when the devil ſeeth that we fear him, then he ceaſeth not to torment and plague us with tribulations and temptations.

How Luther *viſited and comforted a ſick Woman in heavy Tribulation.*

A WOMAN at Iſenach lying very ſick, and had endured horrible paroxyſms, which no phyſician was able to cure; for it was directly a work of the devil, and an unnatural thing, occaſioned by deviliſh frightenings, inſomuch that ſhe fell into a faint ſwooning, and thereupon had four paroxyſms, each enduring the ſpace of three or four hours; her hands and feet bended in the manner of an horn; ſhe was chill and cold, the tongue rough and dry; her body, by reaſon of the diſeaſe, was much ſwelled; ſhe ſeeing *Luther*, who came to viſit her, much rejoiced thereat, raiſed herſelf up, and ſaid, Ah! my loving father in Chriſt, I have a heavy burthen upon me, pray to God for me; and ſo fell down into her bed again. Whereupon *Luther* fetched a deep ſigh, and ſaid, God rebuke and command thee, Satan, that thou ſuffer this his divine creature to be in peace: then turning himſelf towards the ſtanders by, he ſaid, She is plagued of the devil in the body, but the ſoul is ſafe, and ſhall be preſerved; therefore let us give thanks to God, and pray for her; and ſo they all prayed aloud the Lord's prayer. After which, *Luther* concluded with theſe words, *Lord God, heavenly Father! who haſt commanded us to pray for the ſick; we beſeech thee through Jeſus Chriſt thy only beloved Son, that thou wouldſt deliver this thy ſervant from her ſickneſs, and from the hands of the devil. Spare, O Lord, her ſoul, which together with her body, thou haſt purchaſed and redeemed from the power of ſin, of death, and of the devil.* Whereupon the ſick woman ſaid, *Amen.* The night following ſhe took good reſt, and the next day was graciouſly delivered from her diſeaſe and ſickneſs.

Of a comfortable Letter, written by Luther *to Doctor* Benedict Paul, *whoſe Son was lately killed by a Fall from the Top of an Houſe.*

ALTHOUGH it be no where forbidden in Holy Scripture to mourn and to be grieved for the death of a godly child or friend (for we have many examples of the godly, who have bewailed the death of their children and friends, yet notwithſtanding, there ought to be a meaſure in ſorrowing and mourning. Therefore, loving Doctor, you do well in mourning and lamenting for the death of your ſon. But let not the ſame exceed the meaſure of a Chriſtian, in refuſing to be comforted. I would have you, Firſt, To conſider, that God gave that ſon unto you, and took him from you again. Secondly, I would wiſh you to follow the example of that juſt and godly man, Job, who, when he had loſt all his children, all his wealth and ſubſtance, at laſt ſaid, *Have we received good at the hand of the Lord, and ſhall we not receive evil? The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, bleſſed be the name of the Lord,* &c.

He rightly conſidered, that both good and evil cometh of the Lord; even ſo do you likewiſe, then you ſhall ſee, that you have much greater gifts and benefits left of God unto you, than the evil which you now feel. But you look now only upon the evil, namely, that your ſon is dead; and, in the mean time, you forget the glorious treaſury of God, namely, that he hath given you the true knowledge of his Word, alſo a good and peaceable conſcience, which alone ſhould overweigh all evil which may happen unto you; why then do you plague and torment yourſelf with the death of your ſon? But in caſe the loſs be great and heavy, yet it is no new thing, you are not alone in that caſe, but you have companions which have had ſuch misfortunes. Abraham had much more ſorrow of heart concerning his ſon while he was yet living than if he had been dead; for the Lord commanded him, that with his own hands he ſhould ſacrifice and kill him, who was his only and beſt beloved ſon, in whoſe ſeed God had promiſed to bleſs all nations on earth. How think you, was it at that time with him in his heart, when with his naked ſword he ſhould ſtrike off the head of his ſon? How was it alſo, think you, with Jacob when he was informed that his loving ſon Joſeph was torn in pieces of wild beaſts? Or, what father was ever perplexed and troubled in heart like David, when by his ſon Abſalom he was perſecuted and driven out of his kingdom, yea, when in a ſtate of rebellion he was ſtruck through, ſlain, and was damned? Doubtleſs, David's heart at that time by reaſon of great grief might have melted. Therefore when you rightly behold and conſider theſe and the like examples of ſuch high enlightened people, you ought to underſtand, that this your ſorrow of heart is nothing comparable to theirs. Therefore know, loving brother, that God's mercy is greater than our tribulations. You have indeed cauſe to mourn, as you think, but it is nothing elſe than ſugar mingled with vinegar; your ſon is very well provided for, he liveth now with Chriſt; oh! would to God that I had finiſhed my courſe; I would not wiſh myſelf here again. Your ſuffering is only a corporal croſs. You are a good logician, and you teach others that art; make uſe thereof yourſelf at this time; put the ſame in practice, define, divide, ſeparate and conclude, learn to diſtinguiſh that which is ſpiritual, and to ſeparate the ſame from that which is corporal.

It was a fine ſpeech of Maximilian the Emperor, wherewith he comforted King Philip his ſon, who deeply bewailed the death of a godly, a faithful, and an honourable man that was ſlain in a battle. His words were theſe: Loving Philip, thou muſt accuſtom thyſelf to theſe misfortunes; thou ſhalt loſe yet many of thoſe whom thou loveſt.

Of

Of Luther's *Comforts againſt ſuch Tribulations as concern the Feeble-minded.*

WE ought to know (ſaid *Luther*) that the life of a true Chriſtian ſtandeth in the midſt of tribulations, of perplexities, lamentations, and of death, &c. Therefore thoſe that are diſquieted and plagued of the devil with ſuch heavy and dangerous cogitations ought to be admoniſhed and comforted in this manner. They are God's children, and have a gracious Father in Heaven, who taketh hearty care of them; as is written to the Hebrews, *My ſon, deſpiſe not thou the chaſtening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of him; for whom he loveth he chaſteneth, and ſcourgeth every ſon whom he receiveth.* If ye endure chaſtening, God dealeth with you as with ſons, for what ſon is he whom the father chaſtneth not? But if ye be without chaſtiſement (whereof all are partakers) then are ye baſtards and not ſons Now foraſmuch as thoſe are God's children which of Satan are plagued and tormented in this world, (without all contradiction) God careth for them as for his loving children, neither are they of him contemned nor rejected. Therefore they ought to be cheerful in the midſt of tribulations and adverſities, and to be ſure and certain that God loveth them. But, (ſaid *Luther*) here ſuch a perplexed perſon may object and ſay, I hear you well, but what ſay you to the ſentence of St. Paul, where he ſaith, *Thoſe which are juſtified by faith have peace with God*, &c. *Anſwer*, True it is, (ſaid *Luther*) they have peace in faith, but in the fleſh we feel lamenting, and ſorrowing, and bewailing; as David complaineth, where he ſaith, *I have no reſt in my bones*, &c. Chriſt himſelf felt no peace on the croſs. Moreover, if upright Chriſtians (which are juſtified by faith) ſhould feel no tribulations, adverſities, nor vexations; to what end and purpoſe then are ſo many rich comforts touching the promiſes of the Goſpel of grace? As where Chriſt ſaith, *To the poor is the Goſpel preached.* Likewiſe, *Fear not little flock.* Alſo, *Receive the weak brethren, and let one comfort another, or comfort ye yourſelves together*, &c Therefore ſeeing that upright Chriſtians do always feel tribulations, ſorrows, and perplexities; therefore we are charged of God to raiſe up and to comfort thoſe that mourn and have ſorrow of heart.

How thoſe are to be comforted that are in Tribulation concerning perſevering in the Faith.

WHEN Satan will not leave of (ſaid *Luther*) nor deſiſt from tempting thee, then bear with patience ſuch deferring, let go neither hand nor foot, nor do thou faint, as if there would be no end therewith, but hold out couragiouſly and attend God's leiſure, and know, what the devil cannot accompliſh by his ſudden and powerful aſſaults, the ſame he thinketh to gain by his craft and policy, by continuing, inſiſting, and holding on in vexing and tempting thee, thereby to make thee faint and weary, as in the Pſalm is noted, *Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth up; yet they have not prevailed againſt me*, &c. But be thou fully aſſured, that in this ſport and paſtime with the devil, God, with all his holy angels, taketh delight and joy; and aſſure thyſelf alſo, that the end thereof will be bleſſed and happy, which thou ſhalt certainly find to thy everlaſting comfort.

Of Tribulations touching Predeſtination.

CONCERNING predeſtination, it is beſt to begin below at Chriſt, as then we both hear and find the Father; for all thoſe that have begun at the top have broke their necks. I have been well and thoroughly plagued and tormented with ſuch cogitations of predeſtination; I would needs know how God intended to deal with me, &c. But at laſt, God be praiſed! I clean left them; I took hold again on God's revealed Word; higher I was not able to bring it, for an human creature can never ſearch out the celeſtial Will of God, the ſame God hideth for the ſake of the devil, to the end the crafty ſpirit may be deceived and put to confuſion: the revealed Will of God the devil hath learned of us; but God reſerveth his ſecret Will to himſelf, and concealeth the ſame. It is ſufficient for us to learn and know Chriſt in his humanity, in which the Father hath revealed himſelf. But we, like fools, will grabble and ſearch after God's ſecrets; therefore ſuch, as thereupon plunge themſelves into deſpair are rightly ſerved.

Of Chriſt's Tribulations.

CHRIST (ſaid *Luther*), on the tenth day, came again into Jeruſalem, and on the fourteenth day he was killed. His cogitations and tribulations then were concerning the ſins of the whole world, concerning God's wrath and death, of which all ought to ſtand in fear. But before he was thus perſonally made ſin for us, he was a man of ſorrows, and acquainted with grief; his tribulations were concerning his labour and pains, which he knew would be ſpent in vain upon his own nation the Jews, and over which he wept bitterly, and becauſe they knew not the time of their viſitation.

We alſo, at this time, do weep over the plagues and puniſhments which are coming upon us in Germany, but we conceal the cauſe thereof; namely, ſin, which well deſerveth the ſame. Therefore let us lead our lives no more againſt the command of our ſweet Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; for our deliverance coſt him dearly, and was bloody bitter unto him.

It was truly fearful that ſuch puniſhment paſſed upon his own nation and city, where his church, his prieſts, and rulers were. What is Babylon, or Nineveh, or Rome, in compariſon of Jeruſalem? What may we think of Germany, how it will go with us.

Of what Hurt cometh of Solitarineſs.

MORE and greater ſins are committed when people are alone, than when in fellowſhip. When Eve, in Paradiſe, walked alone, then the devil miſled and deceived her. Moreover, where corners and ſolitary places are, there commonly are committed murders, robberies, adulteries, and all other ſins; for where ſolitarineſs is, there the devil hath place and occaſion to lead people into ſin, blaſphemy, and confuſion. But whoſoever is among people, and in honeſt company, the ſame is aſhamed to ſin, or at leaſt he hath no place nor opportunity thereunto. Not only ſo, our Saviour Chriſt promiſed, and ſaid, *That where two or three be gathered together in my name, there will I be in the midſt of them.*

When King David was idle and alone, and went not out to the wars, then he fell into adultery and murder. I myſelf have found, that I never fell into more ſin than when I was alone. God hath created mankind for fellowſhip, and not for ſolitarineſs,

ſolitarineſs, which is clearly proved by this ſtrong argument; God, in the creation of the world, created man and woman, to the end that the man of the woman ſhould have a fellow. To conclude, when thou art ſorrowful, then have converſation with godly people, and comfort thyſelf with God's Word.

Of the Sorrow of Heart and bloody Sweat of our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus in the Garden.

WE find in no hiſtories of nations that an human creature was ever poſſeſſed with ſuch ſorrow as to ſweat blood, therefore this hiſtory is wonderful; no man can underſtand or conceive what this bloody ſweat is. And it is more wonderful, that the Lord of Grace and of Wrath, of Life and of Death, ſhould be ſo weak, and made ſo ſorrowful, as to be conſtrained to ſeek for ſolace and comfort of poor and and miſerable ſinners, and to ſay, Ah, loving Diſciples? ſleep not, wake yet a little, and talk one with another, that at leaſt I may hear ſome people are about me. Here the Pſalm was rightly applied, which ſaith, *Thou haſt made him a little lower than the angels*, &c. Ah! (ſaid *Luther*) that bloody ſweat was preſſed out of our bleſſed ſweet Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, through the immeaſurable heavy burden which lay on his innocent back; namely, the ſins of the univerſal world, againſt which, doubtleſs, he prayed, *O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger, neither chaſten me in thy hot diſpleaſure*, which words, doubtleſs, he enlarged upon with deep lamentation.

How we ought to defend ourſelves againſt Tribulation.

IN every temptation (ſaid *Luther*) we muſt take diligent heed, that we give no place to carnal reaſoning; if we do, then a fall ſoon followeth thereupon, and we tumble into ſin. For where the ſerpent bringeth the head into a hole, it afterwards windeth in the whole body, as then it is in vain to reſiſt. Therefore we are bidden to make uſe of this prayer, *Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.*

And the Apoſtle St. Peter alſo admoniſheth us to reſiſt the devil in faith, who, like a roaring lion, goeth about ſeeking whom he may devour. Thus ought we to carry ourſelves in tribulations. True it is we ought firſt to be affrighted by reaſon of our ſins, but we muſt not remain in theſe affrightments, but we ought to turn to God's grace, otherwiſe we lean too much on both ſides; for commonly out of exceſſive joy proceedeth ſecureneſs; and again, exceſſive fear produceth deſpair, both which God hath expreſsly forbidden; namely, that we ſhould not deſpair of his mercy, nor be ſecure in ourſelves.

CHAP. XXXVII.

OF LUTHER'S ADVERSARIES THAT WROTE AGAINST HIM.

Of Cocleus, Chaplain to George Prince of Saxony.

MUCH diſcourſe, in *Luther*'s preſence, was had of the inſolence of Cocleus, who always boaſted of his diſputations, whereas at Augſpurg, he was always ſcoffed at and derided by Eckius; whereupon *Luther* ſaid, Cocleus made the Papiſts themſelves to bluſh for ſhame, in hearing his lies. But concerning the

the little book which he cauſed to go out in print after the Imperial Diet, the ſame putteth me in mind of many things which fell out at that time, and alſo of things which in future ſhall be brought to light. For ſeeing he will not forget the ſame, ſo will we Proteſtants well remember them. Henceforward, I will no more anſwer any book of Cocleus which he ſhall write againſt me, and that will vex him much; for, if I ſhould continue anſwering his fooliſh fopperies, then he would grow haughty and proud, but he ſhall fail of that honour which he ſeeketh through my writings.

Of Emperor Charles his Cenſure concerning Doctor Eck and Faber.

THE Emperor, in my hearing (ſaid *Luther*), ſpake theſe words: My brother holdeth very much with Faber and Eck, yea he greatly eſteemeth them; but doth he think, that they ſhould defend and maintain the Chriſtian faith? ſince the one is drunk every day, the other followeth after whores, and is a mere ideot. He cenſured like a wiſe and an underſtanding Prince.

Touching the Writings of the Papiſts againſt Luther.

OF all the books which the adverſaries wrote againſt me (ſaid *Luther*) I have read none quite through, ſave only the little book of Eraſmus Roterodamus, Diatribe, concerning free-will, the ſame I oftentimes intended to throw under the bench. For all that wrote againſt me, gave me ample cauſe ſo to do, and to eſteem of them no otherwiſe; for when I had read only one or two leaves in any of their books, the remainder was fit for nothing but waſte paper.

Of Meuchlerus.

THE book wrote againſt Prince George cauſed not ſo much anger as my two little books; the one, againſt the Emperor's edict; the other, a warning to my loving Dutchmen. The ſame Prince George could not endure, and for that cauſe he wrote to my maſter, the Prince Elector: afterwards he employed againſt me, firſt Meuchlerus, and then Cocleus: but I truſt I ſhall hit the right maſter. In this my book I am very mild (ſaid *Luther*), I proceed modeſtly therein; but at laſt, I will anſwer them thoroughly: I will heave thoſe unhallowed prieſts out of the ſaddle: I will powder their Maſs-offerings in ſuch ſort, that they ſhall not know whether they have a ſacrament or not upon the altar.

Of Dr. Eck.

ECK ſaid *Luther*) hath many fine natural gifts. It was not his earneſt intent to hold on the Pope's ſide; but, like an hypocrite; he flattered the Pope for the ſake of his belly, for he is merely a ſwine: he would (for gain of money) take part with Turks and Tartarians; for when at Auſpurg he could not obtain a prebendary, which was ſold to another for 400 florins, he ſaid, I know Popedom full well. If *Luther* had not dealt too hardly with me, ſo would I this hour join with him: he is a neutraliſt, and carrieth on both ſhoulders, yet he hangeth more towards the Pope's ſide; but ſuch people are the worſt, and do the greateſt miſchief. The Athenians puniſhed with death ſuch fellows as ſought praiſe and honour on both ſides. Eck in diſputing, and in collations, is well ſpoken and eloquent; he is jocund, merry, and altogether life; but in preaching, and

and in writing, he is exceeding cold. Not long ſince he ſaid, He could wiſh that all friars and nuns would run out of the monaſteries; nevertheleſs he, and his like, do maintain and defend Popedom, and would kill and murder ſuch prieſts as marry honeſt women; wherewith they apparently prove, that they maintain their evil doctrine.

Of Sadoletus

SADOLETUS, who had been fifteen years the Pope's ſecretary (a very witty and learned man), wrote in a moſt courteous manner to Philip Melancthon, but exceeding craftily, according to the Italian cuſtom; to the end, they might have brought him on their ſide, which was done by the Pope's directions; for the good gentleman, Mr. Pope, is much perplexed, he knoweth not how to fall upon us.

The ſame Sadoletus, by reaſon of his expert wit, was made a Cardinal by the Pope, to the end he ſhould write againſt us; but in him was no underſtanding of holy Scripture, as is clearly to be ſeen in his Commentary upon the 51ſt Pſalm, in which he bringeth ſtrange and impertinent things. Ah Lord God! (ſaid *Luther*), help thou; let thy good ſpirit lead us the right way. *Amen.*

The Papiſts are proud and unlearned people in the holy Scriptures, they are able to govern and rule no church at all, nor to execute any office; for they underſtand nothing, they read and write nothing ſincerely; but ſtiffly ſit in the government, they cry, The decrees of the Fathers muſt not be queſtioned, what they have concluded the ſame ought not to be diſputed, &c. Therefore the Pope defendeth his tyranny, and holdeth ſtrongly thereupon, as we ſee in his decrees, *C. Si Papa.* 40 *Diſt.* There it is clearly written, That although the Pope ſhould lead the whole world into hell, yet no human creature muſt preſume to queſtion him for the ſame, nor once dare to aſk, why or wherefore he did it?

This (ſaid *Luther*) is moſt abominable, that for the ſake of his uſurped authority we ſhould loſe our ſouls, which Chriſt purchaſed with his precious blood. Yet notwithſtanding all this, our princes do fall down before him, worſhip him, and kiſs his feet; therefore we ought to withſtand and reſiſt him, to beat him down with God's word and prayer.

Of Faber.

DOCTOR Faber, Biſhop of Vienna made a ſermon at Spire, at the Imperial Diet, wherein he openly ſpake theſe words, Rather than I would receive the Proteſtants faith, I would believe the Alcoran of the Turks. Whereupon *Luther* ſaid, I fear, alas! he hath propheſied like Caiaphas; and that he, with the reſt of his adherents, will be forced to receive the Turkiſh faith, before they attain to the acknowledgment of the truth.

Of Lemnius.

CONCERNING the confounded writings and fictions of Lemnius, *Luther* ſaid, Behold how the devil in every place ſetteth upon us; we are the mark at which all darts are directed, we muſt inure ourſelves thereunto; he hath always ſuch wretches in ſtore, eſpecially among the Papiſts, through whom he falleth upon us. The devil doth not this to the Turks, he letteth them alone; but ſeeing we preach

Chriſt clearly and purely, therefore he perſecuted us fiercely like a roaring lion; wherefore let us not mourn nor be diſmayed, eſpecially ſeeing Chriſt ſaith, *If ye were of the world, the world would love its own.* Ye ſee (ſaid *Luther*) how that trencher-licker, Lemnius, ſlandereth us, and writeth all evil of us, he extolleth the Popiſh Biſhops, our adverſaries, and ſtyleth them Holy; but henceforward we will not allow thereof here in this ſchool, for they ſeek after our blood, and hate us bitterly. The Biſhops (if they pleaſed) might be profitable to Germany, but they are not, for they have ſworn to the Pope; and although they confeſs our doctrine to be upright, and condemn their own, yet they will not endure it, becauſe we began it not with their advice, inſomuch that they are become ſuch people as St. Paul nameth, Titus iii. *Autocatacriti*, who have judged and condemned themſelves: they have no other cauſe to be againſt us, than that we are poor, weak, and ſilly people, but they are great, rich, and powerful.

Solomon ſaith, *He that juſtifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the juſt, even they both are an abomination to the Lord.* We are here to reſiſt the Papiſts, and the evil; we muſt not be ſilent: we muſt call the Pope, the Antichriſt; he that refuſeth ſo to do, let him draw from hence towards Rome, and run with him to the hangman.

The temporal Princes are not deceived as the Popiſh Biſhops are; for they are deſpairing ungodly wretches. I am perſuaded (ſaid *Luther*) that there are among us, at Wittemberg, many ſpies, but we regard them not. If they pleaſe to hear or ſee us, we ſhall be well content therewith; but in that they will preſume to ſmite us on the lips, and highly extol our enemies, the ſame we will not endure. It is enough that thou, Lemnius, as an adverſary, art permitted to be here among us; but we will not endure, that with thy books and writings, wherein thou extolleſt the Popiſh Biſhops, who are enemies to Chriſt and his Goſpel, and, who with the ſword do ſeek to ſlay us, and with lies would murther our ſouls; but whoſo praiſeth and extolleth them, let him for a recompence have that which Solomon ſpeaketh of; namely, *Let the ungodly periſh and go to deſtruction.* This admonition gave *Luther* openly in the church on Trinity Sunday, and afterwards he read his printed commiſſion againſt the book of Simon Lemnius. Such books as Witzell, Tolpell, Lemnius, make me nothing at all to regard them. We ſhould have no dealing with ſuch backbiters and and ſlanderers, they are moſt deteſtable; they appear not openly upon the plain, neither do they come right in our ſight, but out of a poiſoned hatred they ſcorn every thing that we do. They boaſt highly of the Fathers, but (ſaid *Luther*) we have but one Father, which is in Heaven. He is above all fathers: their piecings and patchings are nothing worth; and although they write much, yet we know that their writings are altogether lies. I read no book of ſuch fellows, they write directly againſt their own conſciences. Cocleus argued, in this manner, The article of the Holy Trinity is no were written expreſsly in Holy Scripture, yet it is believed; therefore (ſaid he) we ought alſo to believe traditions and ordinances of men without God's Word, &c. Witzell is full of errors. He taught, whoſo once is converted, the ſame can ſin no more; let him do what he will, all is upright and good. Thus it went with St. Paul, who alſo was conſtrained to hear ſuch blaſphemers ſay, Let us do evil and ſin merrily, that good may come of it, &c. Let us therefore pray againſt their blaſpheming.

Of Ungodly Preferment.

MENTION being again made of that falſe and perjured man, Witzell, that he was called to Leipzig, and there preferred, *Luther* ſaid, Witzell is a miſchievous fellow. As he was condemned to die, and ſhould have been executed, he was ſaved at my interceſſion, and was honourably entertained, and now he requiteth me. But have patience, the wicked wretch (who hath condemned himſelf) is not worthy to be anſwered, for he himſelf knoweth, he maintaineth an evil cauſe, but ſurely he will have his judge. The Papiſts will gain nothing at all with their railing. Therefore, when they blaſpheme, then we ought to pray, to be ſilent, and not to carry wood to the fire.

I am glad (ſaid *Luther*) that he is at Leipzig, he is there like as a mouſe taken in a trap, for he is full of evil opinions; when they break out, then he will get his payment, ſuch poiſon he ſucked from Campanus, who wrote a blaſphemous book under this title; Againſt all that were and are in the World ſince the Apoſtles Time, &c. He took (ſaid *Luther*) very much at one bite; but he hath loſt the general praiſe. Witzell, is reſerved therefore his preachings are ſo cold; yea, colder then ice. He dareth not break out and ſay what he hath in his heart; he goeth like a ſhackled hare; he feareth the cenſure of the hearers; his mouth is ſhut, his words captivated, as in a dungeon. The words of an eloquent man ſhould move others, and pierce the hearts. But they that teach nothing uprightly, nor pure, are like half Grecians, or half-learned. Such over-grown doctors are, dunce-like, bold, and preſumptuous; as Carleſtad is with his *Touto*, out of which he made *Autos*.

Another concerning Witzell.

WHEN Witzell's book (entitled Teſſerotheca) was brought to *Luther*, in which he would reconcile and make an agreement touching the controverſies between the Pope and *Luther*, merely out of pride, *Luther* ſaid, If Witzell can bring the Pope to that paſs, then will I condeſcend and yield to more on our part than they deſire; but theſe propoſitions are hammered and made rather out of fear, than out of any devotion or good will. For, it may be, thoſe of Leipzig, are inclined to court them of Vienna with theſe propoſitions, as thoſe that hate the Goſpel; for the Goſpel is no doctrine for uſurers.

Of the abominable Preſumption of the Papiſts, exerciſed upon the Emperor at Coſtnitz.

SIGISMUND the Emperor by the Papiſts was in a manner captivated, they had him in their power, and was conſtrained to do what they pleaſed; he was by them compelled to put on and to wear a Deacon's coat, and in the time of Chriſtmas to read the Goſpel to the Pope, inſomuch that every Emperor is a Deacon of the Romiſh Church; but the Romiſh King is a Sub-deacon, he muſt read the Epiſtles before the Pope, ſo that both Emperor and King are the Pope's Maſs-ſervants. The Emperor, after he performed this ceremony or duty to the Pope, had never any good ſucceſs againſt the Turks, nor in Germany. The kingdom of Bohemia is fallen, which before was a very fair kingdom. They lamentably made away that good and juſt King Uladiſlaus, and elected another King. At laſt, when King Matthias died, then that kingdom had an end.

Of

Of Latomus.

LATOMUS (ſaid *Luther*) was the beſt among all my adverſaries that wrote againſt me: his head, his ground and point was this, *What is received of the church, the ſame ought not to be rejected.* This argument is like unto that of the Jews who ſaid, *We are God's people*, &c. Even ſo the Papiſts cry, *The church, the church cannot err.* This was the higheſt argument againſt which the Prophets and Apoſtles fought; as Moſes ſaith, *They moved me to jealouſy with that which was not God, and I will provoke them to anger with a fooliſh nation.* St Paul alſo ſaith, *That he is a Jew which is one inwardly.* Likewiſe Iſaiah ſaith, *In him ſhall the Gentiles truſt.*

It is impoſſible (ſay they) *that God ſhould forſake his church*, for he ſaith, *I am with you always unto the end of the world*, &c. Hereunto (ſaid *Luther*) we muſt anſwer, and ſay, That theſe two words [with you] muſt be particularly noticed, and well diſtinguiſhed; namely, which is that true church whereof Chriſt ſpake? Whether he did mean thereby the perplexed, the broken and contrite in heart; or, whether he meant the Romiſh courteſans and ſodomitical knaves.

Of a converted Papiſt.

PHILIP Melancthon ſhewing *Luther* a letter which he had received from Augſpurg, whereby he was informed, that a very learned divine (a Papiſt) in that city was converted, and had received the Goſpel: whereupon *Luther* ſaid, I like thoſe beſt that do not fall off ſuddenly, but do ponder the caſe with conſiderate diſcretion; do compare together the writings and arguments of both parties, and lay them on the gold ballance, and in God's fear do ſearch after the upright truth: out of ſuch, fit people are made able to ſtand in controverſy. Such a man was St. Paul, who at the firſt was a ſtrict Phariſee and holy-worker, who ſtiffly and earneſtly held over and defended the law; but afterwards he taught and preached Chriſt in the beſt and pureſt manner againſt the whole nation of the Jews.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

OF CERTAIN PAPISTS FEARFUL AND SUDDEN DEATHS.

Luther's *Diſcourſe of the fearful and ſudden Deaths of certain Papiſts.*

NO man regardeth as he ought the wonderful ſigns of God which daily are ſhewed. Let us but conſider how (after the coronation of Charles the Emperor, *anno* 1531) miſerably the Biſhop of Trier died, in horrible fears and frightings, only in drinking one draught. Graffe Caſimire, of Baden, (ſaid *Luther*) died a ſudden death, at the Imperial Diet at Augſpurg, where he made a deep vow to die in the wars againſt me.

It is well to be noted, that, within theſe few years, moſt part of the contemners and perſecuters of the Goſpel (who deſpightfully ſpake againſt God's word here in Germany

many) have had fearful and ſudden deaths. The Chancellor of Trier (who ſaid, *They muſt be very idle people that do receive the Goſpel*, &c.) died ſuddenly in ſpeaking thoſe words.

A famous Papiſt (the laſt week, on Bartholomew day, 1538) died in deſpair at Mentz; and when he lay at his laſt gaſp, he ſpake theſe words, *Devil! there thou haſt the ſoul.*

The Venetian General (who laid ſiege againſt Padua) was mortally wounded with a ſhot, and as he was near his death, he ſpake againſt the Virgin Mary at Putana, he railed at her with ſhameleſs words, he ſcoffed grievouſly at St. Peter with words unfitting to be uttered to modeſt ears. And another Italian at the ſame time (as he was ſtriving with death) ſaid; *My goods I bequeath to the world, my body to the worms, my ſoul to the devil.* Theſe are fearful blaſphemings which that nation do much uſe. Eraſm Rotterdam knoweth them and their doings full well.

One named Urbane, in the city of Magdeburg, fell from the Goſpel; and, void of God's fear, he uttered blaſphemous words againſt the Goſpel; he bound himſelf under a curſe, and ſaid, *If I receive the Proteſtant faith again, then I pray God that the thunder may deſtroy me.* Even the ſame day came a fearful tempeſt of thunder and lightning. He, calling his words to mind, ran into the church and cauſed the bells to be rung, thereby to drive the tempeſt over, and kneeling before the altar, he was ſtruck by the tempeſt into a ſwoon. Now after they had cooled and refreſhed him, he was led homewards between two men; but in going, he was ſtruck again, in at the crown of the head, and out again at his privy parts, ſcalding him fearfully, burned and conſumed him to death. Theſe (ſaid *Luther*) are fearful ſigns of God's juſt puniſhments againſt the contemners and perſecuters of the Goſpel, and his holy Word.

Anno 1526, a Friar in the pulpit gave St. Paul the lie, and ſaid, We ought not to believe St. Paul, becauſe he ſaid, *Rejoice with them that rejoice*, &c. At that inſtant (uttering thoſe words) he fell down dead at Hildeſheim, in the pulpit. A Popiſh miniſter alſo at Kunwald, on Trinity Sunday, was ſtruck dead by thunder; for he made a vow againſt the Goſpel, to oppoſe the ſame, and ſaid, *If the Goſpel be God's Word, ſo ſhould the thunder deſtroy him.*

Such examples (ſaid *Luther*) we ought diligently to mark and conſider; for they are both fearful and comfortable: fearful to the ungodly and contemners of God's word; but comfortable to God-fearing people, that do honour and love the Goſpel.

CHAP. XXXIX.

OF FRIARS, OF THEIR LIVES AND GOOD DAYS.

Of the Papiſts Faſting.

IN Popedom (ſaid *Luther*) every thing is done without trouble; their faſting is more eaſy unto them than our eating is to us. To one faſting-day, belonged three days of devouring. Every Friar (to his evening collation) hath two quarts of beer, a quart of wine, ſpice-cakes, or bread prepared with ſpice and ſalt, the better to reliſh their drink. Thus went theſe poor faſting brethren; they grew ſo pale and wan, that they were like to the fiery angels.

That the State of Friars ſtriveth directly againſt God's Creation.

GOD in the beginning made but only one human creature (which was a wiſe council); afterwards he created alſo a woman, then came the miſchief. The Friars followed God's firſt council, for they live alone without marrying; wherefore (according to their rule and judgments) it had been good, nay better, that God had remained by his firſt determination and council; namely, that but one man only had lived. But (ſaid *Luther*) if the Emperor would act a work worthy of immortal praiſe, then he ſhould utterly root out the order of the Capuchins, and for an everlaſting remembrance of their abominations ſhould cauſe their books to remain in ſafe cuſtody. For the ſame is the worſt and moſt poiſoned ſect. The Auſtin and Bernardine Friars are no way comparable to theſe confounded lice.

Of the great Multitudes of Monaſteries.

THE Electorate of Saxony (ſaid *Luther*) had twelve Capuchin and Minorite, five Preacher or Pauliner and Carmelite, and four Auſtin Friar Monaſteries. Theſe were but beggarly Monaſteries, which of themſelves are duſted away. Whereupon an Engliſhman ſaid, In England, which is but a ſmall iſland, there are twenty and ſeven beggarly Monaſteries. To conclude (ſaid *Luther*), the ſpiritual livings are curſed; for their original proceedeth from whoring, rents, and income, and from idolatry; therefore they return to whores again: as they came, ſo they go: evil gotten, evil ſpent. Livings which are honeſtly gained, are by them alſo devoured. Therefore I adviſe every good man to take heed that he meddle not with ſuch ſpiritual livings.

Of the Grey Friars, and of Franciſcus.

FRANCISCUS (ſaid *Luther*) was an Italian, born in the city of Aſſis, no doubt an honeſt and a juſt man. He little thought that ſuch ſuperſtition and unbelief would proceed out of his life. There have been ſo many of thoſe Grey Friars, that they offered to ſend forty thouſand of them againſt the Turks, and yet the Monaſteries ſhould be ſufficiently provided for of that Order.

The Franciſcan and Grey Friars came up under Emperor Frederick the Second, at which time St. Eliſabeth was canonized and brought into the number of Saints, in the year 1207. Franciſcus drove his game eighteen years; two years under Emperor Philip, four years under Emperor Otto, and twelve years under Emperor Frederick the Second. They feign that after his death he appeared to the Pope in a dream, held a cup in his hand, and filled the ſame with blood that ran out of his ſide. Is not this, think ye, a fine and proper piece of government, that began with dreams and with lies? Therefore the Pope is not God's image, but his ape. He will be both God and Emperor; as Pope Innocent the Third ſaid, I will either take the Crown from Emperor Philip, or he ſhall take the ſame from me. O! (ſaid *Luther*) ſuch hiſtories ought diligently to be deſcribed, to the end poſterity may know upon what grounds Popedom was erected and founded; namely, upon mere lies and fables. If I were younger, I would write a Chronicle of the Popes.

Of

Of the Pillars of Popedom.

IF the Pope (ſaid *Luther*) ſhould go about to hunt away the begging Friars, then he would prepare a fine ſport; for he hath made them fat, and cheriſhed them in his boſom: he hath given unto them the greateſt and moſt powerful Princes to be their protectors. Now if he ſhould offer to drive them away, then all would combine againſt the Pope, and would inſtigate the Princes againſt him. For divers Kings and Princes, yea, the Emperor himſelf, have Friars to their Confeſſors: they would finely perſuade them. The Friars were the Pope's columns, they carried him like as the rats carry their King. I (ſaid *Luther*) was our Lord God's quickſilver which he threw into the fiſh-pond; that is, which he caſt among the Friars.

A Friar is evil every way, whether in the Monaſtery or out of it. For as Ariſtotle giveth an example touching fire, that burneth whether it be in Ethiopia or in Germany: even ſo it is likewiſe with the Friars. *Nature is not changed by any circumſtances of time or place.*

Of the Friars Ignorance in good Arts.

IN Italy was a particular Order of Friars, called *Fratres Ignorantiæ*, that is, *Brethren of Ignorance:* theſe were forced to take ſolemn oaths, that they would neither know, learn, nor underſtand any thing at all, but ſhould anſwer all queſtions with *Neſcio.* Truly (ſaid *Luther*) all Friars are well worthy of that title, for they only read and babble out the words, but they regard not to underſtand them: they ſay, Although we underſtand not the words, yet the Holy Ghoſt underſtandeth them, and the devil flieth away. This was the Friars higheſt argument, who are enemies to all good arts and learning; for the Pope and Cardinals conclude thus, Should theſe brethren ſtudy and be learned, ſo would they maſter us, &c. Therefore, *Saccum per neccum*, that is, *hang a bag or ſack about their necks*, and ſend them a-begging through cities, towns, and countries.

Of the Covetouſneſs and Deceit of the Capuchin Friars.

AN honeſt matron here in Wittemberg complained of the covetouſneſs and deceit of the Capuchin Friars, one of which had perſuaded her father upon his death-bed to bequeath ſomething to their Monaſtery. And, by reaſon of her father's charge and command, ſhe had given to the guardian 400 Florins to the uſe of the Monaſtery. He conſtrained her to make a deep vow, and to ſwear, that ſhe would diſcover the ſame to no human creature; inſomuch that the ſame Friar kept that money to himſelf, which courſe he uſually took, to the great hurt of all the children and orphans in that city. At laſt, by command from the magiſtrate, ſhe was compelled to diſcover how the Friar had dealt with her. Many ſuch and the like examples have been found, yet no creature dared to complain thereof: there was no end in robbing, filching, and ſtealing, by thoſe unſatiable, money-diſeaſed wretches.

How two Friars, a Capuchin and a Preaching Friar, preached one againſt the other.

LUTHER took in his hand a young ſparrow, and ſaid, Thou bare-foot Friar with thy grey coat, thou art the moſt miſchievous bird. I would wiſh that ſome one would write a declamation of a paſſage that happened at Erfurt, in the time of my being there in the Monaſtery; namely, a Preaching Friar and a Bare-

foot

foot Friar wandered together into the country to beg for the Brethren, and to gather alms. Theſe two played upon each other with unprofitable words in their ſermons. The Bare-foot Friar preaching firſt, ſaid, Loving country people, and good friends! take heed of that bird the ſwallow, for it is white within, but upon the back it is black; it is an evil bird, always chirping, but profitable for nothing; and when it is angered, it is altogether mad. This Bare-foot Friar hereby intended to paint out the Preaching Friars, that wear on the outſide black coats, inward they wear white bandillions. Now, as, in the afternoon, the Preaching Friar came into the pulpit, he played likewiſe upon the Bare-foot Friar, and ſaid, Indeed, loving friends! I neither may nor can well defend the ſwallow; but the grey ſparrow is far a worſe and more hurtful bird than the ſwallow; for it pricketh the kine, and when it fouleth into people's eyes, it maketh them blind, as ye may ſee in the Book of Tobit; he alſo robbeth, ſtealeth, and devoureth all he can get, as, oats, barley, wheat, rye, apples, pears, peaſe, cherries, &c. moreover he is a luſtful and lecherous bird: his greateſt art is to cry, *Scrip, ſcrip*, &c. Herewith (ſaid *Luther*) one beggar endeavoured to hinder another; a good *Rhetoricus* were here neceſſary to amplify and enlarge this paſſage, and to explain it. But the Bare-foot Friar ought with better colours to have painted out the Preaching Friar, for they are the haughtieſt buzzards and right Epicures that go on in particular pride. Again, the Begging or Bare-foot Friars, under the colour of ſanctity and humility, are more proud and haughty than Kings or Princes, and moſt of all have imagined and deviſed lies.

Of St. Bernard.

ST. Bernard (ſaid *Luther*) was the beſt Friar, whom I love above all the reſt; yet, he dared to ſay, It were a ſign of damnation, if one remained not in the Monaſtery. He had under him three hundred Friars, among all which not one was damned, if his opinion was true? *Sed vix credo.* St. Bernard lived in dangerous times under Emperor Henry the Fourth and Fifth, under Emperor Conrade, and Lotharius; he was an experienced Friar, but he gave an evil example. The Friars, eſpecially the Minorites and Franciſcans, had the beſt and eaſieſt days through hypocriſy; they touched no money, yet they were the richeſt, and lived in great quietneſs. The evil Friars life began betimes, when people under the colour of piety abandoned temporal dealing: this was and is very hateful, and produceth much loathing; but the eſtate and calling of a true Chriſtian (which God ordained and founded) conſiſteth in three hierarchies, namely, in domeſtic, in temporal, and church government.

Of the Crowning of Nuns, and the matrimonileſs monaſtery Kind of Life.

THE unmarried life is a great hypocriſy and wickedneſs, inſomuch that under ſuch colour the Fathers of the Church were deceived. Auſtin, who although he lived in the good and acceptable time, yet he was deceived through the crowning of monaſtery Nuns and Virgins; and although he gave them leave to marry, yet he ſaid they did unright in marrying, and ſinned againſt God. Afterwards when the time of wrath and blindneſs came, and the truth was hunted away, and lying got the upper hand, then the generation of poor women was contemned under the colour of great holineſs, which in truth was mere hypocriſy. But Chriſt with one ſentence confuteth all their arguments; namely, God created them male and female.

CHAP.

CHAP. XL.

OF CARDINALS AND BISHOPS.

Of the Cardinal of Saltzburg.

IN the year 1530, (ſaid *Luther*) Philip Melancthon, at Augſpurg, was ſix hours together with that ſwift brained Cardinal of Saltzburg, and among other diſcourſes, he had much talk with him about religion. In the end the Cardinal ſaid unto him, We Prieſts were never yet good; we know that your doctrine is right, but ye ought to know again, that never yet any man was able to overcome the Prieſts, neither will ye be the firſt. This Cardinal (ſaid *Luther*) was the ſon of a horſe-jockey in Augſpurg, whoſe father had been of an ancient and good family in that place, but by reaſon of poverty he came to be a ſervant. This was the firſt Cardinal in Germany, and through his ſiſter's preferment grew well acquainted in Emperor Maximilian's court, and afterwards in a Legation was ſent to the Pope to Rome, and was made coadjutor of the biſhoprick of Saltzburg. This Cardinal, ſeeing on a Sunday a great multitude of people in this city running to hear the preaching of the Goſpel, ſaid, What ſhall we ſhepherds do? How our ſheep go on in error! Well, I know no remedy. *Luther* (being adviſed hereof) ſaid, This Cardinal one day will find, that God will cauſe his guilty conſcience to be ſtinged; he loveth his Cardinal's hat better than the Divine truth; he feareth the loſs of it and of his biſhoprick; he believeth not that God is able to put down the mighty from their ſeat, and to exalt the humble and meek; he is of a cowardly diſpoſition, he cannot hold out long, his conſcience pricketh him too ſorely. The Papiſts differ among themſelves, they cannot agree in their own pedlaries. For, *anno* 1530, in the proceeding at Augſpurg, they made no mention (no not ſo much as one word was ſpoken) of the article of the Pope's Primacy, or Vicarage of St. Peter, which was wont to be the chief article of Popedom. We ought to ſet upon ſuch an ungodly and inſolent creature, we ought to preach and to write againſt him. If God ſpare me life and health but only one half year, ſo will I fetch a dance with that bride over block and ſtone. I would wiſh that the lawyers alſo appeared in the game, ſo would I thoroughly tug and teach them, what *Subjectum juris* is. I acknowledge *Jus* is altogether a fair ſpouſe, ſo long as ſhe remaineth in her own bed; but when ſhe ſtrideth into the bed of another, and will rule in the church, then ſhe becometh a great ſtrumpet, therefore *Jus* muſt ſtand uncovered before Divinity. *Luther* (ſtill continuing his diſcourſe touching this Cardinal and other Biſhops) ſaid, I never read ſuch fearful examples of hard hearts, as in them; they far ſurpaſs the Jews, Pharoah, and others; in a word, they are next neighbours to the devil, my heart trembleth when I think on them. At the Imperial Diet at Worms, I propheſied unto them, that the time would come when they willingly would receive the truth, but they ſhould then fail thereof, becauſe that merely out of wickedneſs they now condemned the

ſame. This prophecy, alas! I have out-lived; they confeſs that our doctrine is upright and true, but the hardened wretches do it for the ſake of their bellies; therefore I now propheſy unto them, that they ſhall go to the ground and be deſtroyed, but I ſhall not live to ſee the ſame. This Cardinal of Saltzburg is not a *Brother of ignorance, but a Brother of malice*; he is a great epicure, he cauſeth himſelf to be led, he liſteneth to what people ſay, he maketh a ſhew of amity and meekneſs, but he is not in earneſt, he can artificially fit and prepare himſelf to people's humours, like the Italians, who give good words out of falſe hearts. *Luther*, deeply ſighing over him, ſaid, Loving Lord and Saviour Chriſt give me life and ſtrength, that I may ſhave the crown of this Prelate, for he is a crafty derider of thy name, he is a downright knave, he ſticketh not to boaſt, that very few of his ſtratagems have failed him. When lately I wrote exceeding harſhly to this Cardinal, and at the ſame time ſcorned him, then he confeſſed, that in cauſes of religion he was in the wrong, therein he would give place to *Luther*, and ſuffer himſelf by him to be blamed; but in temporal and ſtate caſes he would yield nothing at all unto him. I ſee (ſaid *Luther*) I muſt rouſe him up better. Ah, Lord God, we ought with thee not to dally, nor to abuſe thy name; ſufficient it is, that we have ſinned againſt thee, we ought therefore to repent and be ſorry for our ſins: ſurely this Cardinal hath no conſcience at all, he is like that ſoldier which lately came unto me, whom I admoniſhed to deſiſt from his wicked kind of life; he anſwered me, and ſaid, If I ſhould think thereon, then ſhould I never go to the wars again; even ſo it is with this Cardinal. The good and godly Princeſs Electrix of Saxony lately aſked me, If any hope were to be had of this Cardinal's converſion? I anſwered, I believe not, however it would be a great joy unto me, if in time he were won over to the truth, and repented; but there is little hope thereof, I would rather believe and hope the ſame in Pilate, in Herod, and Diocleſian, who ſinned openly. The Princeſs replied and ſaid, God is almighty and merciful, who would have received Judas again, if he had truly repented. *Luther* anſwered, True, gracious Madam, God would alſo receive Satan to mercy, if from his heart he could ſay, God be merciful to me a ſinner. But, alas! of this Cardinal there is no hope, for he oppoſeth the known truth; a few days ſince he cauſed thirteen Chriſtians to be ſlain, for receiving the Communion in both kinds. True it is, God is almighty and merciful, he can do more than we are able to think; but he will do no more than what he hath concluded to do, as St. Paul ſaith, *Whom he predeſtinated, them he alſo called*, &c. When our Lord God ſaith, I will not do this or that, then it is time for us to be gone, and to ſet our hearts at reſt, as God ſaid to Samuel, *Why mourneſt thou for Saul whom I have rejected?* Therefore all my hope is gone touching this Cardinal; I commit the caſe to God, he will rule the ſame. This Cardinal (ſaid *Luther*) wrote often very friendly unto me, thinking to greaſe my lips, inſomuch as I gave him literal advice to take a wife, but in the mean time he intended with ſmooth words to deceive me; but at the Imperial Diet at Augſpurg I learned to know him right, yet nevertheleſs he ſtill pretended great friendſhip towards me, and in cauſes of weight would always make choice of me to be an umpire. After my departure from the Diet, he aſſembled the citizens together, and uttered unto them theſe words, Loving people be obedient unto me, and receive the Sacrament in one kind, ſo will I not only be a gracious lord unto you, but alſo a father, a brother, and a friend: and I will procure from the Emperor great privileges for you. But in caſe you refuſe to be obedient herein, ſo will I be your utter enemy; I will bring you and your city into the utmoſt confuſion.

Were

Were not theſe words rather of a Rabſhakeh, or of the Turkiſh Emperor, than of a Prelate.

I will leave this teſtimony behind me (ſaid *Luther*) touching this Cardinal, namely, excepting Nero and Caligula, he is the greateſt knave that ever came on earth. He ſought wonderfully to enſnare me ; inſomuch, that if our Lord God in ſpecial manner had not preſerved me, he had taken me captive. Anno 1525, he ſent one of his Doctors unto me with a preſent of two hundred Hungarian ducats, which he cauſed to be given to Kate my wife; but I refuſed to receive them, and charged my wife not to meddle therewith; for (God be praiſed) I never had the name to be a money-taker.

CHAP. XLI.

OF THE POPE's SPIRITUAL LAWS.

Luther's *Diſcourſe of the Pope's Spiritual Laws.*

THE Pope's Decretals (ſaid *Luther*) is ſtark naught: he that hammered it was an aſs; for it hath three parts, *Diſtinctiones, Cauſas, & Conſecrationes.* It is a thing raked together like a beggar's coat, patched up with divers rags. In the introduction he deſcribeth how a Biſhop ſhould be qualified, and live, (out of St. Paul's Epiſtle to Titus) namely, *A Biſhop* (ſaith he) *muſt be blameleſs, muſt lead a good life and converſation, not ſelf-willed, not ſoon angry*, &c. Then he ſpeaketh touching Bigamy; that is, to have two wives one after another. And when one taketh a maid to wife, and findeth her not a maid, the ſame ſhall have no hope to be made a Prieſt. It is therefore a dangerous thing to take a wife in Popedom, and to live in hope (when ſhe died) to be a Prieſt. But the Decretals do govern the world, for therein are contained law buſineſſes, how they ſhould go to law one with another, and live at debate ; nothing concerning the church government is taught therein, but altogether of temporal cauſes and policy, which ſerve for ruling and government.

Of the Impiety of the Pope's Decrets, and of his Tyranny.

IN the Pope's Decretals many ſhameful things are contained; for the Pope therein preſumeth to ſay, Whoſo believed and obſerved not his decrees, it were in vain for ſuch a one to believe in Chriſt, or to give credit to the four Evangeliſts. Likewiſe he ſaith in his Decree, Although he led people into hell, yet they ought to follow him; whereas the office of a true Biſhop is to comfort the broken and ſorrowful in heart, and to lead them to Chriſt. Fie upon this maledicted villain, muſt he teach the conſciences to deſpair in that ſort?

Whoſo readeth his Decrees ſhall often find, that when an article is proved out of Holy Scripture with fair ſentences, then he argueth againſt them, and ſaith, The Romiſh Church hath otherwiſe concluded; and ſo, like Satan, he dare preſume to make God's Word ſubject to human creatures.

Even ſo doth Thomas Aquinas diſpute, for when he citeth a place in Scripture, he concludeth thus, Ariſtotle holdeth the contrary. Here (ſaid *Luther*) the Holy Scripture

Scripture muſt give place to Ariſtotle the Heathen writer. Such abominable darkneſs the world will not acknowledge, but contemn the truth, and fall into horrible errors; therefore let us make good uſe of the time, for it will not always remain as it is now.

Of Decrets and Decretals.

IN the Decretals the Pope domineereth and triumpheth like a victor or conqueror; there he is on his dunghill in poſſeſſion, where he lightneth and thundereth with theſe words, *We acknowledge, we cenſure, and by Divine command we judge; we have power to command and to conclude; all other ought to be obedient unto us.* All the world muſt know, that no human creature ought to cenſure the Pope, but he only and alone hath power to judge and cenſure the whole univerſal world. But in the Decret the Pope only ſtriveth and conteſteth. I am perſuaded (ſaid *Luther*) that in the Pope's Spiritual Laws it is written above one thouſand times, that the Pope neither may nor can be cenſured by any man whatſoever.

Of the Spiritual Law, and what it is.

THE Spiritual Law of the Pope (as all lawyers do witneſs) is a filthy book that ſtinketh of money. Take out of it covetouſneſs and ambition, then there remaineth nothing therein of its own proper ſubſtance, yet it hath a great luſtre; for all unhappineſs muſt begin in *nomine Domini.* Like as all righteouſneſs and ſaving health is, only, *in the name of the Lord.* Even ſo, under the colour and cover of God's name, all idolatry and ſuperſtition cometh. Therefore the Commandment followeth fitly upon the firſt, and ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.*

What Gratianus ſought in the Decrets.

GRATIANUS the lawyer (ſaid *Luther*) who collected the Decrets together, endeavoured with higheſt diligence to make an union, and to find a means to ſeparate the good from the evil. The good man meant well, but the iſſue thereof was naught; for it proceeded thus, He rejected that which was good, and juſtified that which was evil; and undertaking that which was impoſſible, he was amazed and affrighted through the gloſſes which ſay, This, and this we muſt not hold, for it ſtriveth againſt the Pope; all hiſtories agree, that the Pope always would be lord and maſter over the Holy Scripture. And although he was therein reſiſted by many of his own Biſhops, yet they could never prevail againſt him, by reaſon of God's wrath, to puniſh the world for its ingratitude, and the contemning of his Word.

Of the Pope's Decrets and Chancery.

I MUCH marvel (ſaid *Luther*) that in ſo great a book of the Pope's Decrets, nothing at all is handled concerning Faith. The Fathers (*Eccleſiaſtici ſcriptores*) wrote likewiſe very cold things concerning the Doctrine of Faith. *Luther* reading in the Decret, (how Emperor Lodowick, nephew to Charles the Great, ſhould have given power to the Pope over all kingdoms and dominions) ſaid, I hold for certain that the Pope's Chancery and Decret is a cabinet full of lies; for he hath drawn all his privilege out of a cuſtom.

That in the Pope's Books nothing of Chriſt is written.

IN all the books (containing the Pope's Spiritual Laws and Rights) is not written ſo much as one word that teacheth what or who Chriſt is. May not this man (the Pope) more properly be called a wolf, than the ſhepherd of the church? He always aimed at three things, Firſt, To ſtrengthen and preſerve his government and dominion. Secondly, To ſow diſcord between Kings and Princes when he pleaſed, and ſo often as he ſaw that thereby his kingdom might be ſtrengthened and confirmed. But eſpecially, in the third place, He, as a good father (as he boaſteth of himſelf), will be applied to, to make thoſe Princes at an union again, between whom he had made diſcord; but he doth not the ſame until ſuch time as he ſeeth it will be profitable for his dominion and power. But (ſaid *Luther*) whoſo perverteth and falſifieth the truth of God's word, the ſame dealeth not like a ſhepherd of Chriſt's church, but like an Antichriſt and adverſary of God.

That no Man hitherto hath marked the Pope's ungodly Decrees.

WE ought to know (ſaid *Luther*) that the upright and true church never had the ſame title and name in the world, but ſhe hath always been without a name: hence ſhe is not viſible nor ſeen, but believed; as in the creed we confeſs and ſay, *I believe in the holy catholic church*, &c. We do not ſay, I ſee her, for commonly ſhe is perplexed and covered with the croſs. Behold theſe the Pope's abominable Decrets, *capite, cuncta.* 9. *q.* 3. *c. Si papa. Diſt.* 40. Behold alſo, *Capite ad Apoſtolicæ, de appellat. in* 6. No Emperor, no King, Prince, nor Divine ever marked the ſame, inſomuch as I greatly wonder at ſuch their blindneſs, in that they have not diſcerned ſo great, ſo groſs, and horrible lies of the Pope, who therein bragged and boaſted, that the Holy Scriptures have their power and authority from the Romiſh church.

CHAP. XLII.

LUTHER's DISCOURSE OF CEREMONIES.

Of Ceremonies.

A HOUSEHOLDER (ſaid *Luther*) inſtructeth his ſervants and family in this manner, and ſaith unto them, Deal uprightly and honeſtly, be diligent in that which I will and command you, &c. And in ſo doing, then ye may eat, ye may drink, and ye may clothe yourſelves as ye pleaſe. Even ſo, our Lord God regardeth not what we eat, drink, or wherewith we clothe ourſelves, all ſuch things (being ceremonies, or middle things) he leaveth freely unto us, only that we ground nothing thereon, as if the ſame were needful or neceſſary to ſalvation.

Luther's *conſiderate Directions to Dr. Nicolas Houſeman, concerning Ceremonies.*

I HOLD it not good (ſaid *Luther*) that thoſe of our party do aſſemble together, to ſettle an uniform agreement touching ceremonies in the church; for although the ſame be intended and done out of good meaning, yet it is a matter that giveth an evil example, as all councils of the church do prove, inſomuch that in the council which the Apoſtles held at Jeruſalem, they handled more touching ordinances, works, and ceremonies, than concerning faith. And in the councils following, they diſputed and concluded at no time concerning faith, but always touching opinions and unprofitable things, of ceremonies and ordinances in the church; ſo that the very name of council is as ſuſpicious and hateful to me, as the name free-will. If one church refuſeth, or is unwilling, to follow another in external things, what profit then is it through decrees and councils to force and command them, out of which are made laws and ſnares to the ſouls of men. Wherefore (ſaid *Luther*) if one church willingly will not follow another in ceremonies, then let every one hold and ſway their cuſtoms for themſelves; only that the union in ſpirit, in faith, and in the pure word may remain whole and unſinged.

Of Luther's *Opinion and Counſel given to the Church at Northauſen.*

REVEREND, loving Sirs, and friends! We ſee, alas! what alarms and tumults Satan ſtirreth up every where in churches, inſomuch as there are almoſt as many opinions as there are heads or brains of church-ſervants. It ſoundeth in my ears, that certain queſtions are raiſed among you concerning very baſe things of no value, but that the doctrine is ſtill pure among you, whereof you have a good report. Yet nevertheleſs, as ye know how people in common regard not the wholeſome doctrine; even ſo, they eaſily take occaſion to find fault, and to blaſpheme alſo the chiefeſt articles of faith (eſpecially amongſt you where ſtill Papiſts are, which carry wood to the fire, and out of a little ſpark do kindle a great flame) &c. Wherefore I deſire, and, for Chriſt's ſake, I pray you (in whom we live, in whom we boaſt, and in whoſe ſpirit we are), *To lay no ſtumbling block of offence before any man in external mean things and ceremonies.* But that my Chriſt and your Chriſt be one among us, whoſe life and death we juſtly ought to prefer and higher to eſteem than our reaſonings, yea then the devil's tribulations and temptations: and the ſame Lord keep, preſerve, and accompliſh in you the work he hath begun, until yonder day of joyful hope, the glorious day of our deliverance. Amen.

Of the Feaſt of John the Baptiſt.

THE Feaſt of John the Baptiſt (ſaid *Luther*) we ought to retain, at whom the New Teſtament began, for it is written, *All the Prophets and the Law propheſied until John*, &c. We ought to obſerve the ſame alſo for the ſake of the fair ſong (which in Popedom we alſo read but not underſtood) of Zacharias, which indeed is a moſt excellent ſong, as is ſhewed in the preface that St. Luke made, where he ſaith, *And Zacharias was full of the Holy Ghoſt*, &c.

We that are preachers and miniſters ſhould watch and look, that ceremonies be obſerved in ſuch ſort, that people be made thereby neither too rude, nor too holy. Whoſo intendeth to prepare a ceremony (ſaid *Luther*), be it never ſo ſmall, the ſame

ſame muſt faſten the ſword with both hands; that is, he muſt do like Eraſmus Roterodamus, who ſcorneth and derideth ceremonies, becauſe they be ridiculous in his wiſdom. But if a man ſhould aſk Eraſmus, if he taketh our Lord God to be a fool, in commanding ridiculous things, as the circumciſion, ſacrificing, and the ſlaughtering of Iſaac, &c. I fain would hear what his profound wiſdom would anſwer thereunto? I (*Martin Luther*) aſk thee Eraſmus Roterodamus, How if God be pleaſed with ſuch fooliſh things that thou ſcoffeſt at and derideſt? This queſtion thou ſhalt never be able to anſwer or confute with all the wiſdom thou haſt, which thou ſpinneſt out of thy human reaſon and underſtanding, which contemneth all divine cauſes; I ſay unto thee, thou knoweſt not the *Principium*, that is the faſt and ſure ground; namely, that we ought to rely upon God's word, and to be obedient thereunto. The article of juſtification through Chriſt, muſt alone do the deed; otherwiſe our reaſonings do always remain in natural wiſdom and underſtanding. If ſuch things be acceptable and pleaſing to God, wilt thou then preſume to oppoſe or deride them? This argument, *God commandeth*, ſtoppeth thy mouth, and the mouths of all ſuch as thou art. It is a matter impoſſible (ſaid *Luther*) that a God-fearing and faithful perſon ſhould write ſo many books, as Eraſmus Roterodamus hath written, and not to ſprinkle therein ſo much as one verſe or line of Chriſt.

CHAP. XLIII.

LUTHER's DISCOURSE OF SEDUCERS AND SECTARIES THAT OPPOSED HIM.

Of Carlſtad.

CARLSTAD (ſaid *Luther*) oppoſed me merely out of ambition, for he flattered himſelf that on earth was not a more learned man than he: and although in his writings he imitated me, yet he drew ſtrange colours thereupon; he only would be the man, and truly I willingly would have left the honour unto him, ſo far as it had not been againſt God. For (I praiſe my God) I was never ſo preſumptuous, as to think myſelf wiſer than another man. When at the firſt I wrote againſt indulgences, I intended but only to reject and oppoſe the ſame, and I thought that afterwards others would have come and have accompliſhed what I therein began.

Of Campanus and his Seducements.

WE ought (ſaid *Luther*) utterly to contemn and to reject Campanus, and not to eſteem him ſo much worthy as to write againſt him, for thereby he becometh more audacious and inſolent. Let us deſpiſe him, whereby he will ſooneſt be ſmothered and ſuppreſſed; for he will not atchieve much with his ſeducing authority. Whereupon Philip Melancthon ſaid, He is plunged and fallen into horrible errors; being as yet young and unexperienced, he thinketh himſelf a better Grecian than either *Luther* or Doctor Pommer: the reaſon of his preſump-

preſumption is, he never yet felt any combat, neither hath he wreſtled with the devil, therefore he boaſteth that he is altogether ſure and certain of the cauſe, and ſaith, That he is able to diſcourſe more clear and plainly of Chriſt's Deity or God-head, than St. John the Evangeliſt himſelf. He condemneth *Luther*, becauſe he teacheth that faith is yet weak in the godly, and daily muſt grow and increaſe, muſt proceed in weakneſs, in combating, and continually muſt be made ſtronger. But Campanus ſaith, A Chriſtian muſt be complete, holy, and righteous, and muſt not err. In ſuch ſort, ſaid Melancthon, he ſeduceth poor people. Whereupon *Luther* ſaid, Campanus deſcribeth a Chriſtian not rightly; for true it is, a Chriſtian is ſanctified and holy; yet nevertheleſs he is a poor ſinner, plagued, and ſubject with and to evil concupiſcence and luſt, whereof alſo Paul himſelf complaineth: but Campanus will make as if people were like blocks and ſtones, as that they neither feel nor be ſenſible of evil inclinations and deſires, as the Stoics allude. If I could be made ſuch a creature, ſo would I not give a ruſh for any preaching, nor for the Sacraments.

The deſpairing wretches, Eraſmus Roterodamus and Carlſtad, do boaſt and brag of all their things, whereas God's cauſes at the firſt proceed but weakly. I (ſaid *Luther*) for the ſpace of theſe twenty years together have built upon God's Word, and have had many a bitter combat touching the ſame, and yet I find ſtill labour and travel enough thereby. From hence the Prophet Habakkuk ſaith, *Thou didſt walk through the ſea with thine horſes, through the heap of great waters.*

Why George Witzel fell from the Goſpel again.

GEORGE Witzel was a ring-leader of the rebellion in Thuringia, and therefore was taken captive, and ſhould have been beheaded: then I interceded for him (ſaid *Luther*) and begged his life; and afterwards when he came to Wittemberg, I ſet him over the pariſh at Niemeck for a miniſter (which place I now have conferred upon Conrade Cordatus); but afterwards he hung himſelf on Campanus, who wrote together, and baked both one cake; they oppoſed the article of the God-head in Chriſt. Whereupon John Prince Elector of Saxony cauſed him to be caſt into priſon (of which we divines knew nothing); then Witzel fell off from us, and joined with the Pope again, and now he is become our bitter enemy, but he ſhall get his part alotted for him.

Of Doctor Eiſleben.

DOCTOR Eiſleben (ſaid *Luther*) is puffed up with pride, preſumption, and vanity; he ſeeketh to rule and govern with his cold reaſonings, would willingly be exalted and made a great lord, diſregarding and contemning in the mean time the affairs of the Goſpel. Whereupon Philip Melancthon ſaid, This complaint hath always been; for great and weighty buſineſſes have little help, but much hindered; yet God hindereth, fruſtrateth and reſiſteth many of their intentions with leſs weakneſs.

Who would have thought of that miſchievous ſect the Antinomians, the aſſaulters of the Law? I have outlived and endured two abominable tempeſts, Munſter, and the Antinomians. Now ſeeing they are ſtilled and gone, others do approach, inſomuch that there will be no end in writing. I deſire to live no longer; for there is no more hope of peace. Ancient Bernard ſaid well, We ſhould preach of four particulars, of virtues, and vices, of rewards and threatnings. Doctor

Eiſleben

Eiſleben flattereth that his *Oportet* will do the deed: for he ſaith, This and that muſt, muſt be done away; it is powdered too much, we will have none of it. But (ſaid *Luther*) he muſt ſwallow down that [*muſt*] again. I will in ſuch ſort powder it to his appetite, that he ſhall ſpew it up again.

Anno 1539, the 19th of April, Luther earneſtly charged Dr. Ambroſe Bernd, that he, as a maſter, ſhould admoniſh the univerſity, and warn them to take heed of factions, and not to induce ſchiſms or ſeparations, but ſhould obſerve the ordered directions. He gave charge alſo that Dr. Eiſleben ſhould not be choſen Dean, to the end his pride, his preſumption, and diſobedience, thereby might not be confirmed and ſtrengthened; for he is a very ſhameleſs and proud enemy of the church, of ſchools, and of us all; we ſhould, in ſo doing, harbour a ſerpent in our boſoms, which we ought not to feed, and nouriſh with milk, but with earth; and except he uprightly and truly repenteth, ſo ſhall he of us utterly be rejected. Thus much (ſaid *Luther*) would I have you ſignify to your Facultiſts, and to tell them, if they refuſe to hearken unto you herein, then will I publickly preach againſt them.

That poiſoned doctrine of the Antinomians proceedeth mildly: fleſh and blood reliſheth it well, it is ſweet, it maketh people rude and ſecure, it will produce much miſchief.

Of Dr. Jacob Schenck.

JACOB Schenck (ſaid *Luther*) in his Epiſtle to the Miniſters, utterly rejecteth the preaching of the Law, as being nothing neceſſary; for, ſaith he, the ſame is already well known to human reaſon. But the Goſpel, which ſurpaſſeth all the underſtanding of human wiſdom, ſenſe, and reaſon, ought to be preached in the moſt ſweet and amiable manner; therefore Chriſt alſo commanded Peter, and ſaid, *Feed, feed, feed my ſheep*, &c. Neither were it proper that a Preacher, for the ſake of a few ungodly people, ſhould lighten and thunder with the Law, and, in the mean time, ſhould neglect the great multitude, and ſuffer them to ſtand idle. The ungodly (ſaid Schenck) ought in private to be reproved, and their miſ-doings diſcovered to the Magiſtrates, &c.

Theſe monſtrous errors (ſaid *Luther*) muſt we hear yet in our life time. The Prince Elector, without my knowledge, cauſed Schenck to be inſtituted, by reaſon he ſaw Satan's game played among the Papiſts, and to the end one might ſing and play upon another. It may be, all this is done againſt future offences, to the honour of Chriſt, and of the Goſpel.

Anno 1538, the 18th of September, Luther having notice that the preaching of Jacob Schenck was every where extolled, ſaid, O! how acceptable to me would theſe reports be, if with his preaching he brought not in ſuch ſweet-mouthed, ſmooth, and ſtately words, of which St. Paul complaineth to the Romans, whereby the hearers moſt of all are deceived. They are like to the wind *Cecias*, which bloweth ſo mild and ſtill, ſo ſoft and warm, that thereby the bloſſoms of trees, and other herbs and flowers, are enticed to ſpring forth to their deſtruction. Even ſo likewiſe doth the devil, who, when he preacheth Chriſt in his Miniſters, even then he intendeth therein to deſtroy Chriſt; and although he ſpeaketh the truth, yet even therewith he lieth. An honeſt man may well go up the ſtairs, when a knave lieth hid behind them; for the devil can well endure that Chriſt ſitteth upon the tongue, when, in the mean time, he lieth hid under it; inſomuch that the people's ears are tickled and enflamed with what they willingly hear; but (ſaid *Luther*) ſuch ſmooth tattling laſteth not long: for Satan, through the Goſpel, will pervert the Goſpel,

becauſe preſumptuous and ſecure ſpirits acknowledge not their ſins. And where no matter or tinder is to make it apt to catch, there Chriſt hath no room or place wherein he may work; for he only is come to them that are of perplexed, broken hearts and ſpirits, as he ſaith, *To the poor is the Goſpel preached.* And in the Prophet Iſaiah, God ſaith, *I behold the miſerable, and him that is of a broken ſpirit, and that feareth my Word.* But theſe contemners of the Law (ſaid *Luther*) are haughty and proud ſpirits; like as the people in Popedom, under the tradition of the Law, were far from obſerving the Law, the ſame being altogether ſtrange unto them. Therefore the preaching of the Law is a preparative for the Goſpel, and it giveth matter unto Chriſt to work upon, who is the only work-maſter of faith.

Of the Doctrine of the Antinomians touching different Kinds of Repentance.

THE 15th of April, 1539, certain poſitions, printed at Leipzig, were ſent to Luther, which Hamer had made, wherein he ſharply maintained that the Law concerned the Chriſtians nothing at all: he divided alſo repentance into three parts, and ſaid, The Jews had one kind of repentance, the Gentiles another kind, and another the Chriſtians had. Whereupon Luther ſaid, Who ever thought that ſuch impertinent and groſs ſpirits ſhould come? For this is a complete, miſchievous error, to diſtinguiſh repentance according to the different perſons, whereas there is only one kind of repentance given to all mankind, ſeeing that all, one as well as another, have angered and offended one only God, whether Jews, Gentiles, or Chriſtians; therefore it is a groſs, an abominable, and apparent error; like as if men had another kind of faith and repentance than the women had; the Princes another kind than the ſubjects; the maſters than the ſervants; the rich another kind than the poor, &c. Inſomuch, that therewith they make God a reſpecter of perſons. That poor ſnake Hamer (ſaid *Luther*) diſtinguiſheth repentance wrongfully againſt God and his Word: he ſaith, We Chriſtians have another kind of repentance than the Jews or Gentiles. As though the Prophets had not taught uprightly of repentance, and if the repentance of the Ninivites had not been upright and true; from whence at laſt would follow; If we preached not repentance out of the Law, that then Chriſt was not under the Law, whereas he was for our ſakes under the curſe of the Law.

To conclude, Satan cannot reſt, nor be idle; he ſtirreth up many ſorts of errors, which altogether oppoſe Chriſt, (as a God) who was made man. All hereſies that have been, either have oppoſed Chriſt's deity or humanity; either they have denied his operation and ſtrength, or ſome circumſtances; inſomuch as the Antinomians in oppoſing the Law, do deny Chriſt, who was under the Law. They think there are no other ſins than the crucifying of Chriſt; as if it were not a ſin againſt the firſt commandment to crucify Chriſt again. I do not ſay that we ſhould not preach repentance to thoſe which already are juſtified by faith; but this I ſay, and preſs hard thereupon, That we ought earneſtly to affright the impenitent, ſtiff-necked, and hardened ſinners, and through the preaching of the Law, to bring them to the acknowledgement of their ſins; for when we neither acknowledge, nor confeſs our ſins, then Chriſt and his Goſpel can have no place in us. And where no ſin is, or will be, there can be no remiſſion of ſins. But the Antinomians will bring Chriſt in among the impenitent ſinners that have no conſcience, neither do know how their nature is ſpoiled and evil. Truly (ſaid *Luther*), there Chriſt hath neither room nor place.

Of

Of the Antinomians, and the Errors of Arrius.

ANNO 1538, the 13th of September, a fierce diſputation was held, five hours long, in which *Luther* powerfully laid himſelf againſt the new doctrine. He interrupted thoſe that rejected the law through the Goſpel, and that would aboliſh the law, would flatter the people to evil, who (beſides that) were too ſecure. Theſe (ſaid *Luther*) will I reſiſt to my laſt end, were I ſure to loſe my life for the ſame.

Touching the hereſy of Arrius, Peter, Biſhop of Alexandria (marking the ſame long before) ſaid, The ſame is ſtrange, and againſt Chriſt's honour; for he that denieth the Godhead in Chriſt, the ſame certainly taketh away Chriſt's honour. Arrius began in that ſort; Firſt, He denied that Chriſt was God, and ſaid, He was a creature yet complete. But when the godly Biſhops reſiſted him, then he ſaid, Secondly, Chriſt was the moſt completeſt creature (yea alſo above the angels), through whom all things were made. Thirdly, He alledged Chriſt was God, but only by name. Fourthly, He affirmed, Chriſt was very God of very God, Light of Light. He taught ſo finically touching Chriſt with his errors, that many people fell unto him, and held of his opinion. That delicate Biſhop of Milan, Auxentius, was alſo by theſe errors deceived, againſt whom Hillary wrote an epiſtle.

But when the good Chriſtian Biſhops were not yet ſatisfied touching theſe allegations of Arrius, then in the Fifth place he ſaid, Chriſt was not born of the Father equal God, but was made with the Father of one ſubſtance, would not admit otherwiſe, but that he was made. As they began the ſtrife touching *Homoouſion*, againſt which Hillary laid himſelf, the contents of whoſe book which he wrote againſt him was, That Chriſt is natural God, of one equal ſubſtance with the Father. Afterwards St. Jeronimus ſet himſelf againſt the ſame, he could have wiſhed that the word *Homoouſion* had been left out of the Symbolum of Athanaſius and the confeſſion of faith, becauſe it was no where written in the Holy Scripture that he was born of the Father, yet it was pertinent, and in reſpect to his human nature rightly ſpoken.

The hereſies of Arrius (ſaid *Luther*) continued very long, above three hundred years; they reach to the reign of Auguſtus Cæſar, and of Pope Gregory. They were in higheſt ſway, and flouriſhed under Emperor Conſtantine; under Emperor Domitian they tyrannized; under Jovianus, Valentinianus, and Gratianus they ſomewhat decreaſed. They endured the times of ſeven Emperors, and until the Goths came. The great Turk to this day (ſaid *Luther*) is an Arrian; howſoever in his oath he extolleth the four Evangeliſts. He holdeth alſo, that God is a Creator of heaven and earth: likewiſe the reſurrection of the dead. But he boaſteth of his Mahomet, as being the higheſt Prophet. In Conſtantinople he cauſeth Chriſt openly to be preached, yet ſo that they meddle not with his Mahomet, who (they hold) is a wonderful human creature.

Of the Hereticks the Abeliſts.

THE Abeliſts (ſaid *Luther*) took their name of Abel; the ſame in outward ſhew were the chiefeſt teachers under the ſun; for Firſt, They held that all which were of their ſect ſhould be in the ſtate of matrimony, and have wives. Secondly, That they ſhould dwell together, and yet ſhould abſtain from carnal copulation; ſhould diligently increaſe their houſe-keeping with wealth and miantenance. Thirdly, They ſhould make choice of others, and of ſtranger's children to inherit

their

their livings. Truly (ſaid *Luther*) it was a ſociable and a ſtrange hereſy. Thus the ſtate of matrimony, as God's ordinance, always hath been oppoſed.

Of Luther's *Cenſure of Eraſmus Roterodamus.*

THE picture of Eraſmus Roterodamus being brought before *Luther*, he ſaid, Eraſmus (as his picture ſheweth) is a crafty and a ſubtle man; he derideth both God and true religion; he uſeth finical words; as, The loving Lord Chriſt, The worthy ſaving Word, The holy Sacraments, &c. But in truth he holdeth them for very cold things. He is poſſeſſed with a ſcoffing ſpirit and courage; his words are ſmooth and nimble, as in his Moria and Julio is to be ſeen. In teaching he is very chill, nothing worth; he can talk, but his words are made, but not grown. When he preacheth, it ſoundeth like a patched kettle, it is altogether cold doings.

Cicero ſaith, There is no better art to move and touch people's hearts, than when it firſt goeth to thine own heart. Do but behold what in his Paraphraſis he writeth and babbleth upon that excellent Pſalm, *Well is he that feareth the Lord*, &c. And alſo upon the ſecond Pſalm. He mentioneth not one word, how we are juſtified before God, which is the higheſt and chiefeſt article. He mentioneth the name of Chriſt only for the ſake of the prebendary, yet he regardeth him not. Will not Chriſt be a King (thinketh Eraſmus) ſo let him be a beggar, it is all one to him. He did mock and ſcoff at Popedom a while ſince, but now he ſlippeth his neck out of the halter.

Of Eraſmus's Picture.

AS Eraſmus's picture was preſented to himſelf, he ſaid, Look, I like this picture! ſo am I the greateſt knave that liveth.

Of Eraſmus's Catechiſm.

ERASMUS (ſaid *Luther*) was ſtained and poiſoned at Rome and at Venice with Epicuriſm. He extolleth the Arrians more than the Papiſts. He dared to ſay, Chriſt was named God but only once in St. John; as Thomas ſaid unto him, *My Lord and my God.* But among all his clipped darts, I can endure none leſs than his Catechiſm, wherein he teacheth nothing certain; he only maketh young people to err and deſpair. His chiefeſt doctrine is, we muſt carry ourſelves according to the time, and (as the proverb goeth) we muſt hang the cloak according to the wind; he only looked to himſelf, and to have good and eaſy days, and ſo he died like an Epicure, without any one ſervant or comfort of God.

Eraſmus an Enemy of Chriſt.

THIS (ſaid *Luther*) do I leave behind me in my will and teſtament, whereunto I call you for witneſſes. I hold Eraſmus Roterodamus for Chriſt's moſt bitter enemy; in his Catechiſm is not one word that ſaith, Do this, or, Do not this; he only therein maketh the conſciences to err. He wrote a book againſt me (*Hyperaſpiſte*) wherein he intended to defend his book concerning free-will, againſt which I wrote in my book touching ſervile-will; the ſame as yet he hath not confuted, neither ſhall he ever be able ſo to do; for I am certain and ſure, that what I wrote touching

touching that particular is the unchangeable truth of God. But if God liveth in Heaven, then Eraſmus one day ſhall know and feel what he hath done.

Eraſmus is an enemy to true religion, a particular adverſary to Chriſt, a complete picture and image of an Epicure, and of Lucian.

This have I (*Martin Luther*) written with mine own hand, to thee my beloved ſon John, and through thee to all my children, and to the Holy Chriſtian church.

Senſibus hæc imis (res eſt non parva) reponas.

CHAP. XLIV.

OF CHRISTIANS, AND A CHRISTIAN LIFE.

Luther's *Diſcourſe of Chriſtians, and a Chriſtian Life.*

TO be a Chriſtian (ſaid *Luther*) is, to have the Goſpel, and to believe in Chriſt; the ſame produceth the remiſſion of ſins, and God's grace: but it proceedeth only from the Holy Ghoſt; he worketh it through the Word without our addition or co-operation. It is God's own proper work, our ſtrength and free-will doth nothing thereunto; the ſame only ſuffereth and permitteth itſelf to be prepared and fitted by the Holy Spirit, as a piece of earth or clay by the potter is made and prepared into a veſſel.

Of the Chriſtian's worſhipping.

A CHRISTIAN's worſhipping (ſaid *Luther*) is not the external hypocritical vizard which ſpiritualeſs Friars do wear and ſhew when they chaſtiſe their bodies, torment and make themſelves faint, with ſtrict kind of lives, with faſting, watching, ſinging, and wearing ſhirts of hair, and ſcourging themſelves with rods, &c. Of ſuch worſhipping God knoweth nothing, neither deſireth nor demandeth of us; but the right worſhipping of a Chriſtian is, when God's Word is taught diligently, clearly, and unfalſified: as then the hearts are rightly inſtructed, that they know what and how they ought to believe, and how they ought to love their neighbours.

Faith is the upright and true worſhipping of God, and therewith he is beſt pleaſed; but it proceedeth not out of our will, ſtrength, or addition, but only from the Holy Ghoſt, he worketh the ſame through the Word, in our hearts, when and where he will, if we diligently attend upon the preaching of the Divine Word.

It is a great blindneſs of people's hearts that they cannot accept of that treaſure of grace preſented unto them; for ſuch people we are, that although we are baptiſed, have Chriſt with all his precious gifts, faith, the ſacraments, his word, (all which we confeſs to be holy) yet we can neither ſay nor think, that we ourſelves are holy: we think that is too much to ſay we are holy; whereas the name, Chriſtian, is far more glorious and greater than the name, holy.

We fools can call conſecrated robes, dead bones, and ſuch trumpery, holy; but we cannot think nor believe that a Chriſtian is holy; the reaſon is, we gaze upon the outward maſk, we ſpeculate and look after ſuch a ſeeming ſaint, or righteous

perſon, as leadeth a ſtrict kind of life, &c. From hence proceedeth this vain opinion in Popedom, that they call the dead, Saints; which error Zuinglius encreaſeth and ſtrengtheneth. Human wit and wiſdom hath regard to the holy-workers, that whoſo doth good works, the ſame is juſt and righteous before God. But we (ſaid *Luther*) will remain *in juſtitia relationis non qualitatis*; that is, *That God eſteemeth us juſt and righteous for the ſake of Chriſt, who clotheth us with his righteouſneſs*, &c.

Of a Chriſtian's beſt Way of dying.

NO better dying (ſaid *Luther*) than as St. Stephen died, who ſaid, *Lord receive my ſpirit*. That we lay aſide the regiſter of our ſins and deſerts, and die relying only upon God's mere grace and mercy.

How and when we do beſt of all.

WE never do better and holier, then when we know not what, or how much we do; that is when we think we do leaſt. In like manner, we never do more wiſely, than when we think we have done and do moſt fooliſhly; for ſtrength is ſtrong in weakneſs. Suffering is the beſt work and action. We never do worſe, than when we think and know we have done much; for impoſſible it is, but that at ſome time or other we ſhould take delight in our own doings and actions, and as then (in ſo doing) we utterly ſtain and ſpoil our actions and works; we honour and praiſe not God ſo purely as we ought, according to that ſentence, *Strength in weakneſs is ſtrong*. As we ſee by the examples of Jonas, Elias, and of all the high excelling ſaints.

That upright Chriſtians muſt be plagued of the World and the Devil.

PHILIP Melancthon (ſaid *Luther*) hath a good conſcience, therefore he taketh a matter near to heart. Chriſt well and thoroughly exerciſed and practiſed our forefathers; for that which belongeth to Chriſt, the ſame muſt feel the ſerpent's ſting in the heel. Alſo, no doubt the Mother of our Lord was a poor maid, therefore ſhe was betrothed to a carpenter, who was alſo poor.

Wherefore (ſaid *Luther*) let us be merry and contented in poverty and trouble, and remember that we have a rich maſter, who neither will nor can leave us without help and comfort, and in ſo doing, we have peaceable and good conſciences, let it go with us as God pleaſeth. The ungodly do want this peace in their hearts, as Iſaiah ſaith, *They are as the waves of the ſea; neither have the covetous uſurers any peace of conſcience.*

CHAP. XLV.

OF HYPOCRITES AND FALSE BRETHREN.

That the greateſt Miſchief proceedeth from falſe Brethren.

I CARE nothing at all (ſaid *Luther*) for one that is an open enemy of the church, as the Papiſts and tyrants with their power and perſecutions; I regard them not, for by them the true church cannot receive hurt and prejudice, neither are they able to hinder

hinder God's Word; yea, the church through their raging and perſecution rather increaſeth, as Tertullian ſaith, *Sanguine Chriſtianorum rigatur Eccleſia.* But it is the inward evil of falſe brethren that will do miſchief and devaſt the church, inſomuch as it will be lamentable to ſee. We ſee Judas betrayed Chriſt, the falſe Apoſtles confuſed and falſified the Goſpel. Theſe and the like, are the right companions through whom the devil rageth and ſpoileth the church.

What an Hypocrite is.

I KNOW not well (ſaid *Luther*) how to give this word, *Hypocrita*, in High Dutch, for hypocrite is too mild and ſoft a name for ſuch a one, it is almoſt as much as, *Sycophanta*, a wicked villain, who for his own private gain doth miſchief to others ſuch hypocrites were the ſervants and courtiers of King Saul, who for the ſake of their bellies, ſpake againſt righteous David, they backbite him in the King's preſence whereby the land was ſtained. *Hypocrita* is not only an hypocrite or a flatterer that pretendeth love towards one and ſpeaketh that which tickleth the ears; but alſo, deceiveth and produceth miſchief, and the ſame he doth under the colour of holineſs, as the examples in the 23d of Matthew do clearly ſhew. For St. Jerony-mus ſaith, Fained holineſs is a double evil. Therefore, *Hypocriſis* is called falſeneſs; *Hypocrita*, a child of perdition, a falſe deſpairing villain.

With what Sort of People Chriſtians are moſt fiercely to ſtrive with.

THE greateſt and fierceſt ſtrife which Chriſtians have, is with falſe brethren. If (ſaid *Luther*) a falſe brother would openly confeſs and ſay, I am a Pilate, an Herod, a Caiphas, or an Annas, that is, if he would put off the name of a believing Chriſtian, and profeſs himſelf an open enemy to Chriſt, then we would with patience ſuffer and endure all the evil that ſuch a one were able to work againſt us. But inſomuch as they will carry the name of Chriſtians, the ſame we neither may, can, nor will endure, in that they ſpeak and act, what belongeth not to Chriſtians. For this rule and government over the conſcience, we divines take properly unto us, and ſay, It is ours through the Word, we will not ſuffer ourſelves to be bereaved of it, by no means whatſoever.

That falſe Brethren are ſprung up in the Stead of Monks and Friars.

FORASMUCH (ſaid *Luther*) as we have hooted and hallooed away the Friars and Prieſts by and through the preaching of the Goſpel and God's Word, therefore the falſe Brethren do now plague us in ſuch ſort, that this ſentence muſt prove true on our hearers, as is written, *He came unto his own, and his own received him not.*

Of Judas Iſcariot, *the Example and Picture of falſe Brethren.*

I MUCH marvel (ſaid *Luther*) that nothing is written of the villainy which Judas did to Chriſt, I am perſuaded, he did it for the moſt part with the tongue; for Chriſt, not in vain, complaineth of him in the 41ſt Pſalm. Doubtleſs he went to the High Prieſt and Elders, and ſpake grievouſly againſt Chriſt; no doubt he ſaid, I baptize alſo, but now I ſee, the ſame is frivolous and nothing worth, &c. Moreover, he was a thief, he thought to make ſome great gain in betraying Chriſt (as alſo George Witzell and Crotus came to us, thinking by our means to be made great lords), he was a wicked,

a wicked, deſpairing villain, he glanced upon Chriſt. If he had not been ſo wicked a wretch, Chriſt would have forgiven him, as he forgave Peter; who fell alſo, but out of weakneſs, Judas out of wickedneſs. Like as the Apoſtles could not hinder the Jews at Jeruſalem from crucifying Chriſt; even as little can we help, when God's puniſhments proceed, as we ſee on the traitor Judas; our Lord God ſuffered Judas and the other Jews to run on their courſe, and ſeemeth to be ſo weak and ſimple as though he could not hinder them, but afterwards he cometh and payeth them ſoundly.

Whereto Judas *ſerveth as an Apoſtle, and is profitable.*

JUDAS (ſaid *Luther*) was as neceſſary among the Apoſtles, as any three of them. For he ſolveth and confuteth many arguments and places againſt the hereticks (the Donatiſts), who alledge firſt, that no man can baptize but he that hath the Holy Ghoſt. This argument Judas confuteth, he was an Apoſtle, and one of the twelve. Therefore what he did in his office, the ſame was good and right, but when he played the thief, and ſtole, then he did wrong, and ſinned. Therefore we muſt ſeparate and diſtinguiſh his perſon from his office, for Chriſt commanded him not to ſteal, but to execute his office, to preach, to baptize, &c. Judas likewiſe confuteth, what ſome do object againſt us, who ſay, There are among you Proteſtants many wicked wretches, falſe brethren, and unchriſtian-like offenders: here ſtandeth Judas and ſaith, I was alſo an Apoſtle, I behaved and carried myſelf (as an underſtanding worldly wiſe companion and politician) much better than the others, my fellow Apoſtles did; no man thought that ſuch miſchief had lain hid in me. Judas (ſaid *Luther*) at the Lord's Supper was directly the Pope, who alſo hath got hold on the purſe; he is a covetous wretch, a thief, and a belly-god; he will alſo ſpeak in the praiſe of Chriſt. In truth he is a right Iſcariot.

That Judas *is a Pattern of Chriſt's Enemies and of his Word.*

IN that Judas hanged himſelf, burſt in pieces, and his bowels fell out; the ſame is an example and picture, how all thoſe ſhall be deſtroyed, that perſecute Chriſt, his word, and people. For even as it went with their leader and captain Judas, in that he betrayed Chriſt, even ſo it will go with all Chriſt's enemies. The Jews juſtly ought to have made a looking-glaſs out of their nephew Judas, and have conſidered, that they in like manner ſhould be deſtroyed. In this word (belly and bowels) an allegory or myſtery lieth hid, for the belly ſignifieth the whole kingdom of the Jews; the ſame ſhall alſo fall away and be deſtroyed, inſomuch that nothing thereof ſhall remain. Alſo that the bowels fell out, thereby was ſhewed, that the poſterity of the Jews, yea alſo, that the whole Jewiſh generation ſhould be ſpoiled and go to the ground. Thereby was alſo ſignified, that where God's Word cometh, there people are worſe thereby and more hardened. Of this, Judas to us is a fearful example and looking-glaſs, he himſelf preached the Goſpel, wrought great miracles, was alſo the chief among the Apoſtles, yet, notwithſtanding, he betrayed Chriſt, and ſacrificed him. In like manner, the nation of the Jews were nothing bettered, although they heard the Goſpel preached by John the Baptiſt, by Chriſt himſelf, and by all the Apoſtles; yet at laſt they crucified the Lord of life, and ſlew all the Apoſtles. Thus they remained hardened in their ſins, to the end they might by the Romans be utterly ſpoiled and deſtroyed.

How

How Christians are preserved against the Devil and Tyrants

I MAY compare the state of a Christian (said *Luther*) to a goose which they use to tie up over a wolf's pit, thereby to catch wolves. About which pit, many hungry and ravening wolves are standing that willingly would devour the goose, but she is preserved alive, and the wolves which leap at the goose, fall into the pit, are taken, and destroyed. Even so, we that are Christians are preserved by the sweet loving angels, so that the devils (those ravening wolves), the tyrants and persecutors, neither must nor can destroy us.

That Hereticks and Sectaries are necessary for true Christians.

WE little know (said *Luther*) how good and necessary it is for us to have adversaries, and that Hereticks do hold up their heads against us. For if Cerinthus had not been, then St. John the Evangelist had never written his Gospel; but when Cerinthus opposed the God-head in our Lord Christ, then John was constrained to write, and say, *In principio erat verbam*, and made the distinction *trium personarum* so clear, that it could not be clearer made. Likewise when I (said *Luther*) began to write against indulgences, and against the Pope, then Dr. Eck laid himself against me, who wakened me up out of my drowsiness. I would wish from my heart, that the same man might be turned the right way and be converted, yea on that condition I would give one of my fingers; but in case he will needs remain where he is, then I would wish he were made Pope, for he hath well deserved it, in that hitherto he hath upon him the whole burthen of Popedom with disputing and writing against me, however in some measure they have rewarded him, for he hath got a yearly pension of seven hundred Florins, which he receiveth only out of the parish of Ingolstat. But he justly deserved to be Pope, for besides him, they have none that dare fall upon me; he raised my first cogitations against the Pope, and brought me so far, or otherwise I never should have come. Therefore when Hereticks and other adversaries intend to do us great hurt, on the contrary they be profitable to us.

That false Teachers do great Mischief in the World.

A LIAR (said *Luther*) is far worse, and doth greater mischief, than a murderer on the highway; for a liar and false teacher deceiveth people, seduceth souls, and destroyeth them under the colour of God's Word; such a liar and murderer was Judas, like his father the devil. It was a great matter that Judas should sit at the table with Christ, and not blush for shame, when Christ said, *One of you shall betray me*, &c. The other disciples had not the least thought that Judas should betray Christ: each one was rather afraid of himself, thinking Christ meant him; for Christ trusted Judas with the purse, and whole administration of the house-keeping; from whence he was held in great repute by the Apostles.

That the Manner and Nature of an Hypocrite is like unto a Scorpion.

A SCORPION (said *Luther*) thinketh when his head lieth hid and is thrust under a leaf, then he cannot be seen: even so the hypocrites and false saints do think when they have snatched up one or two good works, as then all their sins therewith are covered and hid.

Of Falſe Chriſtians.

FALSE Chriſtians that boaſt of the Goſpel, and yet do bring no good fruits, are like the clouds without rain, wherewith the whole element is overſhadowed, gloomy and darkened, and yet no rain falleth from them to fructify the ground: even ſo, many Chriſtians pretend great ſanctity and holineſs, but they have neither faith towards God, nor love towards their neighbour.

Of the Armour and Weapons of Chriſtians.

JOB ſaith, *The life of an human creature is a warfare upon earth.* An human creature, eſpecially a Chriſtian, muſt be a ſoldier, ever ſtriving and fighting with the enemy. And St. Paul deſcribeth the weapons of a Chriſtian, Epheſ. vi.

Firſt, The girdle of truth; that is, the confeſſion of the pure doctrine of the Goſpel, which is upright, not an hypocritical or a feigned faith.

Secondly, The breaſt-plate of righteouſneſs; but here is not meant the righteouſneſs of a good conſcience (although the ſame be alſo needful; for it is written, *Enter not into judgment with thy ſervant*, &c. And alſo St Paul, *I know nothing of myſelf, yet I am not thereby juſtified*), but it is the righteouſneſs of faith, and of the remiſſion of ſins, which Paul meaneth in that place, touching which Moſes ſpake, Gen. xv. *Abraham believed God, and that was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs.*

Thirdly, The ſhoes wherewith the feet are ſhod, are the works of the vocation, whereby we ought to remain, and not to go further, nor to break out beyond the appointed mark.

Fourthly, The ſhield of faith; ſimilar hereunto is the Fables of Perſeus, who holdeth in his hand the head of Gorgon, whoſo looked thereon died immediately. And like as Perſeus held and threw Gorgon's head before his enemies, and thereby got the victory: even ſo a Chriſtian muſt likewiſe hold and caſt the Son of God (as Gorgon's head) before all the evil inſtigations and crafts of the devil, as then moſt certainly he ſhall prevail and get the victory.

Fifthly, The helmet of ſalvation; that is, the hope of everlaſting life, but the weapons wherewith a Chriſtian overcometh the enemy, are two-fold.

The ſword of the Spirit, 1 Theſ. v. that is God's Word, and prayer: for like as the lion is frighted at nothing more than at the crowing of a cock: even ſo, the devil can be overcome and vanquiſhed with nothing elſe, than with God's Word, and with prayer: of this Chriſt himſelf hath given us an example.

Of comparing the Life of a Chriſtian.

OUR life (ſaid *Luther*) is like unto the ſailing of a ſhip; for like as the mariners in the ſhip have before them a port or haven, towards which they direct their courſe, and where they ſhall be ſecure from all danger; even ſo the promiſe of everlaſting life is made unto us; that we in the ſame, as in a ſafe port or haven, ſhould reſt calmly and ſecure. But ſeeing the ſhip wherein we are is weak; and the winds and waves do beat into and upon us, as though they would overwhelm us; therefore we have truly need of an underſtanding and experienced pilot, who with his counſel and advice might rule and govern the ſhip, that it run not on a rock, or utterly ſink and go down. Such a pilot is our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt Jeſus.

That

That the World acknowledgeth not upright Christians.

LIKE as Christ was of the world unknown, even so are we Christians, which only depend on him, unknown and not seen in the world; for the world seeth not the faith, neither do they know us that believe in Christ, who most certainly is always in us and among us, as he saith, *I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.* Also he saith, *I have given unto them the glory which thou gavest unto me, that they may be one, even as we are one, I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one,* &c.

Of a Christian's Properties.

THE properties of a good Christian (said *Luther*) is, that in the highest and greatest weakness, he is strongest; in the greatest foolishness, he is wisest; the one he comprehendeth with human sense and reason; the other with faith.

That False Brethren, and Secret Enemies are the worst.

INGRATITUDE (said *Luther*) is a very irksome thing, which hitherto no human creature (except Scipio the Roman) could tolerate or overcome; yet our Lord God can endure more than we. If I should have had dealing with the Jews, then patience would have failed me; I never had been able so long to endure their stubbornness. The Prophets always were poor contemned people; not only plagued and persecuted of outward and open, but also of inward and secret enemies, for the most part of their own people. That which the Pope doth against us, the same is nothing to compare of that which Jeckle and Grickle do; they procure unto us sorrow of heart; these are the golden friends, but so it must be, therefore Moses said well and truly, *Thou art indeed a wonderful God.*

Of False Christians.

IT is more safe to be an Epicure then a false brother. The Pope (said *Luther*) is far worse than the Turk, and so are false brethren.

CHAP. XLVI.

OF SOPHISTRY.

Luther's *Discourse of Sophistry.*

WE ought with all diligence (said *Luther*) thoroughly to consider what the world is, for it is governed merely through weanings and opinions; insomuch that upright and true religion is and must be termed sophistry, hyprocrisy, or external seeming civility and tyranny. We ought therefore diligently to take heed

heed, and beware of ſophiſtry, which not only conſiſteth in doubtful and uncertain words, which may be conſtrued and ſcrewed as one pleaſeth, but alſo in each profeſſion, in all high arts (as in religion); it covereth and cloketh itſelf with the fair name of holy Scripture, it muſt altogether be God's Word, and ſpoken as from heaven. Such perſons are unworthy of praiſe that can pervert every thing, can ſcrew, contemn, and reject the meanings and opinions of others; and like the philoſopher Carneades, can diſpute *in utramque partem*, and yet conclude nothing certainly. Theſe, in plain Engliſh, are knaviſh tricks, and ſophiſtical inventions. But a fine and expert underſtanding, and an honeſt diſpoſition, that ſeeketh after truth, and hath love to that which is plain and upright, the ſame is worthy of all honour and praiſe.

CHAP. XLVII.

OF OFFENCES.

Luther's Diſcourſe of Offences.

OFFENCES in the church are far more abominable than by the Heathen; for when Chriſtians digreſs, and fall from their kind, as then they are far worſe and more ungodly than the Heathen; therefore the Prophet Jeremiah complaineth in the 4th chapter of his Lamentations, and ſaith, *The puniſhment of the iniquity of the daughter of my people, is greater than the puniſhment of the ſin of Sodom*, &c. And Ezekiel ſaith, *Thou haſt juſtified Sodom with thine abominations.* And Chriſt ſaith, *It will be more tolerable for Sodom at the Day of Judgment, than with thee.* But ſo it muſt be; *He came unto his own, and his own received him not.* Truly this maketh the good and Godly altogether faint, and out of heart, inſomuch as they rather deſire death, for with ſorrow of heart we find, at this day, that many of ours do give offence to others. We ought diligently to pray to God againſt offences, to the end his name may be hallowed. From hence St. Paul ſaith, *Alſo of our ownſelves ſhall men ariſe, ſpeaking perverſe things, to draw away diſciples after them.* Therefore the church hath no external eſteem nor ſucceſſion; it inheriteth not.

That Offences are Two-fold.

THERE are (ſaid *Luther*) two ſorts of offences; the one is *Acceptum* (taken), the other *Datum* (given). *Acceptum* is, when one is offended at that which is done well and uprightly; for inſtance, Chriſt did every thing, which he ſpake and acted, according to God's Word, Will, and Commandment: yet, notwithſtanding, the Jews took offence thereat, they thought he did unright: the ſame is called an accepted offence, a falſe opinion, which is ſtark naught. Even ſo the Pope with his crew taketh offence, becauſe I teach concerning Chriſtian freedom, that Chriſtians, through Chriſt, are freed from the Law, &c. I reprove them, and find fault with their doctrine for their own good, if they would acknowledge it; if not, let them chuſe and rage on. St. Paul ſaith, I will anger them, not to their

their fall or damnation, but to their riſing again and ſalvation; well on (ſaid *Luther*), we muſt reprove falſe doctrine, and teach God's Word purely and unfalſified, let it anger and vex whom it will.

There are two ſorts of offences; one external, as the Turk and Pope with their adherents; they ſtand in full flouriſh, and all goeth according to their will and pleaſure; the ſame vexeth and offendeth us. The other is inward, which is the greateſt: as that I am a child of God. If this were true, ſaith my natural wit and wiſdom, as it is moſt certain, ſeeing God himſelf ſaith it, who cannot lie, and I could always believe it, then I would not give a ruſh for the Pope's threefold crown; yea, I would tread the Turk under my feet, but we believe not that it is true, therefore are we ſo faint-hearted and diſcouraged.

Of Comfort againſt the Offence touching the Doctrine.

TRUE it is (ſaid *Luther*), much offence proceedeth out of my doctrine; but I comfort myſelf, as St. Paul did to Titus, whereby this doctrine is revealed for the ſake of the faith of God's choſen, for whoſe ſake we alſo preach, we mean it earneſtly. For the ſake of others (ſaid *Luther*) I would not drop one word. I have cracked many hollow nuts, and yet I thought they had been good, but they fouled my mouth, and filled it with duſt; Carlſtad and Eraſmus Roterodamus are merely hollow nuts, they foul the mouth.

Happy is he that is not offended in me.

THE ſame was a ſtrange kind of offence (ſaid *Luther*) that the world was offended at him who raiſed the dead, who made the blind to ſee, and the deaf to hear, &c. They that hold ſuch a man for a devil, what manner of God would they have? But here it lieth, Chriſt would give to the world the kingdom of heaven, but they will have the kingdom of the earth; there they part, there they are offended; for the higheſt wiſdom and ſanctity of the hypocrites in truth ſeeth and diſcerneth nothing but temporal honour, carnal will, human kind of life, good days, money and wealth, all which muſt duſt away, vaniſh, and ceaſe.

Of the World's Offence.

THE whole world taketh offence at the plainneſs of the ſecond table of God's Ten Commandments, becauſe human ſenſe and reaſon partly underſtandeth what is done contrary to the ſame. But when God and his Word is contemned, then the world thereat is ſilent, they regard it not. But when a monaſtery is taken in, or when fleſh is eaten on a Friday, or when a Friar or Prieſt taketh a wife, &c. O, then the world crieth out, and ſaith, theſe are abominable offences.

CHAP. XLVIII.

OF THE TRUE SERVICE OF GOD.

Of the Obedience towards God, and towards the Devil.

THE obedience towards God, is the obedience or faith and good works; that is, who believeth in God, and doth what God hath commanded, the ſame is obedient unto him: but the obedience towards the devil is ſuperſtition, and evil works; that is, who truſteth not in God, but is unbelieving, and doth evil, the ſame is obedient unto the devil.

Of two Sorts of Sacrifices in the Old Teſtament.

THE firſt was called the early morning ſacrifice; thereby is ſhewed, that we firſt ſhould offer unto Chriſt, not oxen or cattle, but ourſelves; we ſhould confeſs and acknowledge God's gifts both corporal and ſpiritual, temporal and eternal, and ſhould give God thanks for the ſame. Secondly, the evening ſacrifice; thereby it ſignifieth and ſheweth, that a Chriſtian ſhould offer a broken, humble, and a contrite heart, that he conſider his neceſſities and dangers both corporal and ſpiritual, and ſhould call upon God for help.

Of an Argument touching the Service of God.

GOD will (ſome may ſay) that we ſhould ſerve him freely and willingly, but he that ſerveth God out of fear of puniſhment, and of hell, or out of a hope and love of recompence, the ſame ſerveth and honoureth God not uprightly nor truly. Anſwer. This argument (ſaid *Luther*) is Stoical, who reject the affections and inclinations of human nature. It is true we ought willingly to ſerve, to love, and to fear God as the chiefeſt good. But notwithſtanding God can well endure that we love him for his promiſe ſake, and pray unto him for corporal and ſpiritual benefits; therefore he hath commanded us to pray. In like manner God can alſo endure that we fear him for the puniſhment's ſake, as the Prophets do remember. Indeed it is ſomewhat, that a human creature can acknowledge God's everlaſting puniſhment and rewards. And if one looketh thereupon, as not being the chief end and cauſe, then it hurteth him not, eſpecially, if he hath regard to God himſelf as the final cauſe, who giveth every thing *gratis*, for nothing, out of mere grace without our deſerts.

What it is to worſhip and to ſerve God.

THIS word (to worſhip), is to ſtoop and bow down with the body with external geſtures; to ſerve, is the work. But to worſhip God ſpiritually, or in ſpirit, the ſame is the ſervice and honour of the heart; it comprehendeth faith and fear in God: worſhipping of God is two-fold, outwardly, and inwardly, that is, to acknowledge God's benefits, and to be thankful unto him.

That

That only the Poor do ſerve and worſhip God.

THE whole world blaſphemeth God, and indeed (ſaid *Luther*) only the poor do honour, worſhip, praiſe, and ſerve God, as it is written, *The miſerable and poor do praiſe the Lord; the wiſe of the world and the powerful give honour not unto God, but to themſelves.*

Of upright Chriſtians Pilgrimages.

IN Popedom (ſaid *Luther*) they went on pilgrimage to the dead Saints; they went towards Rome, towards Jeruſalem, Compoſtell, and to St. James, to make ſatisfaction and payment for their ſins. But now we might act and perform upright, good, and godly pilgrimages, which are pleaſing to God in faith; namely, diligently to read the Prophets, the Pſalms, the Goſpel, &c. As then we ſhould not wander through the cities of dead Saints, but through our hearty contemplations to God, that is, to viſit the right and true land of promiſe, and paradiſe of everlaſting life. A certain Prince in Germany, well known to myſelf (ſaid *Luther*), went to Compoſtell in Spain, where St. James, the brother of the Evangeliſt and Apoſtle St. John, ſhould lie buried. Now as this Prince made his confeſſion to a Barefoot Friar, who was an honeſt man, he aſked the Prince if he were a German? The Prince anſwered, yea. Then the Friar ſaid, O loving child, why ſeekeſt thou ſo far for that, which thou haſt much better and more precious in Germany; for I have ſeen and read the writings of an Auſtin Friar touching indulgences and pardons for ſins, wherein he powerfully concludeth, that the true pardons and remiſſions of ſins do only conſiſt in the merits and ſufferings of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. O loving child, ſaid the Friar, remain thereby, and permit not thyſelf to be otherwiſe perſuaded. I purpoſe ſhortly, God willing, to leave this ungodly life, to repair into Germany, and to join myſelf to the ſame Auſtin Friar.

Of great Alterations done in the Church.

SINCE the time that the Goſpel hath been preached, which is not above twenty years, ſuch great wonders (ſaid *Luther*) have been done, as were not in many hundred years before; for no man ever thought that ſuch alterations ſhould happen; namely, that ſo many monaſteries ſhould be made empty, that the private Maſs ſhould fall, and be aboliſhed in Germany, in deſpite of ſo many hereticks, ſectaries, and tyrants. Muntzer, that miſchievous opiniated man, oppoſed the ſame, but he was ſoon ſnapped away. Moreover, Rome hath twice been devaſted, and many great Princes that perſecuted the Goſpel, have been thrown down to the ground, and deſtroyed. All Heathens ſerve their Gods (ſaith the Prophet Jeremiah); only the people of the true God neither love nor ſerve him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

OF MATRIMONY.

Whether a Servant of the Church, for the Sake of the Office of Preaching, may remain unmarried?

TO which *Luther* anſwered and ſaid, A Preacher of the Goſpel (being orderly thereunto called) ought above all things, firſt, to purify himſelf before he teacheth others. Is he able with a good conſcience to remain unmarried? Then let him ſo remain; but in caſe he cannot abſtain, and live chaſtely, then let him marry, and take a wife; for God hath made that plaſter for the ſame ſore.

Of a Papiſtical Argument.

FORASMUCH, as a Chriſtian Preacher, for the word's ſake, muſt ſuffer impriſonment and perſecution, much more ought he to endure and bear the *Cœlibatum*, and unmarried life, and remain ſingle, although it be irkſome and grievous unto him. *Luther* hereupon ſaid, A man may rather ſuffer bonds and impriſonment than burning, he that hath not the gift of chaſtity, the ſame prevaileth nothing with faſting, with watching, or other things that plague and torment the body, thereby thinking to live chaſtely. I have found it by experience (though I was not very ſorely tempted therewith), that the more I chaſtiſed and tormented myſelf, and bridled my body, the more I was tempted; and beſides, although one had the gift to live chaſtely and unmarried, yet he ought to take a wife in contradiction to the Pope, who forbiddeth the ſpiritual perſons to marry; they are (ſaid *Luther*) tricks and ſnares of the devil, whereby he goeth about to take from us the freedom of the Word. We muſt not only ſpeak, and teach againſt the ſame, but we muſt alſo act againſt it, that is, we muſt marry, therewith to contradict and oppoſe the falſe and ſuperſtitious ordinances and decrees of the Pope; for I fully reſolved thus with myſelf (ſaid *Luther*) before I took a wife, that if, unexpectedly, I were taken ill, and likely to die, yet, nevertheleſs, in honour to the ſtate of Matrimony, I would have cauſed myſelf to be betrothed to ſome honeſt maid, and for a marriage gift I would give unto her a couple of ſilver cups.

Of the Picture of Matrimony in all Creatures.

IT is written in the firſt Book of Moſes concerning Matrimony, God created a man and a woman, and bleſſed them. Now (ſaid *Luther*) although this ſentence chiefly was ſpoken of human creatures, yet, nevertheleſs, we ought to draw the ſame upon the creatures in the world, upon the fowls of the air, upon the fiſh in the waters, and upon all the beaſts on earth, where we find a male and a female that conſort and keep together, do ingender and increaſe; inſomuch as in all creatures God hath placed before our eyes the ſtate of Matrimony, we have alſo the

the picture of the ſame, even on the trees, yea alſo upon the ſtones; for it is known to every man, that among the trees there is found a male and a female; as apples and pears, the apple-tree being the man, or male, the pear-tree the woman, or the female; the like natures are found in other trees, and when they are planted near one another, then they grow and proſper better than otherwiſe: the male ſtretcheth forth his boughs towards the female, again the female directeth her boughs towards the male, as if they would embrace each other. Even ſo likewiſe, the air is the man, or male, and the earth the woman, or female, for the earth is made fruitful by the air, through the heat of the ſun, rain, and winds, inſomuch that all manner of herbs and fruit grow out of it; alſo we find the ſtate of Matrimony pictured on the hard ſtones, eſpecially on the precious ſtones, as on the couralls, ſmaragds, and on others.

That the moſt amiable Company and Communion is among honeſt married People.

IT is the higheſt grace and gift of God to have an honeſt, a God-fearing, houſewifely conſort, with whom a man may live peaceable, in whom he may put in truſt his wealth, and whatſoever he hath, yea his body and life, with whom he may have children. But God thruſteth many into the ſtate of Matrimony before they be aware, and rightly bethink themſelves.

Of the Worth and Profit of the State of Matrimony which the World ſeeth not.

ALL the works of God are hid from the world, and they regard them not, neither do they underſtand them; God is wonderful who ſecretly hideth innumerable benefits which we neither ſee nor regard; for who can ſufficiently admire the ſtate of Matrimony, which is God's gift and ordnance of himſelf, inſtituted and founded, out of which human creatures that are in the world, yea all ſtates do proceed. Where were we if the ſtate of Matrimony were not? But (ſaid *Luther*) neither God's ordnance, nor the affable being of children, which, by matrimony, are ingendered, moveth the ungodly world: they behold only the want and trouble in Matrimony, but they ſee not the great treaſure that is hid therein; yet we are all crept out of the mothers womb, Emperors, Kings, Princes, yea Chriſt himſelf, the Son of God, was not aſhamed to be born of a virgin. Therefore let the contemners and rejecters of Matrimony go to the hangman, as the Antinomians and others, who obſerve no Matrimony, but live together like beaſts; likewiſe let the Papiſts alſo have good year with their unmarried lives, and nevertheleſs have whores; if they will needs contemn Matrimony, then let them deal therein uprightly, and keep no whores.

Next to Religion Matrimony is the principalleſt State.

THE ſtate of Matrimony (ſaid *Luther*) is the chiefeſt ſtate in the world after religion; but people, like the beaſts in the fields, and the dregs of the world, do ſhun and flie from the ſame, by reaſon of perſonal trials and misfortunes, who, while they intend to out-run the rain, do fall into the water. Wherefore go on with joy in the name of the Lord, and caſt thyſelf under the croſs; we ought herein to have more regard to God's command and ordnance (for the ſake of the generation, and bringing up of children) than to our untoward humours and cogitations; and when this is not the reaſon, yet we ought to conſider, that it is a phyſick againſt ſin, and to reſiſt inchaſtity. I am angry with the lawyers

(ſaid *Luther*) who in every thing deal according to their canons and decrees, in the ſtricteſt manner, againſt their own conſciences, they will not yield to God's Word, they maintain ſecret contracts againſt natural, divine, and imperial Laws, yet, nevertheleſs, they boaſt that their canons are upright. On the contrary, none ſhould be compelled to marry, but it ſhould be free for every one, and left to their conſcience, for bride-love may not be preſſed and forced.

Of Luther's giving of Thanks for the State of Matrimony.

WHEN I am alone, then I give our Lord God thanks for the ſtate of Matrimony, eſpecially, when I compare the ſame, and hold it againſt the confounded ungodly, unmarried life in Popedom, and againſt the abominable Italian weddings.

Of the Cauſe and Foundation of Matrimony.

THE cauſe and foundation of Matrimony are chiefly God's command, inſtitution, and ordinance. It is a ſtate inſtituted by God himſelf, viſited by Chriſt in perſon, and preſented with a glorious preſent; for God ſaid, *It is not good that the man ſhould be alone*; therefore the wife ſhould be a help to the huſband, to the end, that the human generation may be encreaſed, and children nurtured to God's honour, and to the profit of people and countries; alſo to avoid whoring, and to keep our bodies in ſanctification. Matrimony is well pleaſing to God, for St. Paul compareth the church to a ſpouſe, or bride and a bridegroom. Therefore we ought to take heed and beware, that in marrying we eſteem neither money nor wealth, great deſcent, nobility, nor letchery.

What in marrying we ought to conſider.

WHEN one intendeth to marry, the ſame ſhould conſider theſe points following; 1. God's command. 2. The Lord Chriſt's confirmation thereof. 3. The gift or preſent of Chriſt. 4. The firſt bleſſing. 5. The promiſe that is made thereunto. 6. The communion and fellowſhip. 7. The examples of the holy Patriarchs. 8. The temporal Laws and Ordinancies. 9. The precious benediction and bleſſing. 10. The examples of the wicked. 11. The threatening of St. Paul. 12. The natural rights. 13. The nature and kind of the creation. 14. The practice of faith and hope.

Of Henry, King of England.

HENRY VIII. King of England (ſaid *Luther*) married his brother's wife (niece to the Emperor Charles V.) but the Pope would not allow thereof. Now the King obtained a cenſure of the Pope, either to keep, or to forſake her. He thereupon diſpatched Cardinal Campeius into England, as a commiſſary from the Pope. Then a court-day being appointed, the Cardinal heard the caſe diſcuſſed on both ſides, whereupon the Cardinal (finding the conjunction in a prohibited degree, ſo as the Pope, with his authority, could not juſtify the divorce) departed ſecretly away, and ſo left the cauſe undecided. Then the King therewith being moved to anger, ſhifted the caſe from himſelf to the judgment of divers Univerſities in foreign parts (being ſeven): all which concluded, that ſuch conjunction and Matrimony ought to be

be ſeparated. But (ſaid *Luther*) we here at Wittemberg, and thoſe at Loven, pronounced the contrary, having regard to the circumſtance; namely, ſeeing they both had conſorted ſo long a time together in Matrimony (not knowing the ſame to be a prohibited caſe), therefore we thought it not ſafe to ravel out and to ſeparate the ſame matrimonial conjunction, celebrated between ſuch high Potentates, in regard of great offences and inconveniences which might enſue, as a daughter was begotten of them. But the other Univerſities proceeded craftily in the cauſe, they proceeded ſo as to moleſt the Emperor, by ſending his niece home again, ſtained with diſhonour and ſhame; and by ſuch a divorce, to marry the ſiſter of the French King, to the King of England. Thus (ſaid *Luther*) every thing goeth croſs and untowardly againſt the good Emperor, he hath many adverſaries, therefore he muſt needs have good fortune.

Whether a Man from whom his Wife is run away, may marry another.

DR. Forſtenius wrote to *Luther* to know if a man, whoſe wife was taken in adultery, and run away from him, might marry another, while ſhe yet lived; and whether the marriage held with the other might not be eſteemed a marriage, but rather a whoring and adultery? *Luther* hereunto anſwered him in writing, as followeth; St. Paul ſaith, *If the unbelieving depart let him depart, a brother or a ſiſter is not under bondage in ſuch caſes, but God hath called us to peace.* Here St. Paul plainly permitteth the other marriage.

How far Children, in Marriage, ought to follow the Advice of their Parents.

THESE matrimonial cauſes (ſaid *Luther*) ſecretly ſteal from us the time of ſtudying, of reading, preaching, writing, and praying; yet I am glad that the conſiſtories again are erected, chiefly for the ſake of matrimonial cauſes. Many kinds of matrimonial buſineſſes do fall out, which we ought to judge not according to preſcribed laws, but according to the circumſtances, to equity, and the conſideration of honeſt, God-fearing, underſtanding people. For many parents are ſo doatingly fond of their children, that they would debar them from marrying, without any juſt cauſe; in this caſe (ſaid *Luther*) the magiſtrates and miniſters ought to look thereinto, ſhould help to further Matrimony. For when they are young people, and love one another, which is the ſubſtance or ground whereon Matrimony conſiſteth, ſo ought they not to be reſiſted without great and weighty cauſe: but we will follow Sampſon's example, and children ought to ſeek the good-will and conſent of their parents, eſpecially now, in the time of the Goſpel, when Matrimony is in great honour and eſteem.

Of Luther's Diſputation concerning Secret Contracts entered into by Children without the Advice and Conſent of the Parents.

LUTHER ſaid, the lawyers and canoniſts are of opinion, that the ſubſtance of Matrimony is the conſent of the bride and bridegroom, and that the privilege and power of the parents is but an accidental thing, without which Matrimony may well be accompliſhed. Therefore we ought not to reſiſt nor hinder the ſubſtance, for the ſake of the accidents; this I know full well (ſaid *Luther*) that the conſent is the ſubſtance and ground of Matrimony, for where no love nor conſent is, there muſt needs be an unhappy marriage. But this I ſay, when ſuch children are puniſhed thinking, thereby to ſcare and affright them, yet we ſhall prevail nothing therewith, for youth in this matter will not deſiſt through temporal puniſhment.

Cognatio Spiritualis: or, *of Spiritual Kindred.*

WHEN one in Popedom chriſteneth another's child, the ſame as then hindereth marriage in thoſe perſons; this is altogether ridiculous, for according to that manner, one Chriſtian muſt not marry another by reaſon of ſpiritual alliance as being brethren and ſiſters in Chriſt, it is merely the Pope's money-net. Such marriages (ſaid *Luther*) which are performed for the ſake of wealth, commonly produce the malediction and curſe; for rich women for the moſt part are haughty, croſs, and negligent, they waſte and ſpend more than they bring.

What ſeparateth Matrimony.

THERE are two cauſes of divorcement; Firſt, Adultery; therein (ſaid *Luther*) Chriſtians ought to labour and to uſe diligent perſuaſions, that thoſe married people may be reconciled again, and withal, ſharply to reprove the guilty perſon, and to read a ſound text unto the ſame. The Second cauſe is, when one runneth away from the other, and cometh again, and afterwards runneth away again. Such companions have commonly their mates in other places, who richly deſerve to be puniſhed.

Whether a Miniſter ought to be troubled with Matrimonial Buſineſſes.

I ADVISE in every thing (ſaid *Luther*) that we miniſters take not ſuch burthens upon us; Firſt, In regard we have enough to do in our office; Secondly, Becauſe matrimonial affairs concern not the church, but are temporal things, which pertain to temporal magiſtrates; Thirdly, Becauſe ſuch caſes are in a manner innumerable; they are very high, broad and deep, and produce many great offences which may tend to the ſhame and diſhonour of the Goſpel. Moreover, we are therein unfriendly dealt with; they draw us into thoſe buſineſſes; is the iſſue evil, then the blame muſt be altogether laid upon us. Therefore we will leave the ſame to the lawyers and magiſtrates, let them labour in thoſe employments. The miniſters ought only to adviſe and counſel the conſciences out of God's Word when need requireth. Dr. Chriſtian Beyr, Saxonian Chancellor, would have us Divines to hear, to weigh and to examine cauſes, and afterwards, we ſhould attend and expect the cenſures and concluſions of the Lawyers; but (ſaid *Luther*) they ſhall not bring me thereunto, for they ought to hear, to attend and expect our cenſures, what we pronounce. Nevertheleſs, Philip Melancthon and Dr. Cellarius adviſed and entreated me, that, for a time, we might ſerve the poor tattered church in ſuch caſes.

Of ſecret Contracts, how they were to be puniſhed.

IN the ſynod at Leipzig, the lawyers concluded, that ſecret contractors ſhould be puniſhed with baniſhment, and be diſinherited. Whereupon (ſaid *Luther*) I ſent them word, that I would not allow thereof, it were too groſs a proceeding, and although the lawyers ſhould maintain it, yet we would not connive with them. But nevertheleſs, I hold it fitting, that thoſe which in ſuch ſort do ſecretly contract themſelves, ought ſharply to be reproved, yea alſo in ſome meaſure ſeverely puniſhed.

Of

Of Words, De Præſenti & de Futuro.

MASTER John Holſteine raiſed a queſtion, when two contracted themſelves, *Verbis de futuro*, as when I ſay, I will marry thee, whether the ſame were to be underſtood of the time to come, or no? *Luther* ſaid, Thoſe words ought to be underſtood of the preſent time; for this word (*Volo*) I will, ſheweth and ſignifieth a preſent will; yea all bargained contracts and promiſes are to be underſtood of the preſent time; as when a fellow ſaith to a maid, When I come again (which will be God willing two years hence), then I will marry thee. Theſe words are to be underſtood of the preſent time, for when he cometh again then he is obliged to marry her; and it ſtandeth not in his power, in the time of thoſe two years, to alter his mind and will.

Of Luther's *Prayer before his Marriage.*

LOVING heavenly Father, foraſmuch as thou haſt placed me in the honour of thy name and office, and wilt alſo have me to be named and honoured a father, grant me grace, and bleſs me, that I may rule and maintain my loving wife, children and ſervants, divinely and chriſtian-like. Give me wiſdom and ſtrength well to govern and to bring them up; give alſo unto them good hearts and wills to follow thy doctrine and to be obedient. Amen.

Of the Vow of Chaſtity.

TO vow chaſtity, is nothing elſe than to condemn and curſe the ſtate of Matrimony, for every one that is ſpiritual (I mean ſpiritleſs) when he is inveſted, renounceth the ſtate of Matrimony with coloured words, and forſweareth marriage, not only for a time, but alſo ſo long as he liveth. Is not this (ſaid *Luther*) an abominable deſolation?

At what Time the unmarried Kind of Life began, and how long it hath endured.

THE Celibat, or ſingle kind of life of the ſpiritualty, began in the time of Cyprian, who lived two hundred and fifty years after the birth of Chriſt; ſo that this ſuperſtition hath continued thirteen hundred years. St. Ambroſe and others believed not that they were human creatures like other people.

Of the Prieſts Chaſtity, or Celibat.

ANNO 1532, Albrect Biſhop of Mentz, being at Nurenburg, ſaid, He would rather permit the Lord's Supper to be adminiſtered and received under both kinds, and would utterly aboliſh the Maſs, than that he would ſuffer the Celibat, or unmarried kind of life, to go down. This was an abominable ſpeech (ſaid *Luther*); I hope our Lord God will put in practice the *Magnificat* upon them, *Depoſuit potentes de ſede.* For God will maintain his honour, and they ſhall ſing the aſſes tune, high begun, but lowly ended.

Of the Fruit of the unmarried Life of Prieſts and Nuns.

ST. ULRICH, Biſhop of Augſpurg, in an epiſtle which he wrote, complained of a fearful ſpectacle at Rome; namely, that after Pope Gregory had erected and confirmed the Celibat, or unmarried kind of life, he intended to fiſh in a deep pond at Rome, hard by the monaſtery of the Nuns, the water in the pond being let out, they found more than ſix thouſand heads of children, which had been caſt into the pond and drowned; theſe were the fruits of the unmarried life; whereupon Pope Gregory (at that ſight being amazed) aboliſhed that decree concerning the unmarried kind of life; but the other Popes that ſucceeded Gregory, erected the ſame again. The like happened in Auſtria, that in the monaſtery at Neuburg had been Nuns, who by reaſon of their ungodly letcherous doings, were put out of the ſame, and placed elſewhere, in which monaſtery were ſet Franciſcan Friars. N owthe Friars intending to build, the foundation was digged up, where they found twelve great pots, in each pot was the carcaſe of a little child. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) like as St. Paul ſaid, *Melius eſt nubere, quam uri*; even ſo ſay I, It were better to marry, than to give occaſion that ſo many innocent children ſhould be ſtrangled and murdered.

At Rome are born ſuch a multitude of baſtards, that they were conſtrained to build particular monaſteries wherein they were brought up, and the Pope is named thier father. When any great proceſſions are held in Rome, then the ſaid baſtards go all before the Pope.

That a Cardinal at Rome was a married Man.

UNDER Pope Julius was exerciſed an abominable letchery and whoring at Rome. At the ſame time was a Cardinal that had married a wife, the which being known, he was conſtrained to forſake her, but within leſs than the ſpace of a year he took her again; now when the Cardinal died, his wife wept bitterly and ſaid, She had an honeſt huſband who contented himſelf with one woman: the citizens in Rome, wondering to hear the ſame, cried, *O ſancta Maria.* For (ſaid *Luther*) chaſtity in thoſe people is rare veniſon.

CHAP. L.

OF MAGISTRATES AND RULERS.

Luther's *Diſcourſe of Magiſtrates and Rulers.*

MAGISTRACY (ſaid *Luther*) is a ſign of Divine grace, and that God is merciful, who hath no pleaſure in murdering, killing, and ſtrangling, otherwiſe God would leave all things to go which way they would, as among the Turks and other nations, without good government, and as then we ſhould quickly diſpatch one another out of this world.

Of

Of the Difference between Parents and Magiſtrates.

PARENTS (ſaid *Luther*) do keep their children with greater diligence and care, than the rulers and governors keep their ſubjects, from whence Moſes ſaith, *Have I begotten you*, &c. Fathers and mothers are maſters naturally and willingly, it is a ſelf grown dominion; but rulers and magiſtrates is a forced maſtery, that is they deal by force, and it is a made or a prepared dominion; therefore when father and mother can rule no more, then the hangman muſt do the deed and bring them up. Therefore rulers and magiſtrates ought to watch over the Sixth Commandment.

That God Puniſheth through the Magiſtrates, who are his Inſtruments.

THE temporal magiſtrate is even like unto a fiſh-net which they uſe to ſet before the fiſh in a pond or a lake; but God is the plunger, whereby the fiſh are driven into the net. For when a thief, a robber, an adulterer, or murtherer, is ripe, then he hunteth them into the net, that is, he cauſeth that they are taken by the magiſtrate, and puniſhed; for it is written, *God is judge upon earth.* Therefore repent, or thou muſt be puniſhed.

At Wittemberg there was a thief, that had continued ſtealing threeſcore years, and being apprehended in the fact, was aſked by the mayor, How it went? he anſwered and ſaid, As I drive, ſo it goeth.

Let the Prieſts teach; let the magiſtrates defend and protect; let the huſbandman till the ground, and let others do that which is profitable to the conſervation of human ſociety.

That Governors muſt hold over their Laws and Ordinances.

PRINCES and rulers ſhould maintain their laws and ſtatutes, otherwiſe they will be contemned. Princes and Governors (ſaid *Luther*) above all things ſhould hold the Goſpel in all honour, and carry the ſame even in their hands, for it furthereth and preſerveth them, it ennobleth the ſtate and office of magiſtracy, ſo that now they know where their vocation and calling is, and that with good and ſafe conſciences they may execute the works of their office. But formerly, in Popedom, Princes and Rulers, yea, all judges were weary to cenſure over blood, and to puniſh thieves and malefactors; for they knew not how to diſtinguiſh a private perſon that was in no office, from him that was in office, and had command to puniſh, &c. The executioner or hangman always craved pardon of the condemned malefactor when he was to execute his office, as though he did unright, and ſinned in executing the ſame ungodly wicked wretch, whereas it is their own proper office which God hath commanded, for St. Paul ſaith, *He beareth not the ſword in vain*, for he is God's miniſter, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil: therefore (ſaid *Luther*) when the magiſtrate puniſheth, then God himſelf puniſheth. Magiſtrates ought not to be mild; for behold God (who is the moſt merciful), what an earneſt and ſevere law and charge he gave, were he ſaith, *Whoſo curſeth his father or mother, the ſame ſhall be put to death, thou ſhalt not have pity on them*, &c.

That Magiſtrates ſhould always cleanſe and put away the Evil.

JOAB, King David's General (ſaid *Luther*), was doubtleſs a brave ſoldier; for he ventured freely and with a valiant courage: when he had but ſix hundred men he joined battle with the whole hoſt of Iſrael and beat them; for he thought, I have with me good and experienced ſoldiers that oftentimes have been in the buſineſs, but yonder are a multitude of people wrapt up together in every place, huddling companions that approach diſorderly, &c. therefore he fell ſtoutly upon them and put them to flight. I hold that David not willingly raiſed war againſt his ſon Abſolom, but that his captains perſuaded him thereunto; for he charged them that they ſhould deal well and mildly with the young man; but Joab's counſel was the beſt, namely, to diſpatch wicked wretches out of the way, for they become no better, but always begin and raiſe one miſchief after another.

That ungodly Princes have ungodly Counſellors.

IT is impoſſible (ſaid *Luther*) that where a Prince or Potentate is ungodly, there ſhould not be ungodly connſellors. As is the maſter, ſuch are alſo his ſervants. And this followeth neceſſarily, and is certain. Is the Biſhop of Mentz a liar? ſo muſt Dr. Turk be a knave. Solomon ſaith, *A maſter that hath pleaſure in lying, his ſervants are ungodly; it faileth not.*

That we ought to pray for Governors.

THE magiſtracy is a neceſſary ſtate in the world, and to be held in honour; therefore we ought to pray for them, for they eaſily may be corrupted and ſpoiled, *Nam honores mutant mores, nunquam in meliores.* Honour altereth the kind of life, produceth another mind, other ſpeech, geſtures, and actions, but ſeldom or never better; they commonly become tyrants; for that Potentate or Prince who governeth without laws according to his own brain, the ſame is a monſter, worſe then a ſenſeleſs wild beaſt; but whoſo governeth according to preſcribed laws and rights, the ſame is like unto God, who is an erecter and a founder of laws and rights.

How Governors ſhould be qualified.

GOVERNORS ſhould be wiſe, they ſhould be of a courageous ſpirit, and alſo they ſhould know how to rule alone without their counſellors. The Princes of Anhalt are fine qualified, learned, and modeſt Princes, both in words, geſtures, and actions; they are well practiſed in the Latin tongue, and thoroughly read in the Bible, &c. I may truly ſay (ſaid *Luther*) that I lately had with thoſe Princes a divine dinner; for at the table they had none other diſcourſe than of God's Word, with great humility, diſcretion, and affability: to conclude, they are God-fearing, underſtanding, and very worthy Princes, who doubtleſs intend to gather together a treaſure in heaven, in caſe they ſtedfaſtly remain by the doctrine of the Goſpel.

That God, and not Laws do preſerve Government.

TEMPORAL government (ſaid *Luther*) is not preſerved only through laws and rights, but through divine authority. God preſerveth government, otherwiſe the greateſt ſins in the world would remain unpuniſhed. Our Lord God in the law ſheweth

ſheweth what his will is, how the evil ſhould and muſt be puniſhed. And foraſmuch as the law puniſheth not a Potentate, a Prince, or a Ruler; therefore our Lord God one day will call him to an account, and will puniſh him. In this life, Governors and Rulers do catch but only gnats and little flies with their laws, but the waſps and great humble bees do tear through, as through a cob-web; that is, the ſmall offences and offenders are puniſhed, but the abominable extortioners, oppreſſors, who grind the faces of the poor, the fatherleſs and widows, go ſcot-free, and are held in great honour.

What People are fit to govern.

TO government belong not common illiterate people, nor ſervants, but champions; underſtanding, wiſe and courageous people, who are to be truſted, and do aim at the common good and proſperity, not ſeeking their own gain and profit, nor follow their deſires, pleaſures, and delights; but how few Governors and Rulers think hereon? They prepare only a trading and traffick out of government; they cannot govern themſelves, how then ſhould they govern great territories and multitudes of people. Solomon ſaith, *A man that can rule and curb his mind, is better than he that aſſaulteth and overcometh cities*, &c.

I could well wiſh (ſaid *Luther*) that Scipio (that much honoured champion) were in heaven; he was able to govern and alſo to overcome himſelf, and to curb his mind, which is the higheſt and moſt laudable victory. Frederick Prince Elector of Saxony was ſuch a Prince, he could digeſt much, and curb himſelf, though by nature he was of an angry mood. In the Song of Solomon, the 8th chapter it is ſaid, *My vineyard which is mine, is before me*; that is, God hath taken the government to himſelf, to the end no man may brag and boaſt thereof: God will be King and Ruler, he will be miniſter and paſtor, he will be maſter in the houſe. To conclude, he alone will be the governor; for *Paſtor, Epiſcopus, Cæſar, Rex, Vir & Uxor errant*, but God erreth not. And if in caſe we ſhould or could accompliſh every thing rightly, then we ſhould grow haughty and proud. It is ſaid, *Whom fortune too much favours ſhe makes him a fool*; for it is impoſſible that one who is in proſperity, and hath every thing according to his mind, ſhould not be haughty.

Why every Enterpriſe and Practice of Princes go not forward.

POTENTATES and Princes in theſe days (ſaid *Luther*), when they take in hand an enterpriſe, do not pray before they begin; but they make to themſelves this account and reckoning, three times three make nine, twice ſeven is fourteen, this faileth not, &c. that is, in this manner muſt the buſineſs ſurely take effect; therefore our Lord God ſaith unto them, For whom then do ye hold me, for a cypher? Do I ſit here above in vain, and to no purpoſe? You ſhall therefore know, that I will turn your accounts quite contrary, and will make them all falſe reckonings.

That Pilate was an honeſt temporal Man.

PILATE (ſaid *Luther*) was more honeſt and juſt than at this time any Prince of the Empire (except thoſe that are Proteſtants). I could nominate at this time many Popiſh Princes that are not comparable to Pilate; for he held ſtiffly over the Roman laws and rights; he would not that the innocent (and ſuch as were not openly convicted in an offence) ſhould be executed and ſlain without hearing of the cauſe; therefore he propounded all manner of civil conditions, to the end he might have releaſed Chriſt; but when they threatened him with the Emperor's diſ-favour, then he was dazzled, and forſook the Imperial laws; thought, it is but the loſs of one man, who is both poor, and therewithal contemned; no man taketh his part; what hurt can I receive by his death? Better it is that one man die, than that the whole nation be againſt me.

Dr. Matheſius and Pommer debated about this queſtion, Why Pilate ſcourged Chriſt, and ſaid, What is truth? For the one alledged, that Pilate did it out of compaſſion; but the other ſaid, It was done out of tyranny and contempt. Whereupon Luther ſaid, Pilate was a worldly man: he ſcourged Chriſt out of great compaſſion, to the end, that thereby he might ſtill the inſatiable wrath and raging of the Jews. And in that he ſaid to Chriſt, What is truth? He would therewith give us to underſtand thus much, as if he had ſaid, What wilt thou diſpute concerning truth in theſe wicked times? Truth is here of no value, &c. But thou muſt think upon ſome other trick, and upon the lawyers quiddits, as then happily thou mayeſt be releaſed.

That God giveth away, and altereth Kingdoms.

PHILIP Melancthon and myſelf (ſaid *Luther*) have juſtly deſerved as much riches in this world at God's hands, as any one Cardinal poſſeſſeth; for we have done more in the buſineſs than one hundred Cardinals. But God ſaith unto us, Be ye contented that ye have me, *Sufficit tibi gratia mea*; when we have him, then have we alſo the purſe; for although we had the purſe, and had not God, ſo were we nothing holpen; therefore God ſaith, When thou haſt me ſo haſt thou enough.

What ſaith God to the Prophet Ezekiel? *Thou ſon of man, Nebuchadnezzar cauſed his army to ſerve a great ſervice againſt Tyre, yet he had no wages; what ſhall I give him? I will give the land of Egypt to Nebuchadnezzar, thàt ſhall be his wages.* Even ſo (ſaid *Luther*) playeth God with great kingdoms: he taketh them from one, and giveth them to another.

That the Love and Obedience of Subjects towards their Governors is the greateſt Wealth.

AT the Imperial Diet at Augſpurg, certain Princes in their diſcourſe ſpake in praiſe of the riches and regalities of their countries and principalities. The Prince Elector of Saxony ſaid, He had in his countries ſtore of ſilver mines, which brought him great revenues. The Prince Elector Palatine extolled his vineyards that grew on the river Rhine, &c. Now when the turn came that Eberhard, Prince of Wirtemberg, was alſo to ſpeak, he ſaid, I am indeed but a poor Prince, and not to be compared to either of you; yet, nevertheleſs, I have alſo in my country

country a rich and precious jewel; namely, that if at any time I ſhould ride aſtray in my country out of my way, and were left all alone in the fields, yet I could be in ſafety, and ſecurely ſleep in the boſom of every one of my ſubjects, who for my ſervice are ready to ſet up, and to venture body, goods, and blood. And indeed (ſaid *Luther*) his people eſteemed him as a *Pater Patriæ*. When the other two Princes heard the ſame, they confeſſed, that in truth it was the moſt rich and precious jewel.

That Princes ought to abandon Drunkenneſs in regard of giving Offences.

I INVITED to my houſe (ſaid *Luther*) at Wittemberg Prince Erneſtus of Luneburg, and Prince William of Mechlenburg, to dinner, who much complained of the unmeaſurable ſwilling and drinking kind of life at courts; and yet they will all be good Chriſtians. Whereupon *Luther* ſaid, The Potentates and Princes ought to look thereinto. Then Prince Erneſtus anſwered, and ſaid, Ah! Sir, we that are Princes do even ſo ourſelves, otherwiſe the ſame would have gone down long ſince: ſignifying that the intemperance of Princes was the cauſe of the intemperance of the people; for when the Abbot throweth the dice, then the whole convent will play. The examples of governors have influence upon the ſubjects.

CHAP. LI.

OF POTENTATES AND PRINCES.

Of Joachim Prince Elector of Brandenburg.

THIS Prince (ſaid *Luther*) became a gracious Lord unto me after this manner following: In the year 1532, a certain Mathematicus, named Cauricus, came from Rome to the ſaid Prince Elector's court, and related to the Prince the words of Pope Clemens; namely, the Pope (being in my writings hit in the teeth that he was a Florentine baſtard), ſaid, What then? Chriſt was alſo a baſtard. At which words the Prince Elector was ſo vehemently moved to anger, and hated the Pope in ſuch ſort, that he wrote unto me, earneſtly admoniſhing me ſtedfaſtly to remain by my begun Divine reſolution. But (ſaid *Luther*) I neither began, nor intended to proceed in any thing touching the ſame, thereby to pleaſe Princes humours; neither do I put truſt in my own maſter, the Prince Elector of Saxony, much leſs in others, but my truſt is only in God.

Of Philip Landgrave of Heſſe.

THIS Prince (ſaid *Luther*) is a wonderful man, and hath a particular fortune. If he would forſake the Goſpel, then he might obtain of the Emperor and Pope what he pleaſed; but God hitherto ſtedfaſtly hath preſerved him. The Emperor offered to ſet him in peaceable poſſeſſion of the earldom of Katzenelbogen. Alſo George Prince of Saxony would make him heir of all his countries and

and people (which the Emperor promiſed to confirm), if he would forſake his religion; but he confeſſeth the doctrine of the Goſpel, otherwiſe he ſhould be the well-beloved ſon of the Pope and Emperor. He hath a Heſſian brain, and cannot be idle.

It was a great boldneſs in him, that Anno 1528, he over-run the Biſhop's countries; but it was a greater act, in ſetting the Prince of Wirtemberg in poſſeſſion, and hunted King Ferdinand out of the land of Wirtemberg.

He ſent for me (ſaid *Luther*) and for Philip Melancthon to Weymar, demanding our counſel and advice touching his intended wars; but we in the higheſt manner endeavoured to diſſuade him from his enterpriſes: we made the beſt uſe we could of our rhetorick, and intreated him, not with wars to bring a blow or ſtain upon the Goſpel; not to infringe and trouble the public peace of the Empire; whereupon he grew very red and vexed, although otherwiſe he was of an upright mind.

In the Colloquium at Marpurg, 1539, his Highneſs went diſguiſed in mean apparel, inſomuch as no man knew him to be the Landgrave; he had at the ſame time high cogitations; then he aſked Philip Melancthon's advice in his affairs, and ſaid, Loving Philip! ſhall I endure this, that the Biſhop of Mentz by force driveth away my preachers of the Goſpel? Philip Melancthon ſaid, If the juriſdiction of thoſe places do belong to the Biſhop of Mentz, then your Highneſs may not reſiſt him. Then the Landgrave replied, and ſaid, I hear your advice, but I will not follow it. At that time (ſaid *Luther*) I aſked Beimelberg (one of his neareſt counſel) why he diſſuaded not the Landgrave from his ſtratagems. He anſwered me, and ſaid, Our admonition helpeth nothing: what he intendeth, from that he is not to be diſſuaded. When he was upon the march, reſolving to ſet the Prince of Wirtemberg again into poſſeſſion, then every body deſired him not to bring an utter ruin upon the land of Heſſe. But he ſaid unto them, Be contented; let me go on; I will not bring it into any ruin at all. The ſame he alſo performed. He ſhot into a caſtle 350 ſhot, and won it.

At the day of the aſſembly, held at Caden, in Bohemia, by King Ferdinand, and other Princes, from whence an anſwer was to be given to the Landgrave, then George Prince of Saxony ſaid to King Ferdinand, If, in the ſpace of two or three days, you can levy an army of ſoldiers to reſiſt him, then I adviſe to make no peace with him, otherwiſe peace is the ſafeſt courſe. Likewiſe Severus John Hoffman, and other counſellors, ſeriouſly adviſed the King in any wiſe to make peace with the Landgrave.

Anno 1530, at the Imperial Diet, the Landgrave by King Ferdinand was cited, together with other Princes of the Auguſtanian Confeſſion; where the Landgrave openly ſaid to the Biſhops, Make peace I adviſe you, for we deſire it. If ye will not, I will ſacrifice at the leaſt half a dozen of you to the devil. At which time the Biſhop of Saltzburg ſaid to Albrecht, Biſhop of Mentz, I much marvel that ye ſo ſorely fear the Landgrave of Heſſe, he being but a poor Prince? Then the Biſhop of Mentz anſwered him, and ſaid, Loving Lord Biſhop! If you dwelt as near him as I do, then you would talk otherwiſe.

God (ſaid *Luther*) hath ſet the Landgrave in the midſt of the Empire; for he hath four Princes Electors inhabiting about him, and alſo the Prince of Brunſwic, yet they are all afraid of him; the reaſon is, he hath the love of the common people, and withal he is a valiant ſoldier. Before he ſet the Prince of Wirtemberg into poſſeſſion, he went into France, and the French King lent him much money towards his wars.

Of

Of the Duke of Bavaria.

THE Dukes of Bavaria have always been haughty Princes, and fierce enemies to the houſe of Auſtria, inſomuch that Emperor Maximilian ſaid, If theſe two bloods (Auſtria and Bavaria) ſhould boil in one pot together, then one of them would leap out; for they grudge the empire to be continued in the Auſtrian blood.

Ever ſince the firſt two Emperors (Charles the Great, and Otho) the Bavarians have been proud and haughty. This preſent empire is now come to the fourth generation. Likewiſe Franconia and Swevia kept the empire unto the fourth generation. The German Emperors have been excelling champions, they were not ſuch brands of hell as the Romiſh and Italian Emperors.

Of George, Prince of Saxony.

ANNO 1530, George Prince of Saxony wrote a great decretal, before the Imperial Diet at Augſpurg, how the ſpirituality ought to be reformed; the ſame he took with him to the Diet. I would wiſh (ſaid *Luther*) that the Emperor made him Pope, I think he would talk with the Popiſh Biſhops about their biſhopricks otherwiſe than I do. All the Papiſts would rather have me than Prince George to be their reformer, I would wiſh there were already a reformation, for the Pope's decrees reprove the Biſhops much more than I do. Prince George would willingly reform the Pope, as a reformer of the church; then the Biſhop of Mentz ſhould have but one biſhoprick, and ride but with four horſes; the Biſhop of Merſburg only with three; the Pope alſo, then, ſhould deſiſt from ſimony and not drive on ſuch ſpiritual uſury, &c. All the Papiſts do acknowledge, that the reformation of the Popiſh Biſhops is highly neceſſary; but the prieſts dare not venture to give conſent thereunto. Before the revealing of the Goſpel, Prince George was a great enemy to the Popiſh religion, ſo that he thoroughly plagued the Biſhops, the Abbots, the Prebends, and Friars, inſomuch as there went a proverb of him, whereas he was of the Bohemian blood, deſcended from King Gerſich, for his mother was daughter to that King, ſaying, He drank it not, but ſucked it. He is by nature an enemy to the clergy; but when the Goſpel was brought again to light, and that the Emperor, the Pope, the King of England and France, together with all the biſhops, hung themſelves upon him, then, by their flattering letters he was ſo puffed up, that he now undertaketh a reformation of the ſpirituality; he hateth the Pope, yet nevertheleſs he can finely greaſe the Biſhops mouths; he ſetteth them upon the ice, promiſeth them much, and more than he is able to perform.

I oftentimes bewailed his blindneſs and blaſphemy againſt Chriſt, in reſiſting the known truth, and ſinning againſt his own conſcience. When I was yet in the monaſtery, I believed not that ſuch wickedneſs could be in people; but now I learn by the Biſhop of Mentz and of Prince George, what the world for a weed is; therefore I fear them nothing at all, that in ſuch ſort are ſeared and ſinged in their conſciences.

Of the Death of Prince George.

ANNO 1539, the 17th of April, Prince George died ſuddenly of a pleuriſy, whereas the day before he was exceeding jocund among the ladies. He was buried at Meiſſen without any Popiſh ſtate or ceremonies. It was very ſtrange, that he, who ſo highly had held over the Maſs and Vigils, ſhould not thereof be partaker at his laſt end.

This Prince and enemy of Chriſt (ſaid *Luther*) died in good time, for thereby the tinder or match was ſmothered and quenched, out of which a great fire might have riſen. All the deſigns and reſolutions of the Papiſts are directed to this point, if they might but only ſuppreſs and deſtroy the Proteſtant wretches (as they term us), then the church with eaſe would be brought to ſink and go down. But God breaketh their devices and fruſtrateth their deſigns, for he can put down the mighty from their ſeat, and exalt the humble and meek; he can ſcatter the nations (as the Pſalm ſaith) that delight in war; he alſo knoweth how to confound the confidence that is put in human creatures and Princes, to the end we may learn to put our truſt in God and follow him. And hereby we may ſee God's works of wonder, that he is able to fruſtrate human deſigns and practices; for Prince George and his confederacy intended war at Whitſuntide againſt the Proteſtants. But now cometh God and taketh him away through death. In his will were written theſe words, If I could enjoy thus much, that out of the revenue of my land and country, war might be made upon the Proteſtants in Germany, ſo I would bequeath all my lands and treaſure to the Emperor.

It is a far more miſerable caſe (ſaid *Luther*) when a Prince dieth, than when a mean perſon departeth that hath no repute. A Prince muſt be forſaken of all his lords, his friends, and at laſt muſt combat with the devil; but they think not hereon, otherwiſe they would live leſs Prince-like.

Of King Alphonſus, and how great Princes ſhould love their Subjects.

WHEN King Alphonſus of Arragon beſieged Caieta, and a poor harmleſs multitude of women, children and weak people, were driven out of the city, to the end the beſieged might be able the longer to endure the ſiege. The King was then adviſed by his captains to cauſe thoſe unweaponed multitude to be fallen upon and cut in pieces, that thereby the beſieged might be moved the ſooner to yeild. Whereupon the King ſaid, God preſerve me from ſo doing, I would not practiſe ſuch tyranny for the whole kingdom of Naples, no, although it were worth ten times more than it is. Frederick that laudable Prince Elector of Saxony, when by ſome he was adviſed to beſiege Erfurt, intimating the taking thereof would not coſt above five men's lives, ſaid, To loſe the life of one man therewith were too much. But in theſe times great Potentates regard not much their ſubjects nor ſoldiers; as yonder roaring captain ſaid, The mothers of ſoldiers are yet alive: likewiſe he ſaid, Many ſoldiers may be brought up with a barrel of butter-milk.

Of the Roman Empire.

THE Romiſh Empire (ſaid *Luther*) continued not much above two hundred years by the Roman race without bloodſhed; afterwards it fell to the Gauls or French; at laſt it came wholly to the Germans; they have held it above eight hundred years together.

Of

Of William Prince of Saxony.

WILLIAM Prince of Saxony married Anne, daughter of the King of Hungary, whom he evilly entertained, contemned, and cauſed her to be walled up, and and letcherouſly dallied with another, with whom he alſo lay in the ſight and preſence of his Queen. At laſt ſhe died by reaſon of grief of heart. Then he went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, to do penance for his ſins; and after that he married the other. Now he had a gentleman in his court, whom he intended to force to marry his concubine; but the gentleman, marking the ſame, prevented him by marrying another gentlewoman: refuſed to follow his Maſter's example. Theſe things (ſaid *Luther*) may go on a while, our Lord God looking through the fingers; but at laſt he cometh and payeth ſoundly.

Of Emperor Charles the Fifth.

ANNO 1521, at the Imperial Diet at Worms, Emperor Charles (ſaid *Luther*) cauſed a fierce edict to be publiſhed againſt my doctrine, whereupon certain learned and godly men, in the beginning of the very firſt line of his edict, wrote theſe words, Some hitherto have had good hope and confidence in this Emperor, but how ſorely this tyrannical edict hath eſtranged and affrighted the hearts of many good and godly people from him, the ſame cannot be imagined, much leſs uttered with words.

Of Emperor Maximilian.

WHEN Emperor Maximilian made a league with the Venetians, he ſaid, Three Kings are in the Chriſtian world; himſelf, the French King, and the King of England. Himſelf (he ſaid) was a King of Kings; for what he impoſed upon his Princes, if they were pleaſed therewith, then they accompliſhed his will; otherwiſe they let it alone; thereby ſhewing, that the Princes never were in obedient ſubjection under the Emperors, but did what they pleaſed. The French King was a King of aſſes, for they did every thing that he commanded them. But the King of England was a King of people; for what he laid upon them, the ſame they did willingly, and loved their King like obedient ſubjects.

Of the Baniſhing of Chriſtierne King of Denmark.

IT is reported (ſaid *Luther*) that this King governed tyrannically; yet he raged not ſo much as the Biſhops maliciouſly exclaim of him; he was baniſhed more out of malice and envy of the Biſhops, than for any juſt cauſe; therefore he now hearing that the Biſhops lie captivated in priſons, lifting up his hand, ſaid, God be praiſed that I live to hear of my adverſaries ſhame and confuſion, now I am content to endure my impriſonment with a willing mind. Inchaſtity produced alſo great hurt to that King; for inchaſtity ſpoileth and devaſteth countries and people, nothing but evil cometh thereof.

Of Emperor Maximilian's Mildneſs.

AS the King of Denmark ſent a ſtately ambaſſador to the Emperor Maximilian, who in the behalf of the King his maſter took high honour upon himſelf, inſomuch as the ambaſſador would deliver his meſſage ſitting; when the Emperor marked the ſame he aroſe, and gave him audience ſtanding, ſo that the ambaſſador for ſhame could not remain ſitting.

Likewiſe at another time, when an ambaſſador in the beginning of his ſpeech was aſtoniſhed and amazed at the Emperor's preſence, ſtood mute, inſomuch that he could not proceed; then the Emperor began to diſcourſe with him touching other affairs, giving the ambaſſador time to recover his ſpirits, and deliver himſelf with a degree of courage.

Of John Prince Elector of Saxony.

ANNO 1530, John Prince Elector of Saxony, at the Imperial Diet at Augſpurg, ſaid to his divines, Loving friends! If ye be not confident to preſerve and maintain the cauſe, then take heed that ye bring not the people and country into danger. The divines anſwered and ſaid, Will your Highneſs ſtand by and aſſiſt us, then leave the cauſe to us to maintain the ſame before the Emperor. Whereupon the Prince ſaid with great zeal, and with an Abraham's faith, God forbid; would ye exclude me? I will alſo with you confeſs and acknowledge Chriſt.

Of the King of England.

ANNO 1535, the firſt of May, I received letters (ſaid *Luther*) out of England, touching the Popiſh traitors againſt the King. The Pope had corrupted Cardinal Pool, the King's near kinſman, and through large promiſes had engaged him, that on Eaſter-day he ſhould cauſe the King to be killed; on which day, the Emperor intended to take poſſeſſion of Calais, and of all the Engliſh ports. But this ſecret God in a miraculous manner diſcovered; for he had made the ſecretary frantick, who in his ſickneſs opened the deſign. Whereupon the Cardinal was apprehended as a traitor, and preſently all the ports and landing-places were ſtrongly guarded and fortified, inſomuch that on that day the citizens and townſmen went in armour to receive the communion. *Luther* ſaid, They will not ceaſe; the Pope day and night will endeavour to humble this King, like as he alſo would humble us Germans.

I am lately informed that Henry King of England is fallen from the Goſpel again, hath commanded upon pain of death that the people ſhall receive the ſacrament only under one kind, and that ſpiritual perſons, Friars and Nuns, ſhall perform their vows, and tear in pieces their marriages, whereas before he had done quite the contrary. At this the Papiſts will jeer, and boaſt: indeed (ſaid *Luther*) it is a great offence, but let it go: that King is ſtill the old Hintz, as in my firſt book I pictured him; he will ſurely find his judge: I never liked his reſolutions, in that he would kill the Pope's body, but preſerve his ſoul; that is, his falſe doctrine.

Anno 1539, the tenth of July, *Luther* gave thanks to God that he had delivered our church from that offenſive King of England, who with higheſt diligence deſired and ſought a league with thoſe of our part, but was not accepted; doubtleſs, God out of ſpecial providence hindred the ſame; for that the King was always unconſtant and of a wavering mind.

Whether

Whether Thomas More was Executed for the Goſpel's Sake, or no?

LUTHER anſwered, No, in no wiſe; for he was a notable tyrant: he was the King's chiefeſt counſellor, a very learned and a wiſe man: he ſhed the blood of many innocent Chriſtians that confeſſed the Goſpel, thoſe he plagued and tormented with ſtrange inſtruments like an hangman or an executioner; firſt he examined them in words under a green tree, afterwards with ſharp torments in priſon. At laſt he leaned himſelf againſt the edict of the King and kingdom, was diſobedient, and ſo was puniſhed.

Of unequal Fortunes of two Brethren, great Potentates.

ANTHONY de Leva, and Andrew de Doria, the Emperor's chief captains and counſellors of war, adviſed the Emperor that he ſhould go in perſon againſt the Turks, and leave King Ferdinand at home, for he had no fortune.

Whereupon *Luther* ſaid, It is a marvelous thing that two brethren have ſuch unequal, ſo manifold and contrary fortunes; every thing ſteppeth from Ferdinand to Charles: Ferdinand's deſigns vaniſh away and are fruſtrated; Charles's fortune proceedeth happily, for he is not ſtained nor fouled with blood. Ferdinand is a wiſe Prince, and every thing goeth according to his choice and election (as Ariſtotle teacheth) not according to God's counſel; the reaſon is, he will accompliſh every thing through his own wiſdom, council, and choice. I wiſh and pray that Charles may prevail againſt the Turks, yet when I pray, then our ſins and unthankfulneſs do cry againſt my prayers, and cauſe them to recoil back. Theſe two mighty Potentates and brethren have altogether contrary effects and fortunes; one hath luſt to war, the other to peace, the one is fortunate, the other unhappy, the one is beloved of every man, the other nothing regarded. Spaniards (ſaid *Luther*) are ſtrange ſoldiers, they live by robbing and filching, which Millain hath well found; how pitifully the ſame is devaſted by the Spaniards, who ought to protect them againſt the Pope and French. One citizen in that place was forced to nouriſh and maintain twenty ſoldiers in his houſe, and the city hath endured ſuch devaſtation, as almoſt Jeruſalem endured.

That the Emperor Kiſſeth the Pope's Feet.

LUTHER was informed that the Emperor once again had kiſſed the Pope's feet, and deſired of him, that a council might be held, and that France and England were fallen from the Pope. Then *Luther* ſaid, The Pope well underſtandeth the Emperor's mind; namely, that the Emperor now kiſſeth the Pope's feet, to the end in requital thereof, the Pope ſhall kiſs the Emperor's back-ſide.

Of France and England.

THE Kings of France and England are Proteſtants in taking, but not in giving.

Of Emperor Charles his Virtues.

ANNO 1544, ſhortly before the French wars began, Emperor Charles V. went through France, and lay in ſome cities, the French King made him a great feaſt in a caſtle, and at night he cauſed a very beautiful and noble damſel to be led into the Emperor's bed-chamber, and ſecretly laid into his bed; but when the Emperor laid himſelf down (knowing nothing thereof), the virgin was ſorely affrighted, ſo that with fear ſhe trembled and quaked; the Emperor cauſed his counſellors to be called, and diligently enquired from whence ſhe came, and who were her parents? The virgin thereupon plainly and modeſtly related the whole buſineſs; then the Emperor, with fair preſents, ſent her to her parents unſtained, and without ſpot of diſhonour, and gave her a convoy of horſemen to bring her ſafely home; the virgin with weeping eyes gave to the Emperor moſt humble thanks, and ſo departed. But in the wars not long after, the Emperor cauſed the ſame caſtle utterly to be deſtroyed.

Of Emperor Charles's Coronation.

EMPEROR Charles was elected by the Princes Electors at Frankfurt. At Ach he was anointed, and at Bononia he was crowned by the Pope. To which ceremony he cited none of the Electors, nor Princes of the Empire, but had about him other Italian and Spaniſh Dukes and Dons, who carried before him the Electorate enſign, ornaments and weapons. Of this particular (ſaid *Luther*) I gave a touch in my little book, many thouſands whereof being printed, they were ſoon bought up in every place.

Of Emperor Charles, his Humility.

THEY of Antwerp (ſaid *Luther*) cauſed to be wrote in a fair and rich piece of arras, the battle fought before Pavia, in which the French King was taken captive: which piece of arras they offered (as a preſent) to the Emperor, but he refuſed to accept thereof, ſaying unto them, That he rejoiced not at the misfortunes and miſeries of other Princes and people.

Of Emperor Charles, his warlike Preparations againſt the Turks.

ANNO 1538, Luther being adviſed of the great preparations which the Emperor made againſt the Turks, ſaid, What if Emperor Charles's fortune ſhould be ſimilar to the following event? Not long ſince (on hunting) he purſued a great ſtag, but in the purſuit a wolf met him, then he left the ſtag, and ſwiftly purſued the wolf, fell from his horſe, and wounded his leg. How if in this expedition he leſt alſo the ſtag (the Turk) and fell upon the wolf (Germany) to his own danger and hurt? God grant peace, and reſiſt that blood-thirſty devil. The ſame year Luther continued his diſcourſe, and therein at large remembered the rights, laws, and ordinances of the Empire, where the Emperor (according to the golden Bulla) is to be elected by ſeven Princes Electors, and giveth unto them the juriſdiction of the ſword, and of judgements, which they have authority and power to uſe; alſo, that the voice of one or two Electors aboliſhed the conſiderations of the reſt, as was ſhewed by Frederick Prince Elector ofSaxony, Anno 1519, who was elected King of the Romans, but he refuſed it, rather wiſhed the ſame

to

to be conferred upon his nephew, Albrecht Prince of Meckelburg, or upon Charles King of Spain, of whom they made choice accordingly, not as King of Spain, but as of a German Prince, and Arch-duke of Auſtria. If (ſaid *Luther*) inſtead of the three ſpiritual Electors, there might be choſen three temporal, then it were much better and convenient. But now one Prince Elector alone muſt bear the hatred of all the other, and if the people were not inclinable towards him (as Jacob againſt the Sichemites) he would not be able to digeſt it, unleſs God preſerved that Prince in a wonderful way.

Of the Archbiſhop of Mentz his Government.

IT is evident (ſaid *Luther*) that the raging of the Archbiſhop of Mentz againſt the Goſpel is abominable; he is a poor Prince, and as it were, the Pope's captive; he thinketh the Turk cannot be ſuppreſſed, except Chriſt and his Goſpel be deſtroyed. He doth like King Ahaz, who when he intended to fight with Syria, he then called upon the God of the Syrians and Damaſcanes, the God of Iſrael with him was of no value. I much marvel (ſaid *Luther*) that the Papiſts are ſo bold, yea ſo mad and fooliſh as to dare to put that ſentence in execution, which as yet is not pronounced nor uttered. But (God be praiſed) we have this advantage, no counſel hath condemned us for Hereticks: for the rights, the laws, and ordnances of the Empire do define, deſcribe, and ſay, He is an Heretick who obſtinately maintaineth errors, &c. which we of our part have never done, but have ſhewed and produced witneſſes out of God's Word, and the Holy Scriptures; we willingly do hear the opinions of others, but we neither may nor will endure the Pope to be Judge: we will make him a party.

King Ferdinand printed a proclamation, in which he earneſtly forbad that no man ſhould entertain the new Proteſtant doctrine, was ſhewed unto Luther at Wittemberg, whereupon he ſaid, This is the wages of the world; this King will baniſh Chriſt, the King of all Kings, againſt whom Cain, all falſe Prophets and Teachers, Monarchs, Emperors, Kings, and others have daſhed themſelves to ſhivers. King Ferdinand muſt and ſhall be glad to ſuffer this King Chriſt to be in peace; let us watch and pray againſt him. This King is a very unfortunate man, and hath been in great dangers; he was lately almoſt drowned in the river Danaw: for courſing with ſlides upon the ice, his forerunner, or viſier, went ſwiftly under the ice, and was drowned, and if, by great chance, they had not taken hold on the King, ſo had he likewiſe been deſtroyed. His misfortunes are not as other champions uſed to be, as King Lodowick, who was ſlain in the wars, or as Francis King of France, who in the battle before Pavia was taken captive, but this King Ferdinand hath common clowniſh miſhaps; at Augſpurg he almoſt brake his neck, in another place he was in danger to be conſumed with fire, now lately almoſt drowned. I hold (ſaid *Luther*) the depending on his own wiſdom is the cauſe of his misfortunes; he will govern every thing with his own wit and underſtanding; but this he taketh not to heart, neither is he moved by God's puniſhments; and although he hath now and then a fit of repentance, yet it is only the repentance of Eſau, who wept not becauſe he had ſold his birth-right, and was fallen into God's wrath, but becauſe he had loſt the birth-right. Our Lord God regardeth not ſuch repenting, as when one is ſorry that he hath loſt his laſcivious miſtreſs; ſo the ungodly are not properly affected, neither do they uprightly and truly repent.

Of the Turkiſh Preparations.

LET us truly repent (ſaid *Luther*), let us pray and attend the Lord's will, for human defence and help is too weak. Five years ſince, the Emperor was well able to reſiſt the Turks, when he had levied a great army of horſe and foot out of the whole Empire, Italians and Germans. But then he would not, therefore in the mean time, alas, many good people were butchered and lamentably ſlaughtered by the Turks. Ah, loving God, what is in this life more than to die, nothing elſe than death even from the cradle unto old age. I fear all things go not right, for the tyranny and pride of the Spaniards, doubtleſs, will give us over to the Turks, and make us ſubject to them, the treachery is great, I doubt the twenty thouſand men, and the fair coſtly pieces of double cannon are wilfully betrayed to the Turk. It is not uſual to carry ſuch great pieces of ordnance into the fields. Emperor Maximilian kept them ſafely at Vienna. It ſeemeth to me, as if he ſhould ſay to the Turk, Take theſe pieces of ordnance for a preſent, ſlay and deſtroy all that cannot eſcape. This expedition hath an aſpect of treachery, for thoſe on our part are all in a ſlumber: but the Turk with all diligence watcheth, he attempteth all he can both with open power, and ſecret practices.

If the Turk ſhall cauſe proclamation to be made, that every man ſhall be free from taxations and tributes for the ſpace of three years, then the common people with joy will yield themſelves unto him. But when he hath gotten them into his claws, then he will make uſe of his tyranny (as his cuſtom is), for he taketh the third ſon from every man; he is always father of the third child. Truly it is a great tyranny, which chiefly concerneth the Princes of the Empire themſelves. I ever held the Emperor ſuſpected (ſaid *Luther*) yet he can deeply diſſemble. I have almoſt deſpaired of him, as he that oppoſeth the known truth, which often he heard at the Imperial Diet at Augſpurg. The verſe in the ſecond Pſalm will not ceaſe, *Why do the heathen ſo furiouſly rage together, and why do the people imagine a vain thing? The Kings of the earth ſtand up, and the rulers take counſel together, againſt the Lord, and againſt his anointed*, &c. David complained thereof, Chriſt felt the ſame, the Apoſtles lamented it, we alſo feel it likewiſe. Therefore St. Paul ſaith, *Not many wiſe even after the fleſh, not many mighty, not many noble are called*, &c. Let us call upon God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, let us pray, for it is high time.

Of the Conſtancy of John Prince Elector of Saxony.

THE admirable great conſtancy of John Prince Elector of Saxony (ſaid *Luther*) is worthy of everlaſting memory and praiſe; who perſonally and ſtedfaſtly held over the pure doctrine of the Goſpel at the Imperial Diet at Augſpurg, 1530. And when the Emperor's final will and meaning was ſhewed unto him, he ſaid, Here are two ways, either to deny God, or the world. Now therefore let every one conſider which were beſt.

It was a miraculous thing and ſpecial gift of God, that only one Prince ſo ſtiffly ſtood againſt all the reſt; yea, againſt the Emperor himſelf. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) the acts and proceedings in the Auguſtinian confeſſion may not be eaſily deſcribed; for they are high things, large and ſpacious. This John Prince Elector of Saxony, had attending upon him continually in his chamber ſix pages of honour; theſe every day read unto him ſix hours out of the Bible. Likewiſe in hearing he always had in his pocket writing-tables, and with his own hand wrote the ſermons out of the preachers mouths.

This

This Prince alone, among the Electors aſſembled at Coln, oppoſed the election of the Roman King, Ferdinand, Anno 1531; for they proceeded therein contrary to the ancient rule and cuſtom of the Golden Bulla. Touching which Emperor Charles the Fifth took a corporal oath; and as he was elected Roman King at Frankfurt, he then promiſed, and with his hand ſubſcribed, that during his life no choice ſhould be made of a Roman King beſides himſelf. Therefore John Frederick, the ſon of John Prince Elector of Saxony, by his father was ſent to Coln, to make a ſpeech, and to ſet himſelf againſt that election in the behalf of the Prince Elector his father, both in words and actions. And immediately when the young Prince had accompliſhed his father's command, he rode poſt haſte away; but he was ſcarcely gotten out of the gates of Coln, when certain were diſpatched to take and bring him back.

Of Emperor Charles's Cenſure concerning the Auguſtinian Confeſſion.

AS Emperor Charles read our Confeſſion at Augſpurg, he openly ſpake theſe words. I would wiſh that this doctrine were taught throughout the whole world. Likewiſe ſaid Prince George, I know very well that many abuſes are in the Church; if the ſame were by the Pope aboliſhed, then I would willingly entertain and receive this doctrine; but I will not receive it of a run-away Friar, meaning me. If (ſaid Prince George) God cauſed his word to be preached through great Potentates and Princes, then we would entertain it. Yea (ſaid *Luther*) ſtandeth the caſe ſo? But God thought it more fitting to make uſe of poor fiſhermen, of Peter, of Andrew, &c. God had need of Amos the ſhepherd, he will none of your approbations. At the Imperial Diet at Augſpurg, Emperor Charles had eight-and-thirty chancellors attending on him.

Of John Prince Elector of Saxony.

AS John Prince Elector of Saxony was in his laſt hunting, he could have no ſport or game at all, for the deer would neither ſtand nor ſtay, nor come in as they always were wont to do; whereupon the Prince Elector ſaid, This preſageth ſomething, that our game (contrary to their cuſtom) fly away. *Luther* ſaid, The deer will acknowledge him no longer to be their maſter, it is a ſign of his death, which happened within the ſpace of five days after.

Titulus Joannis Frederici Electoris, Ducis Saxoniæ, ſub Cruce militantis, ab Eccleſia ſibi inditus, 1548.

JOANNES Fredericus Dei Gratia, Electus Martyr Jeſu Chriſti, Dux Afflictorum, Princeps Confeſſorum Fidei, Comes Veritatis, Signifer Sanctæ Cruſis, Exemplum Patientiæ & Conſtantiæ, Hæres vitæ æternæ, obdormiſcens in Chriſto, migravit ex hac miſerrima vita, in cœleſtem patriam Vinariæ, in menſe Aprili, Anno 1553.

CHAP. LII.

OF DISCORD.

Luther's Diſcourſe of Diſcord.

ANNO 1546, the 10th of February, John Prince Elector of Saxony ſaid, A matter in controverſy were eaſily to be ſettled, if but the perſons or parties might be made to agree. Whereupon *Luther* ſaid, We would willingly have concord, but no man ſeeketh after *Medium Concordiæ*, which is *Mutum charitatis*. Likewiſe we ſeek alſo riches, but no man ſeeketh after the right and true means how to be rich; namely, through God's bleſſing. Moreover we all deſire to be ſaved, but the world refuſeth the means whereby we might be ſaved; as, *Mediatorem Chriſtum*, the ſame we will not have.

In former times (ſaid *Luther*) Potentates and Princes referred their matters in controverſies to faithful people, and would not ſo ſoon thruſt them into the lawyer's hands. When people intend to be reconciled and come to an agreement, then the one party muſt yield and give way to the other. If God and mankind ſhould be reconciled and agreed, then God muſt give over his right and juſtice, and muſt lay aſide his wrath; and we (mankind) muſt alſo lay down our own righteouſneſs, for we alſo would needs be gods in Paradiſe; we thought ourſelves wiſe (as God) through the ſerpent's ſeducement; then Chriſt was fain to make an agreement between us; he interpoſed in the cauſe, and would be a mediator between God and man; therefore this Mediator for his pains got the portion of a peace maker thereby; namely, the croſs (as we uſe to ſay), the parter commonly getteth the beſt knocks by his parting. Even ſo Chriſt ſuffered and preſented us with his paſſion and death; he died for our ſakes, and for the ſake of our juſtification he aroſe again. Thus the generation of mankind became reconciled with God.

That for the Sake of Peace, the one muſt yeild to the other.

WHEN it falleth out (ſaid *Luther*) that two goats meet upon a narrow plank or bridge that is laid over a deep water; how do they behave themſelves? neither of them can turn back again, neither can they paſs the one by the other, becauſe the bridge is too narrow; if they ſhould thruſt one another, then they might both fall into the water and be drowned, nature hath taught them, that the one layeth himſelf down and permitteth the other to go over him; ſo that thereby they both remain without hurt. Even ſo people ſhould rather endure to be trod upon, than to fall into debate and diſcord one with another.

Why Chriſt curſeth ſo ſorely in the 109th Pſalm, whereas he forbiddeth to curſe, Mat. viii.

A CHRISTIAN for the ſake of his own perſon neither curſeth nor revengeth himſelf; but faith curſeth and revengeth itſelf. To underſtand the ſame rightly we muſt diſtinguiſh God and man, the perſon, and cauſe. What concerneth God and his cauſe, we muſt therein have no patience, neither muſt we bleſs; as for example, when the ungodly perſecute the Goſpel, the ſame toucheth God and his cauſe, as then we are not to bleſs, nor to wiſh thereunto good ſucceſs, but rather we ought to curſe and maledict the perſecutors and their proceedings. Theſe (ſaid *Luther*) are called faith's curſing, which, rather than it would ſuffer God's Word to be ſuppreſſed, and hereſy maintained, wiſheth that all creatures went to wreck; for through hereſy we loſe God himſelf, Numbers xvi. But the perſons ought not to revenge themſelves, but to ſuffer all things, and according to Chriſt's doctrine and the nature of love, to do good to our enemies.

CHAP LIII.

OF SICKNESSES AND OF THE CAUSES THEREOF.

From whence all Sickneſſes and Plagues do proceed.

WHEN young children do cry luſtily, then they grow well; for through crying the members and veins are ſtretched out, in regard they have none other exerciſe to be moved. Ah! the devil is ſtrong and powerful, of whom every ſickneſs and plague cometh. If the loving angels defended us not, ſo were we in the twinkling of an eye daſhed in pieces and utterly ſpoiled: the devil would cut us down like trees, with religion and policy, both church and temporal government.

Of the Cauſe why Sickneſs doth come.

A QUESTION was put forth to *Luther*, How theſe two ſentences in Scripture might be reconciled together; Firſt, concerning the ſick of the palſy, where Chriſt ſaith, *Son, be of good cheer, thy ſins be forgiven thee*, &c. Here Chriſt ſheweth, that ſin was the cauſe of the palſy; yea, of every ſickneſs. Second, touching him that was born blind, where John ſaith, *That neither he nor his parents had ſinned.* *Luther* anſwered, and ſaid, In theſe words Chriſt witneſſeth that the blind had not ſinned: therefore ſin is not the cauſe of blindneſs; for only active ſins (which one committeth perſonally) are the cauſe of ſickneſſes and plagues, not original ſin: therefore the ſins which the ſick of the palſy committed himſelf were the cauſe of his palſy. But original ſin was not the cauſe of the blindneſs of him that was born blind, otherwiſe all people muſt be born blind, or be ſick of the palſy.

God

God ſendeth no ſickneſſes into the world but by the devil; for all melancholy or ſickneſſes do come of the devil, not of God. The devil is our Lord God's executioner; for my part (ſaid *Luther*) I am a Lazarus, in ſickneſſes well practiſed.

The cramp is the lighteſt or ſmalleſt ſickneſs, and I believe the falling ſickneſs is a piece of the cramp; as that which is in the head, the other in the feet and legs, when one quickly moveth himſelf or runneth, then it vaniſheth.

The fever in Germany is a phyſick; for people would feed and ſwill themſelves to death, if the fever were not, the ſame maketh them more moderate. *Luther* being told that Dr. Sebald and his wife were dead (as was ſuppoſed) of the plague, ſaid, They died rather by reaſon of trouble and ſorrow, then of the plague. And when after their death *Luther* took their children into his houſe, ſome hit him in the teeth, ſaying, That thereby he tempted God; yea, (ſaid he) I have gotten fine maſters to teach me what is called, tempting of God.

Infirmitas Lutheri Schmalcaldiæ, Luther's Sickneſs at Schmalcald.

AT Schmalcald *Luther* was grievouſly tormented with the ſtone, inſomuch that he was near unto death; for all men deſpaired of his recovery. No man could cure him, but God helped him in wonderful wiſe; for he had heard that he ſhould be carried away from Schmalcalden, to the end he might not die and be buried there in the eye of that monſter the Pope's meſſenger. They carried him from thence to Thambach; when he came into his lodging and drank a little red wine, then he was relieved again ſo that he was able to deliver his urine, which in many days before he could not.

The phyſicians in ſickneſſes (ſaid *Luther*) conſider but only *cauſas naturales*, out of what natural cauſes and from whence a ſickneſs cometh, the ſame they will cure with their phyſick, and they do right therein; but they ſee not that oftentimes the devil caſteth a ſickneſs upon one's neck, when it hath no natural cauſes; therefore a higher phyſick muſt be required to reſiſt the devil's diſeaſes; namely, faith and prayer, which phyſick may be fetched out of God's Word. As then the 31ſt Pſalm is good and neceſſary thereunto, where David ſaith, *Into thine hand I commit my ſpirit.* This place I now learned in my ſickneſs, and will correct the ſame in the Pſalms; for in the firſt tranſlation I drew it only upon the hour of death: but it ſhould be ſaid, *In manibus tuis tempora mea, omnis vita mea, omnes dies, horæ & momenta vita mea*; that is, *My health, my happineſs, my life, misfortune, ſickneſs, death, &c. ſtand all in thy hands.* Experience alſo witneſſeth the ſame; for when we think now we will be joyful and merry, eaſy and healthy, then God ſoon ſendeth that we find quite the contrary.

Of Frailty and Mortality, that a Human Creature is like a Glaſs.

LUTHER, ſhortly before his death, ſent a fair glaſs for a preſent to Dr. Juſtus Jonas, and therewith he wrote theſe words following;

One glaſs preſenteth a glaſs to another glaſs, gueſs what it is?

Dat vitrum vitro Jonæ vitrum ipſe Lutherus,
Se ſimilem ut fragili noſcat uterque vitro.

That is,
Frail Jonas glaſs from brittle Luther has,
That each may know he's like to brittle glaſs.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIV.

OF DEATH.

Luther's *Diſcourſe of Death.*

IN the midſt of life, we are in the midſt of death, for we are ſubject to manifold and mortal ſickneſſes and misfortunes; here one ſtabbeth himſelf, there another falleth and bleedeth to death; therefore every hour we have need to call upon God to keep and preſerve us.

Why St. Paul did not fear Death.

WHEN the Prophet Agabus declared to St. Paul at Ceſaria, that he ſhould be bound of the Jews, and delivered over to the Gentiles to be ſlain, yet nevertheleſs, he diſregarded death and took no heed to himſelf, but willingly went towards Jeruſalem, and feared death nothing at all. The reaſon was, the Holy Ghoſt revealed the ſame, through which Paul was ſtrengthened to die.

To die for Chriſt's Sake.

TO die for the ſake of Chriſt's Word, is eſteemed precious and glorious before God; for we are mortal, and muſt die for the ſake of our ſins. But when we die for the ſake of Chriſt and his Word and freely confeſs the ſame, then we die an honourable death, we are thereby made altogether holy relicks, as then we have ſold our hides dear enough. But in that we (Chriſtians) pray for peace and long life, the ſame is not for our ſake, to whom death is merely gain, but for the ſake of the church and poſterity.

Of Luther's Mourning, Countenance, and Speech, which he ſhewed and declared at the Death and Burial of his loving Daughter Magdalena, of the Age of fourteen Years, 1542.

Epitaph of Magdalena Lutheri, Daughter of Martin Luther, made by the Father himſelf.

Dormio cum ſanctis hic Magdalena Lutheri,
Filia & hoc ſtrato tecta quieſco meo.
Filia mortis eram peccati ſemine nata,
Sanguine ſed vivo Chriſte redemta tuo.

I Luther's daughter Magdalen am dead,
I ſleep with ſaints reſts covered here in bed.
A child of death born of the ſeed of ſin,
By thy life giving blood oh Chriſt redeem'd.

The fear of death is merely death itſelf: whoſo aboliſheth death out of the heart, the ſame neither taſteth nor feeleth any death. A human creature that lieth and ſleepeth, is very like to one that is dead, from whence the antients ſaid, ſleep is the brother of death. In like manner, life and death is pictured to us by the day and by the night, and in the change and alterations of the ſeaſons.

My dream (ſaid *Luther*) which I had lately, will be made true; for I dreamed, that I was dead and ſtood by my grave covered with ſmall rags. Thus am I long ſince condemned to die, and notwithſtanding yet I live.

Of the Sentence, John the 8th. Whoſo keepeth my Saying, ſhall never ſee Death.

LUTHER expounded the ſame thus: We muſt die and ſuffer death; but this is wonderful, that whoſo holdeth himſelf on God's Word, ſhall not feel death, but ſhall depart as in a ſleep, and concerning him it ſhall no more be ſaid, *Morior, ſed cogor dormire:* that is, I die, but I am forced to ſleep. But whoſo findeth not himſelf furniſhed with God's Word, the ſame muſt die in anguiſh; therefore when thou comeſt to that point to die, then make no diſpute at all, but from thy heart ſay, *Credo in Jeſum Chriſtum Dei filium, plus nolo ſcire*; I believe in Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God: I will know no more.

The thirty-eighth year (ſaid *Luther*) is an evil and a dangerous year, it bringeth many heavy and great ſickneſſes; naturally, by reaſon (happily) of the comets and conjunctions of Saturn and of Mars, but ſpiritually, by reaſon of the innumerable ſins of the people. Now this life is nothing worth, let us not depend thereon, but truſt and believe in God who giveth everlaſting life, God give us a happy hour, as then we have been well done by here.

Pliny the Heathen writer ſaith, Libro xx. Cap. 1. The beſt phyſic for a human creature is, ſoon to die; Julius the Emperor contemned the ſigns of death, was careleſs of danger; he ſaid, It is better once to die than continually to be full of care and to take heed of himſelf; this was enough for an heathen (ſaid *Luther*), yet we ought not to tempt God, but to uſe the means which he giveth, and then to commit ourſelves to his mercy.

That the Death of a Chriſtian, is different from the Death of an Heathen.

IT were a light and an eaſy matter for a Chriſtian to ſuffer and overcome death, if he knew that it were not God's wrath; the ſame title maketh death bitter unto us. But an Heathen dieth ſecurely, he neither ſeeth nor feeleth that it is God's wrath, but thinketh it is the end of nature, and is natural. The Epicure ſaith, It is but to endure one evil hour.

Cicero ſaid, Hereafter we ſhall be made either nothing, or ſaved, as if he ſhould ſay, No evil hereafter can be done unto us.

That the Death of a godly and an upright Chriſtian is a Sign of God's Wrath.

WHEN I hear (ſaid *Luther*) that a good and godly man is dead, then I am affrighted, and fear that God hateth the world, who taketh away the upright and good, to the end he may fall upon, and puniſh the evil and wicked. Although I die it maketh no great matter, for I am in the Pope's curſe and excommunication, I am his devil, therefore he hateth and perſecuteth me. At Coburg I went about, and ſought me out a place for my burial; I thought to have been laid in the chancel under

under the table, but now I am of another mind, I know I have not long to live, for my head is like a knife, from which the ſteel is wholly whetted away, and is become merely iron, the iron will cut no more, even ſo likewiſe it is with my head. Now loving Lord God; I hope my time is not far, God help, and give me a happy hour, I deſire to live no longer.

To taſte of Death.

RIGHTLY to taſte of death (ſaid *Luther*) is directly to deſpair; a God-fearing Chriſtian ſhall not taſte of death (as Chriſt ſaith), for he never feeleth complete deſpair, although ſometimes a Chriſtian is very near thereunto, but he is drawn back again, and preſerved by the Holy Ghoſt.

Of the contemning of Death.

WE read of St. Vincence, who being ready to die, ſaw death ſtanding at his feet, and ſaid, Death! what wilt thou? Thinkeſt thou to gain any thing of a Chriſtian? Knoweſt thou not that I am a Chriſtian? Even ſo (ſaid *Luther*) ought we to learn to contemn, to ſcorn, and to deride death. Likewiſe it is written in the hiſtory of St. Martin, that being near his death, he ſaw the devil ſtanding at his bed's feet, and boldly ſaid, *Quid tu hic ſtas horrenda Beſtia? nihil habes in me*; that is, *Why ſtandeſt thou here thou horrible beaſt? Thou haſt nothing to do with me.* Theſe were right words of faith. Such and the like ought we to cull out of the legends of the Saints, and leave other fooleries which by the Papiſts are ſtuffed therein.

That we ought to drive away the melancholy Thoughts of Death.

LUTHER at Wittemberg, diſcerning a very melancholy man (whom formerly he well knew) ſaid unto him, Ah! human creature, what doeſt thou? Haſt thou nothing elſe in hand but to think of thy ſins, on death, and damnation? Turn thine eyes quickly away, and look hither to this man Chriſt, of whom it is written, *He was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin Mary, ſuffered, died, buried, deſcended into hell, the third day aroſe again from the dead, and aſcended up into heaven*, &c. Wherefore doeſt thou think that all this was done *nunquid?* That thou ſhouldeſt comfort thyſelf againſt death and ſin; therefore forbear, be not afraid, neither do thou faint, for truly thou haſt no cauſe: for Chriſt ſuffered death for thee, and prevailed for thy comfort and defence, and for that cauſe he ſitteth at the right hand of God his heavenly Father to deliver thee.

Fidelis animæ vox ad Chriſtum.

EGO ſum tuum peccatum, tu mea juſtitia; triumpho igitur ſecurus, quia nec meum peccatum obruet tuam juſtitiam, nec tua juſtitia ſinet me eſſe aut manere peccatorem. Benedictus Dominas Deus meus, miſerator meus & Redemtor meus, in te ſolum confido, nunquam crubeſcam.

That is,

The Voice of a faithful Soul to Chriſt.

I AM thy ſin, and thou art my righteouſneſs; therefore I triumph ſecurely, becauſe neither my ſin ſhall overwhelm thy juſtice, nor thy juſtice will ſuffer me to be or remain

remain a ſinner. Bleſſed be my Lord God, my pitier, and my Redeemer; in thee only I truſt, and ſhall never be aſhamed.

Precatio Lutheri.

SUM tuus in vita, tua ſunt mea funera Chriſte,
Da precor imperii Sceptra tenere tui.
Cur etenim moriens tot vulnera ſæva tuliſti?
Si non ſum regni portio parva tui.
Cur rigido tatuit tua vita incluſa ſepulcro,
Si non eſt mea mors, morte fugata tua?
Ergo mihi certam præſtes o Chriſte ſalutem.

That is,

The Prayer of Luther.

I AM thine O Chriſt in my life; thy death is mine. Grant me part in thy kingdom; for why by thy death didſt thou endure ſuch grievous wounds, if I am not a ſmall portion of thy kingdom? Why was thy life incloſed in the ſepulcre, if my death be not aboliſhed by thy death? Therefore O Chriſt give me ſure ſalvation.

Of the Mortality of an Human Creature.

QUOT membra ſunt in nobis, tot ſunt & mortes; that is, *So many members as we have, ſo many deaths we have.* Death peepeth out at every member. *And we are ſubject to death in the midſt of life*; for the devil who is a cauſer, and a lord of death, is our adverſary, and hunteth after our life; he hath ſworn our death, and we have deſerved it; but the devil will not gain much by ſtrangling of the godly; for therein he will crack a hollow nut. Let us die (ſaid *Luther*) that ſo the devil may be at quiet. I have deſerved death two-fold; Firſt, in that I have ſinned againſt God, for which I am heartily ſorry. Secondly, I have deſerved death at the devil's hands, whoſe kingdom of lying and murthering (through God's aſſiſtance, grace, and mercy) I have deſtroyed; therefore he juſtly in requital wiſheth my death.

Of Luther's Cenſure touching the Sentence, Mat. xxiv. *There ſhall riſe falſe Prophets, inſomuch that if it was poſſible they ſhall deceive the very Elect.*

THIS ſentence (ſaid *Luther*) was fulfilled, and made true on the holy fathers; as on St. Jerome, Auſtin, Gregory, Baſil, Cyprian, Bernard, and others; they were ſeduced into thoſe errors, but they remained not therein. St. Bernard wrote many evil and ungodly things, eſpecially concerning the Virgin Mary; but when he was near his death, he ſaid, *Perdite vixi*, I have lived wickedly. But thou loving Lord Jeſus Chriſt, haſt a two-fold right to the kingdom of heaven; Firſt, it is thine inheritance, for thou art the only begotten Son of the Father; but that affordeth me no comfort or hope of heaven. Secondly, thou haſt purchaſed the ſame with thy ſuffering and death, thou haſt ſtilled the Father's wrath, haſt unlocked heaven, and preſented the ſame unto me, as thy purchaſed good. Of this have I joy and comfort. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) he died well and happy. Likewiſe when St. Auſtin was to die, then he prayed the ſeven penetential pſalms. But when theſe fathers were in health, then they thought not on this doctrine, but when they were upon their death beds, then they found in their hearts what they

they were to truſt unto; then they felt it high time to abandon human fopperies which formerly they held and taught, and to betake themſelves only to Chriſt, and to rely upon his rich and precious merit, &c. Then they took hold on ſuch comforts, confeſſed this doctrine, and ſo were made happy and ſaved.

Of a Comfort in our laſt Hour deſcribed by Luther.

ALMIGHTY, everlaſting God, merciful heavenly Father, who art a father of our loving Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I know aſſuredly, that every thing which thou haſt ſaid thou wilt and canſt perform, for thou canſt not lie, thy Word is upright and true. In the beginning thou haſt promiſed unto me thy loving and only begotten Son Jeſus Chriſt; the ſame is come, and hath delivered me from the devil, from death, hell, and ſin. Out of his gracious will he hath preſented unto me the Sacraments which I have uſed in faith, and have depended on thy Word; wherefore I make no doubt at all, but that I am well ſecured, and ſettled in peace; therefore if this be my hour, and thy Divine will, ſo am I willing to depart from hence with joy.

Schola Fidei, 1 Cor. xv.; The ſchool of faith is ſaid to go about with death.

Abſumta eſt mors in victoria; Death is ſwallowed up in victory.

Si mors, ergò peccatum; If death, then ſin.

Si mors, ergò omnes morbi; If death, then all diſeaſes.

Si mors, ergò omnis miſeria; If death, then all miſery.

Si mors, ergò omnes diabolo vires; If death, then all the power of the devil.

Si mors, ergo omnes mundi furiæ; If death, then all the fury of the world.

But theſe things do not appear, but rather the contrary, therefore there is need of faith; for an open appearance of things followeth faith in due time, where thoſe things which are now inviſible will then be ſeen. Moreover Luther further ſaid:

Abſorpta eſt mors in victoria; Death is ſwallowed up in victory.

Iſaiah xxv. *Præcipitavit mortem in æternum*; He hath thrown down death for ever.

When Adam lived (ſaid *Luther*), that is, when he ſinned, then death devoured life; but when Chriſt died, *id eſt*, *Juſtificatur*, then life (which is Chriſt) ſwallowed up and devoured death; therefore God be praiſed, *Quod Chriſtus moritur*, that Chriſt died, and hath gotten the victory.

CHAP. LV.

OF THE RESURRECTION FROM THE DEAD.

Luther's Diſcourſe of the Reſurrection from the Dead, and Everlaſting Life.

ANNO 1544, on Eaſter Sunday, Luther made an excellent ſermon touching the reſurrection from the dead, out of the epiſtle appointed for the ſame day, and handled this ſentence, *Thou fool, that which thou ſoweſt is not quickened except it die.* When Abraham intended to ſacrifice his ſon, he believed, that God out of the aſhes would raiſe him again, and make him a father of children. The faith of Adam and of Eve preſerved them, becauſe they truſted and believed in

the promiſed ſeed. For to him that believeth every thing is poſſible. The conception and birth of every human creature that proceedeth out of a drop of blood, is no leſs a miracle and wonder-work of God, than that Adam was made out of a clod of earth, and Eve out of a fleſhly rib. The world is full of ſuch works of wonder, but we are blind, we cannot ſee them. The whole world is not able to create one member, no not ſo much as a ſmall leaf. The manner of the reſurrection conſiſteth in theſe words, Ariſe, come, ſtand up, appear, rejoice ye which dwell in the duſt of the earth. I ſhall ariſe again (ſaid *Luther*), and ſhall ſpeak with you; this finger wherewith I point muſt come to me again: to conclude, every thing muſt come again, for it is written, *God will create a new heaven and a new earth wherein righteouſneſs ſhall dwell*; it ſhall be no waſte nor idle government, there ſhall be all joy and happineſs, for heaven and earth ſhall not be a barren or unfruitful ſand. Heaven and earth ſhall be renewed, and we the faithful ſhall be altogether in one company; if we were all one, then we ſhould have peace among ourſelves, but God ordereth it otherwiſe, to the end we may yearn and ſigh after the future paternal home, and may be made weary of this troubleſome life. Now if there be joy in the choſen, ſo muſt the higheſt ſorrow and deſpair be in the damned. Whoever heard (ſaid *Luther*) that the ruſhing of a leaf ſtruck a hole in one's head? Yet nevertheleſs, an ungodly and a faithleſs perſon is affrighted even at the ruſhing of a leaf, but with a true Chriſtian it is not ſo, for he hath peace in Chriſt; on the contrary, the ungodly have no peace.

Of the Life Everlaſting.

ANNO 1538, the 7th of Auguſt, *Luther* diſcourſed concerning the life to come, and ſaid, In my late ſickneſs I lay indeed very weak, and committed myſelf to God but nevertheleſs many things fell into my mind in the time of my feebleneſs, concerning the everlaſting life, what the ſame might be, what joys we there ſhall have: Well I am aſſured, that every thing ſhall be revealed which through Chriſt is preſented unto us, and is already ours, ſeeing we believe it. But here we ſhall not know how the creation of the new world will be, for we are not able to comprehend nor underſtand the creation of this temporal world nor of the creatures therein, which are viſible and corporal. To conclude, the joys that are everlaſting are beyond the comprehenſion of any human creature. As Iſaiah ſaith, *Exultabitis uſque in ſempiternem lætitia glorificata:* that is, *Ye ſhall be everlaſtingly joyful in glorious joy.* But how cometh it, that we cannot believe God's Word, whereas all things are accompliſhed which the Scripture ſpeak, touching the reſurrection of the dead. This proveth original ſin, the ſame is the cauſe of it. The ungodly and damned at the laſt day ſhall be under the ground, and in ſome meaſure they ſhall behold the great joys and glory of the choſen and ſaved, but thereby they ſhall be ſo much the more pained and tormented.

Hath our Lord God created ſo fairly this vaniſhing and temporal kingdom; namely, heaven and earth and all that is therein, how much more fair and glorious will he then make and create yonder celeſtial everlaſting kingdom.

Of the Everlaſting Life.

AS I lay ſucking at my mother's breaſts (ſaid *Luther*) then I knew nothing, how I ſhould afterwards eat, drink, and live. Even ſo do we as little underſtand what the life to come will be.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVI.

OF DAMNATION AND HELL.

What Gnaſhing of Teeth is.

I HOLD (ſaid *Luther*) gnaſhing of teeth to be the extremeſt pain which ſhall follow an evil conſcience; that is, deſpair; namely, to know that one everlaſtingly muſt be ſeparated from God.

That we may ſurely Cenſure out of God's Word, who is Damned.

I WISHED (ſaid *Luther*) and would willingly from my heart that Zuinglius were ſaved, but I fear the contrary, in regard Chriſt commandeth, that we ſhould ſo judge and cenſure, thoſe that know not God, or thoſe that deny him before the people, that ſuch are already damned. God's cenſure and judgment is ſure and certain, which we ſafely may pronounce over all the ungodly, unleſs God reſerveth unto himſelf a peculiar privilege and diſpenſation, which hath its ſcope. Even ſo David from his heart wiſhed that his ſon Abſalom might be ſaved, when he ſaid, *Abſolom my ſon, Abſolom my ſon*, &c. yet nevertheleſs he certainly believed that he was damned; therefore he bewailed him, not only in that he died corporally, but was alſo loſt everlaſtingly; for he knew that he died in rebellion, in inceſt, and that he had hunted his father out of the kingdom.

In this life (ſaid *Luther*) are many different degrees of tribulations, according as perſons are alſo manifold and different. If another ſhould have had thoſe tribulations which I have ſuffered, ſo would he long ſince have died; neither could I have endured or held out under the angel's buffetings as St. Paul did, no leſs had St. Paul been able to undergo and endure the tribulations which Chriſt ſuffered. The greateſt and heavieſt grief is, when one dieth in the twinkling of an eye, and departeth from hence. But hereof we ought not to diſpute, but to refer the ſame to God's judgment; we ought to deal with that which in the Word is revealed unto us.

Touching four Sorts of Degrees of Puniſhments after this Life.

THE ancients made four ſorts of differences of hell. 1. The fore-front, wherein (they ſay) the Patriarchs were until Chriſt deſcended into hell. 2. The feeling of pain, yet only temporal, as purgatory. 3. Where the unbaptiſed children are, but feel no pain. 4. Where the damned are, which feel everlaſting pain, the ſame is the right hell; the other three (ſaid *Luther*) are only human imaginations. In Popedom they ſang an evil ſong, Our ſighs called upon thee, our pitiful lamentations ſought thee, &c. This was not chriſtian-like, for the Goſpel ſaith, *They are in Abraham's boſom.* Iſaiah ſaith, *They go into their chambers.* And Jeſus Syrach ſaith, *The righteous is in the Lord's hand, let him die how he will, yea although he be overtaken by death.* Therefore there are no ſighings nor lamentations,

tations, the poor ignorant people drew the hearty ſighing of the Prophets, which in their life they had after Chriſt the Meſſiah whom they expected, upon the dead. What hell is, we know not (ſaid *Luther*), only we know, that there is a ſure and certain place, as is written of the rich glutton, when Araham ſaid unto him, *There is a great ſpace between you and us.* For if we knew it, or that the Scripture had ſhewed any thing of this place, then there would have been no end in diſputing, therefore let us remain ſimple by the children's creed.

Of the Sentence, Iſaiah the xxviii. *Be ye not mockers leſt your bands be made ſtrong.*

THAT is, will ye not believe? ſo ſhall ye not remain; our Lord God's things are incomprehenſible, yet nevertheleſs, in yonder life, he ſaith, he will ſhew us all things, and will give us an account why he made it ſo. We Chriſtians (God be praiſed) have a great advantage, in that our faith is grounded ſo powerfully in the Holy Scripture, and always accorded therewith: this the Turks, Jews, and Papiſts have not.

CHAP. LVII.

OF THE LAST DAY OF JUDGMENT.

Luther's *Diſcourſe of the laſt Day of Judgment.*

AH, loving God (ſaid *Luther*)! come once; I wait continually for that day, when early in themorning (in the ſpring, the day and night are alike long I ſee a very clear morning ſky. For I think, that ſwiftly out of the morning redneſs, will come a thick black cloud, out of which will iſſue three flaſhes of lightning, afterwards there will come a clap, and in a moment will ſtrike all on a heap, heaven and earth. The name of the Lord be praiſed, who hath taught us to ſigh and yearn after that day, and in truth we ought to deſire the ſpeedy approach thereof, in Popedom they are all afraid thereof, as they ſing, That day is a day of wrath, &c. I hope, truly, that day is not far off. Chriſt ſaith, At that time, he ſhall ſcarcely find faith on the earth, let us make our account, and we ſhall truly find, that we have the Goſpel now only in a corner: Aſia and Africa have it not, the Goſpel is not preached in Europe, in Greece, Italy, Hungary, Spain, France, England, nor in Poland, &c. And ſure I am, that this little corner where it is (the Houſe of Saxony) will not hinder the coming of the laſt day of judgment. It is come already ſo far as to the white horſe in the Revelations, the world cannot ſtand long, the Lord deliver us from evil. Amen.

When the Turk (ſaid *Luther*) beginneth a little to decline, then certainly the laſt day will come, for then it muſt be; in conſequence of the teſtimony of the Scripture. The loving Lord will come, as the Scripture ſaith, *For thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, yet a littlewhile and I will ſhake the heavens and the earth, and the ſea and the dry land: and I will ſhake all nations, and the deſire of all nations ſhall come.* At the laſt there will begreat alteration and commotion; for then all the elements

elements ſhall be melted to aſhes, the whole world ſhall be made a vaſt lump again, as in the beginning. Then there ſhall be a new heaven and earth, and we ſhall be changed, but the devil ſhall re min as he is, for he hath nothing of the elements as St. Paul ſheweth, who had great revelations from God.

Of Luther's Conſiderations touching the laſt Day, about what Time it will come.

ABOUT the time of Eaſter in April, when they leaſt of all feared the rain, Pharoah was deſtroyed in the Red Sea, and the nation of Iſrael led again out of Egypt. Even about the ſame time (ſaid *Luther*) the world was created, at the ſame time the year is changed, and Chriſt aroſe again, and the world renewed; even ſo (happily) will the laſt day come about the ſame time. I am of opinion, after or about Eaſter, when the year is at the fineſt and faireſt, and early at the riſing of the ſun (as at Sodom and Gomorrah), the element will be gloomy with earthquakes and thunderings about an hour or little longer, then the ſecure people ſhall ſay, Look thou fool, haſt thou never heard it thunder?

That the laſt Day will ſeparate the Righteous from the Ungodly.

THE upright art of alchymy (ſaid *Luther*) I like very well, and indeed, it is the philoſophy of the antients; I like it not only for the ſake of the profits which it bringeth in melting of the metals, in excocting, preparing, and extracting, alſo in diſtilling herbs, roots, and in ſubliming. But I like it alſo for the ſake of the allegory and ſecret ſignification, which is ſurpaſſing fair; touching the reſurrection of the dead at the laſt day. For like as in a furnace the fire extracteth and ſeparateth that which is the beſt out of the matter, yea it carrieth upwards the ſpirit, the life, the ſap, and ſtrength, ſo that it poſſeſſeth the uppermoſt part of the ſtill, it cleaveth thereon, and then trickleth downwards; inſomuch, that the fat ſwimmeth above, and the beſt thereof hovereth always uppermoſt; but the unclean matter, or the dregs is left at the bottom like a dead carcaſe and worthleſs thing. Even ſo likewiſe, God will deal at the day of judgment, therewith he will ſeparate all things through fire, will ſeparate the righteous from the ungodly, the Chriſtians and Righteous ſhall aſcend upwards into heaven, and therein ſhall live everlaſtingly; but the Wicked and the Ungodly, as the droſs and filth, ſhall remain in hell, and therein be damned.

CHAP. LVIII.

OF ALLEGORIES.

Luther's Diſcourſe of Allegories and Spiritual Significations of Scripture, and how we ought to deal therewith.

ALLEGORIES and ſpiritual ſignifications (ſaid *Luther*), when they are directed upon faith, and ſeldom uſed, then they are good and laudable; but when they are drawn upon the life and converſation, then they are dangerous, and I am an

enemy unto them, for when men make too many of them, then they pervert and ſpoil the doctrine of faith. To conclude, allegories, or ſpiritual ſignifications, are fine ornaments, but they are not of proof, we ought not lightly to make uſe of them, except the principal cauſe be firſt ſufficiently proved with ſtrong grounds and arguments, as we ſee St. Paul did in the fourth Chapter to the Galatians; the body is the logick, but allegory is the rhetorick; now rhetorick which at length finely and amply adorneth and enlargeth a thing with words, is of no value without logick, which round and briefly comprehendeth a matter. When with rhetorick, men will make many words without ground to no purpoſe, then it is but only a trimmed thing and a carved idol.

What Allegories are.

AN allegory is, when a thing is ſignified and underſtood otherwiſe than the words do expreſs. *Allegoria in ſententiis*, and whole ſpeeches is, *Metaphora*, in words and vowels that are coloured. Among all languages none is ſo rich in allegories as the Hebrew: the German tongue is full of metaphors, as when we ſay, He hangeth the cloak according to the wind: Katherine of Born is the morning ſtar at Wittemberg, &c. Theſe (ſaid *Luther*) are metaphors, that is, coloured words. Allegories are, as when Chriſt commandeth that one ſhould waſh another's feet, of baptizing, of the ſabbath, &c.

We muſt not hold and underſtand allegories as they ſound; as when Daniel ſaith, concerning the beaſt that had ten horns, we muſt underſtand the ſame to be ſpoken of the Roman Empire. Even ſo circumciſion in the New Teſtament is an allegory, but in the Old Teſtament it is no allegory: we ought to obſerve them in the ſcanteſt meaſure. The New Teſtament frameth allegories out of the Old; as it maketh two nations out of Abraham's ſons, and in the Old Teſtament it was even ſo: it is neither ſeemly nor fitting for us to make allegories, as the ſectaries imagine; for God be praiſed) now all arts are brought forth in a moſt clear and complete way; but alas, the ſame are ſorely contemned, as the world ſorely contemned Chriſt their own Saviour, whom they held for the moſt deſpiſed, yea, they hanged him on the gallows.

Of the Knight Saint George.

THE legend of St. George hath a fair ſpiritual ſignification concerning temporal government and policy. The virgin ſignifieth the policy; ſhe is vexed and perſecuted by the dragon the devil, who goeth about to devour her. Now he plagueth her with hunger and dearth, then with peſtilence, now with wars, then he ſpoileth and devaſteth her, till at length a good Prince or Potentate cometh, who helpeth and delivereth her, and reſtoreth her again to her right.

Of the inſolent Boldneſs of the Sophiſts, in trifling with Allegories.

TO play with allegories in Chriſtian doctrine is dangerous, the words now and then are acceptable, and enter fine and ſmoothly, but they are to no purpoſe; they ſerve well for ſuch preachers as have not ſtudied much, who know not rightly how to expound the hiſtories and texts, whoſe leather is too ſhort, and will not ſtretch, as then they lay hold on allegories, wherein nothing certainly is taught, on which a man may build; therefore we ſhould accuſtom ourſelves to remain by the clear and whole-

ſome

ſome text. Philip Melanchon aſked *Luther* what the allegory and hidden ſignification was, that the eagle, during the time he broodeth and ſitteth upon the eggs, hunteth not abroad, he keepeth but one young, the other he thruſteth out of the neſt, and caſteth them away. Likewiſe, why the ravens nouriſh not their young ones, but forſake them when they are yet bare, and without feathers? *Luther* anſwered, and ſaid, The eagle ſignifieth a monarch, who alone will have the government, and ſuffer none beſides himſelf to be his equal. But the ravens are the harſh and hard-hearted ſwine and belly-gods the Papiſts.

Of Sophiſtical Allegories.

THE allegory of a Sophiſt is always ſcrewed; it croucheth and boweth itſelf like a ſnake, which is never ſtraight, whether ſhe go, creep, or lie ſtill, only when ſne is dead, then ſhe is ſtraight enough.

Of Allegories, and when Luther diſburthened himſelf of the ſame.

WHEN I was a Friar (ſaid *Luther*) I was a maſter in ſpiritual ſignifications, then I was altogether in my allegories; but afterwards, when through the Epiſtles to the Romans, I came a little to the knowledge of Chriſt, I ſaw that allegories were vain, not what were ſignified by Chriſt, but who and what he is. Before that time I allegorized and ſpiritually ſignified every particular thing; yea alſo, the *cloaca*. But afterwards I conſidered the hiſtories, how difficult and heavy a matter it was that Gideon fought with the enemy in that manner as the Scripture ſheweth; thoſe were no allegories, nor ſpiritual ſignifications: but the Holy Ghoſt ſaith, Faith only, with three hundred men, beat ſo great a multitude of the enemies. St. Jerome and Origen (God forgive them) were the means that allegories were held in ſuch eſteem. In Origen is not ſo much as one word of Chriſt.

Of Luther's beſt Art.

I CAN neither labour nor diſcourſe any more (ſaid *Luther*), when I was young then I was learned, and eſpecially before I came into divinity, then I dealt altogether with *Allegoriis*, *Tropoligiis*, *Anagogiis*, there was nothing with me but altogether art. If one had now the ſame, he would carry it about with him for an holy relick; but I knew it was not worth a ſir-reverence: now I have ſhaken it off, and my beſt art is, *Tradere Scripturum ſimplici ſenſu*; that is, *To deliver the Scripture in the ſimple ſenſe*, the ſame doth the deed; therein is life, ſtrength, doctrine, and art; in the other is nothing but fooliſhneſs, let it ſhine how it will. When men will aim at that ſcope, and will make tropes, then we that are Chriſtians have loſt.

Muntzer in that manner troped with the third Chapter of John, *Unleſs one be born again of water*, &c. and ſaid, Water ſignifies tribulation; as in that place, *Many waters entered into my ſoul:* the meaning therefore is, That by tribulation we muſt enter into the kingdom of heaven. Thus did Muntzer, but St. Auſtin gave a rule, That figures and allegories prove nothing at all, but hiſtory, words, and grammar.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIX.

OF THE LEGENDS OF THE SAINTS.

Of St. Elizabeth.

ST. ELIZABETH was born *Anno Domino*, 1207, when Emperor Otho and Philip were at debate and tore themſelves about the Roman Empire. She lived not above four-and-twenty years. After ſhe had been dead five years, then ſhe was canonized by Pope Gregory the Ninth, and proclaimed a ſaint: ſhe was invoked by many which knew her, and lived in her days.

Ah! (ſaid *Luther*) how faſt aſleep were the Biſhops, how negligent were they in permitting ſuch errors to come into the church. It was a time of God's anger; for ſeeing they forſook the Bible, therefore ſuch things were taught: but now (by God's grace) we have the Word, and where God's Word is pure and unfalſified, there muſt alſo be the Holy Ghoſt.

Few of the legends are pure; the legends of the martyrs are leaſt ſuſpected, as they who proved their faith, and ſealed the ſame with their blood. The legends of the Friars, eſpecially of the Hermits, which dwell all alone from people, called Anachorites, are abominable; for they have many ſtrange, horrible, and lying miracles and fooleries, touching wonderful moderation, chaſtity, and nurture. I hold much of thoſe ſaints which are not particularly known, which do live after a publick way like other people, without hypocriſy; they boaſt not, neither do they permit themſelves to be noted.

Of St. Anna.

CONCERNING St. Anna, they ſay, ſhe had three huſbands.

They ſay Anna bare to her three huſbands three Marys; Mary the mother of the Lord Chriſt by Joachim, Mary Solome, by Solome, and Mary Cleophe by Cleophas; whereas Solome is the name of a woman. Even ſo they ſay, John the Evangeliſt was the bridegroom of Magdalena, as they ſing of him in the Sequents, Thou haſt forſaken the loving breaſts, or thy ſweetheart, and wenteſt after the Meſſiah.

We read alſo in a Miſſal (ſaid *Luther*) of innumerable many Maſſes, which were prepared and inſtituted by the Pope, for the ſake of money. The whole week after Michaelmas, every day they obſerve Vigils and Soul-maſſes for the dead; then they ſprinkled and perfumed the houſes or places wherein the bones of the dead lay, the ſame, they believed, either ſhould eaſe their pain, or deliver them thereout; all this they ſtedfaſtly held and believed contrary to God's Word.

Of the Virgin Tecla.

IN the legends of the Virgin Tecla, who (as they ſay) was baptiſed by St. Paul, That ſhe awakened in him carnal luſt. *Luther*, laughing at ſuch lies, ſaid, Ah loving Paul! thou hadſt another manner of thorn in thy fleſh than carnal luſt and deſire. The Friars who live ſecurely at eaſe, and have good days, do dream according to their letcherous cogitations, that St. Paul alſo was plagued with the like tribulations as thoſe belly-gods are.

Of the Legends of St. Chriſtopher.

THE legends of St. Chriſtopher (ſaid *Luther*) is no hiſtory; but the Grecians (as wiſe, learned, and ſenſible people) feigned the ſame; to ſhew how a true Chriſtian ſhould be, and how it went with him; namely, a very great, tall and ſtrong man, who carried a little child (Jeſus) upon his ſhoulders, which was heavy, inſomuch as he was conſtrained to bend and bow under him (as the name Chriſtopher, that beareth Chriſt, ſheweth) through the raging and boiſterous ſea, the world; where the waves, the tyrants, beat upon and perſecute him, would willingly bereave him of body and life, of honour and wealth: but he holdeth himſelf on a great tree as upon a ſtaff; that is, on God's Word. On the other ſide of the ſea ſtandeth an old man with a lanthorn, in which a candle burneth, the ſame are the Prophets. Afterwards he lifteth himſelf up, and ſo arriveth ſafely on the ſhore, where he is ſecure; that is, into everlaſting life. But at his ſide he hath a taſh, wherein is fiſh and bread; to ſhew, that God here on earth will alſo nouriſh and take care for the bodies of his Chriſtians in ſuch perſecutions, croſſes, and misfortunes which they muſt endure, and will not ſuffer them to die of hunger, as the world willingly would have. It is (ſaid *Luther*) a fair and a Chriſtian-like imagination; as alſo that of St. George, for George in the Greek tongue is called a builder, that buildeth countries and people with juſtice and righteouſneſs, that hindereth and reſiſteth the enemies that intend to aſſault and hurt them.

Of the Legends of the Saints.

IT was one of the devil's proper plagues (ſaid *Luther*) that we have not ſo much as one legend of the ſaints pure and true, they are ſtuffed ſo full with lies, that without heavy labour they cannot be truly corrected. The legend of St. Katherine is oppoſite to all Roman hiſtories. For Maxentius was drowned in the Tiber at Rome, and never came to Alexandria, but Maximus had been there, as we read in Euſebius, ſince the time of Julius Cæſar (and long before) there had been no King in Egypt. Doubtleſs a deſpairing wicked wretch it was, that jeered Chriſtendom with ſuch lies, ſurely he ſitteth deep in hell. Such fopperies did we believe in Popedom, but we underſtood them not, therefore let us give God thanks, that we are freed and delivered from the ſame, and let us pray, that one day or other we be not forced to believe ſuch, yea, more ungodly things.

CHAP LX.

OF SPIRITUAL AND CHURCH LIVINGS.

Luther's Diſcourſe of Spiritual or Church-livings.

MY ADVICE is (ſaid *Luther*) that the biſhopricks of the Proteſtant Biſhops may be permitted to remain to the profit and uſe of poor ſtudents and for the ſchools; and when a Biſhop, a Dean, or Provoſt cannot, or will not preach himſelf, then he ſhall at his own charge maintain other ſtudents and ſcholars which are fitted thereunto, and permit them to ſtudy and to preach. But when Potentates and Princes rend and tear ſpiritual livings to themſelves and will famiſh poor ſtudents and ſcholars, then the pariſhes of neceſſity muſt be devaſted, as is done already, for we can get neither Miniſters nor Deacons. The Pope (although he be our mortal enemy) muſt maintain us, yet againſt his will, and for which he hath no thanks.

Of the Robbing of Church-livings.

LUTHER lamenting the robbing of Church-livings by great Princes and Potentates, ſaid, Theſe times are evil, in that the church is ſo ſpoiled and robbed, they give nothing, but take and ſteal; in former times, Kings and Princes gave liberally and richly to her, but now they rob and devaſt her. The church is more torn and tattered than a beggar's cloak; nothing is added to the ſtipends and wages of the poor ſervants of the church. Thoſe that beſtow them to the right and true uſe, are perſecuted; it goeth with them as with St. Lawrence, who againſt the Emperor's command, parted the Church-livings among the poor.

The ſpiritual livings in Popedom, are unworthy that Chriſtian uſe ſhould be made thereof, for they are the wages of whores (as the Prophet ſaith) and ſhall return to whores again as their wages. The Pope is fooled (ſaid *Luther*) in that he ſuffereth the Emperor and other Princes to take poſſeſſion of ſpiritual livings, he hopeth thereby to preſerve his authority and power by them. For that cauſe, he wrote alſo to Henry King of England, that he would be content that the King took poſſeſſion of ſpiritual livings, ſo far as that he (the Pope) might but be acknowledged by the King to be the chief Biſhop. For the Pope thinketh thus, I muſt now in theſe times of trouble and danger court the beaſt; I muſt yield in ſome things, &c. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) I rejoice, that I have lived to ſee the Pope humbled, he is now conſtrained to ſuffer his patrons, his protectors, and defenders, to take poſſeſſion of Church-livings, only thereby to preſerve his power and authority, but ſo long as God's Word ſtandeth, ſo long will the Pope ſtand like a tottering wall, until he be quite overthrown. But how will it be with the monaſteries and churches which are fallen down, decayed, and deſtroyed? They ſhall never be erected, and the prophecy is now fulfilled, Revelations xvii. That Kings ſhall hate the whore, and ſhall make her deſolate and naked, &c. Popedom hath been and will be a prey. Twelve years ſince, the Pope ſuffered one Prince to take poſſeſſion of divers biſhopricks, who were

conſtrained

conſtrained to redeem themſelves. But afterwards at the Imperial Diet at Augſpurg, that Prince was compelled to reſtore them; but now the Pope giveth him leave again; the ſame Prince and his retinue may well forſake the Goſpel, ſeeing the Pope yieldeth and appointeth ſo much unto him. It is now a very ſtrange time, of which we little thought twenty years paſt, for the Pope, that grizly idol, of whom all people ſtood in fear, muſt now permit Princes to contemn and ſcorn him, which the Emperor dared not to have done thirty years paſt, no not with one word to have touched him. To conclude, the Papiſts do intend very wicked practices; God reſiſt them; let us but only diligently pray, and remain by Chriſt and his Word, which is pure.

Whereto Spiritual Livings might well be uſed.

A POOR ſtudent (ſaid *Luther*) may well have ſpiritual livings to maintain his ſtudying, only that he bind not himſelf with ungodly and unchriſtianlike vows, nor conſenteth to have communion with the errors of the Papiſts. Ah, that we might enjoy but only the ſeventh part of the gown (the livings of the church) to maintain poor ſtudents. I am ſorry that our Princes have ſuch deſire to biſhopricks, for I fear they will be their bane, and that therewith they will loſe what is their own.

When at the Imperial Diet it was handled, that the monaſteries ſhould be ſurrendered up to the Emperor, that he might billet his captains therein; then (ſaid *Luther*) I myſelf adviſed, and ſtill will adviſe, that all the monaſteries rather ſhould be pulled down and deſtroyed, for who will ſuffer an Imperial captain in his country? This is merely the ſtratagem of the Biſhop of Mentz, thoſe fellows fain would have kept the upper hand over the monaſteries, as the Pope in Italy hath devoured all the monaſteries and abbies.

Of the Expounding of that Sentence: The Mother-church hath brought forth Riches, and afterwards the Daughter hath deſtroyed the Mother.

THIS ſentence (ſaid *Luther*) is true; for although the church hath made riches and wealth, yet ſuch make uſe thereof as are unworthy: touching this we have a fair example in the tribulations and temptations of the Lord Chriſt, Matt. iv. Firſt, The church is plagued with hunger, with poverty, &c. As under the Roman Emperor; Secondly, She is vexed with hereſies, for the devil did not lead our Lord Chriſt into the temple, but upon a pinnacle of the temple, that is, over the Holy Scripture; Thirdly, She is tormented by riches and power, the ſame is affected among the Popes, where they only feed, ſwill, and work all manner of villainy, and withall they forget the Bible and Holy Scripture.

That ſpiritual Livings ought to be employed towards the maintaining of the Pulpit.

CHRISTIANUS, King of Denmark wrote lately unto me (ſaid *Luther*) that he had diſplaced all the Popiſh Biſhops in his kingdom, and in their ſtead had ordained Superintendants, Doctors, and Chriſtian-like Miniſters and Teachers, and had appointed competent ſtipends for them, wherein his Majeſty deſired my further advice and counſel. But the King had put one article into the draught; namely, that all the income, rents, and tributes of the biſhopricks ſhould be brought under the Crown.

I wrote again to his Majeſty that, *ſua quærere, male olet:* that is, It ſavour's ill, for

for a man to ſeek his own intereſt, and that I feared the Crown might be removed too far from the poor Miniſters, ſo that they might be conſtrained to ſuffer hunger.

CHAP. LXI.

OF WARS.

That through Treachery much is atchieved in Wars.

AMONG all the ſtrong cities which I have ſeen (ſaid *Luther*), I muſt give Brunſwick the praiſe, which in a ſort is invincible, yet nevertheleſs no city is ſo ſtrong, but, if an aſs loaden with money can but make way thereinto, it may be won, meaning through treachery. I hear ſay, that the French King ſpendeth as much upon intelligence, as upon the whole army beſides, and hath atchieved and gained much by treachery; for a few years paſt, having wars againſt Pope Julius, and the Venetians, he put to flight and routed twenty thouſand of the Pope's army, with four thouſand men; the ſame was done by treachery. But victories, fortune, and good deſigns in war, are given by God, as we find in Hannibal, that moſt famous captain: he tugged the Romans thoroughly, he hunted them out of Africa, Sicilia, Spain, France, and almoſt out of all Italy. I am perſuaded (ſaid *Luther*) he was a ſurpaſſing valiant man, if he had had a ſcribe to have wrote the hiſtory of his wars; then, doubtleſs, we ſhould have underſtood many great and glorious actions of him.

Of faithleſs Dealing among great Princes, and of the Wars againſt Millain, and of the manly Actions of the German Soldiers.

EMPEROR Maximilian, and King Lodowick of France made a league, wherein they willingly would have had the Pope; now as he conſented thereunto, and for confirmation of the ſame, each one apart took the ſacrament, then the Pope ſoon after brake the league, and joined with the Venetians. When the Emperor was informed thereof, he ſaid, We three, who are held to be the heads of Chriſtendom, are the moſt deſpairing and perjured villains under the Sun; we are become faithleſs, not only one towards another, but alſo towards God. On Eaſter-day following, the Pope was beaten, overcome, and humbled by the French, but afterwards, he ſent ſecretly the Cardinal, Matthias Long (now Biſhop of Saltzburg) to the Emperor, who made them at an union again againſt the French, inſomuch that the French King loſt Millain through the Switzers. About this bride Millain (which yieldeth yearly ten hundred thouſand of florins) ſuch ſhedding of blood hath riſen, and continueth to this day, as is beyond man's cogitation; for ſhe is very rich, and a key to Italy; the French King deſired this city again of the Emperor Charles, promiſed to pay him a yearly tribute; but the Emperor intended to give the ſame to the middle ſon, not to the Dauphin, or eldeſt, nor the youngeſt, yet ſo that it ſhould not be an inheritance: from hence the war proceeded.

proceeded. And ſo long as the French King had Germans with him, ſo long he held the victory and the field; for High Germany yieldeth the beſt and moſt truſty ſoldiers who are content with their wages, and do defend the people: they are not like the Spaniards that take away money, wealth, wife and children, with great infidelity and inchaſtity; they will be hoſt in the houſe, and have the keys at their girdles, will cleanſe cheſts and trunks, will uſe women and maidens according to their wilful pleaſure, &c. Therefore nobody deſireth their protection. From hence Anthony de Leva (a Spaniard born, and the chiefeſt captain about the Emperor) at his laſt end admoniſhed the Emperor to make much of the German ſoldiers, and in any caſe not to loſe their good affections, for they held together as one man.

That War is God's greateſt Puniſhment.

THE Papiſts have wars in their minds againſt Germany. I believe not (ſaid *Luther*) that our poſterity ſhall enjoy peace, God turn his anger graciouſly from us; for war is one of the greateſt puniſhments; as that which devaſteth and taketh away religion, temporal and domeſtic government, it layeth all in the duſt; dearth and peſtilence are fox-tails, yet nothing in compariſon of war. Peſtilence is the moſt gracious and eaſieſt puniſhment: therefore David among the three puniſhments made choice of peſtilence.

The year that the Princes of the Empire were aſſembled at Frankfurt, Luther ſaid, There is no hope of peace, ſeeing the Papiſts thus rage and ſwell; they ſurpaſs us far in riches, in number, and in power; but it is not good to war againſt God, for he hath this privilege and advantage, that with a few he can defeat a great multitude, and make them faint and full of fear. How many examples in Holy Scripture do witneſs the ſame. Ah! that we were not ſo evil; we have, God be praiſed, a juſt cauſe; but alas! we are unthankful and wicked, inſomuch that God will viſit, and puniſh the good with the bad.

Of News from Frankfurt.

ANNO 1539, the 10th of April, Luther received letters from Franfurt, ſignifying, that the ſtate of peace ſtood very doubtful: for the adverſaries made very crafty, deceitful, unequal, and impertinent propoſitions, as if they jeered thoſe of our part. The Emperor's Legate alſo undertook to treat further in the buſineſs than he had commiſſion to do; but our people were of good ſpirits, whether it would end in peace or war. Then Luther ſaid, Theſe letters muſt be read *Dialectice*, *non Grammatice*, we muſt underſtand them much otherwiſe than the words do ſound, for they eclipſe the conſequence; we have no hope of peace with theſe adverſaries.

Of Julius Cæſar's Battles.

JULIUS Cæſar fought two-and-fifty battles in perſon; in the ſame were deſtroyed above eleven hundred thouſand men. That army (ſaid *Luther*) which is furniſhed with a juſt cauſe, and then giveth a valiant onſet when they join in battle, the ſame party ſurely hath the advantage.

When the cauſe is not good, then a man is aſhamed to defend himſelf. I make no doubt there will be a luſty threſhing between them; they are deviliſh brains, and

have been ſpinning thereon a long time. The prayers of good and godly Chriſtians will much avail, as David ſaith, *But I prayed*, &c. Let us but only pray (ſaid *Luther*), for this alarm will not be ſtilled and ſmothered with weapons, nor with human ſtrength and wiſdom, but only with prayer. This alarm already is known at Rome; the Pope will write thereof to the Emperor, will ſalute him, and make himſelf jocund thereat; the King of England will alſo have notice thereof; in the French Court likewiſe they will diſcourſe of it, how, and in what manner, the Houſe of Saxon falleth of itſelf, and ſpoil one another, &c. The devil will not be idle, he hath carried the news long ſince to Rome: the Papiſts will jeer thereat, they will ſay, Behold theſe are our Goſpellers, theſe are the good fruits of their doctrine, &c. There will be a tumult and *Quaſſatio* of the church, but God will well preſerve her.

CHAP. LXII.

OF SURPASSING WARLIKE CAPTAINS AND CHAMPIONS.

Luther's Diſcourſe of warlike Captains and Champions.

ANDREW de Doria, one of the chief captains and commanders under Emperor Charles, being ſurrounded by the Turks, was forced with a ſmall number of ſoldiers to break through the whole Turkiſh camp and army, and flew into Italy, where he ſtrengthened himſelf, returned, and once again brake through them, and encamped himſelf in the place where he lay before. Truly (ſaid *Luther*) it was a valiant act, and work of a great champion, in that ſort twice to break through ſo mighty an enemy and army.

Of Tamerlane.

TAMERLANE King of the Tartarians, beat the Turks with two hundred thouſand men, took the Turkiſh Emperor captive, ſet him like a bird in an iron cage, and carried him about therein for a ſcornful ſpectacle. When he laid ſiege to a city or fort, he firſt erected a white flag, thereby offering to them peace; the ſecond time a red, to ſignify blood; thirdly he ſhewed them a black enſign, denoting devaſtation and deſtruction. He was a great tyrant: he boaſted that he was God's burning wrath, and the devaſter of the world.

Of Alexander the Great.

THE like brave champion was King Alexander, who lived a ſhort time, and in the ſpace of twelve years brought under his power almoſt the whole world. Julius Cæſar intended to imitate him, but he was only his ape; for he confuſed and deſtroyed the government, and the public good; one ſword oftentimes keepeth another in the ſheath.

When Darius King of Perſia propounded peace to Alexander, he refuſed to accept thereof; then Parmenius his chief counſellor, ſaid, If I were Alexander, ſo would I

accept

accept of it; whereupon Alexander ſaid, If I were Parmenius, ſo would I do it: as if he had ſaid, Thou art not the man that I am.

That great Champions are God's Gifts.

GREAT people and champions (ſaid *Luther*) are ſpecial gifts of God, whom he giveth and preſerveth; they carry their buſineſs, and atchieve great acts, not with vain imaginations, cold and ſleepy cogitations, but are ſpecially moved thereunto, and driven on by God, and ſo do accompliſh their courſe and acts. Even ſo likewiſe did the Prophets, St. Paul, and other excelling people accompliſh their actions by God's ſpecial grace. The Book of Judges alſo ſheweth, how God wrought great matters through one ſingle perſon, and took it away again. The blindneſs of the Papiſts is the greater, in that they think, this doctrine cometh and is revealed by an human creature, as though the Prophet Elias, one ſingle man, did not alſo great things againſt ſo many of Baal's Prieſts; likewiſe John the Baptiſt being but one man, in a ſhort time overcame the Phariſees with a glorious victory. It is not ſaid only one man, but God's man, for a great Potentate and champion is not one man.

That every great Champion is not qualified to be a Monarch, or to rule alone.

LUTHER continuing his diſcourſe touching the great virtues and acts of champions, ſaid, Every great champion is not fitted to be a monarch, and to govern alone; for he that is a ſoldier, looketh but only after victories, how he may prevail, and keep the field; they look not after government, how people and country may be well governed. Yet, notwithſtanding, Scipio, Hannibal, Alexander, Julius and Auguſtus Cæſars, looked alſo upon the government, to the end good rule and diſcipline might be obſerved.

Of the Office of a great Champion and Soldier.

A VALIANT and brave ſoldier, ſeeketh rather to preſerve one citizen and man, then to deſtroy a thouſand enemies, as Scipio the Roman General ſaid, therefore an upright ſoldier beginneth a war not lightly without urgent cauſe. Upright and true ſoldiers and captains make not many words, they are diſcreet, they diſcourſe not much, for they have ſeen people, when they ſpeak, then the deed is therewith.

Of the Inſurrection at Coln.

COLN (ſaid *Luther*) is a great city in Germany, bigger than Nuremburg, or Augſpurg. The inhabitants of Coln lately made an inſurrection; they aſſaulted the cathedral church, hunted out the Prieſt's whores, and drove away above two hundred Friars and Nuns, and, as Spalatine writeth, they buried the holy relicks. I like not ſuch doings (ſaid *Luther*) in taking ſuch forcible actions in hand, they give therewith a great blow to the Goſpel; they give offence to many people, they fiſh before the net, &c. The Prophet Iſaiah, and St. Paul do ſay, I will grind him (the Antichriſt) to powder with the rod of my mouth, and will ſlay him with the ſpirit of my lips, &c. With ſuch weapons we muſt beat the Pope. Popedom can by force, neither be deſtroyed nor preſerved, for it is built upon lies, therefore ſuch a kingdom muſt be turned upſide down and deſtroyed with

with the word of truth. I am an enemy to thoſe (ſaid *Luther*) that fall in by force; it is ſaid, Preach thou, I will give ſtrength, &c.

CHAP. LXIII.

OF CONSTRAINED DEFENCE.

Whether we may reſiſt the Emperor.

THIS queſtion (Whether with God and a ſafe conſcience we may defend ourſelves againſt the Emperor, if he ſhould take in hand to overcome us?) is to be brought before lawyers, not before divines. If the Emperor begginneth a war againſt us, he intendeth either to deſtroy the office of preaching, and our religion, or elſe he aimeth it againſt the policy and œconomy, againſt the temporal government to confuſe and diſturb the ſame. As, then, he is no more to be held for an elected and lawful Romiſh Emperor, but directly for a tyrant. Therefore it is altogether needleſs to demand, whether we may ſtrive for the upright, pure doctrine and religion. We ought and muſt ſtrive for wife, for children, ſervants, and ſubjects, yea we are bound to defend them from wrongful power. If I live (ſaid *Luther*) I will write an admonition to all the ſtates of the Chriſtian world concerning forced defence, that every one is obliged to maintain and defend him and his againſt wrongful power. Firſt, the Emperor is the head in the temporal kingdom and of the body, of which body every ſubject and private perſon is a piece, and a member, to whom the right of a forced defence is permitted, as to a temporal and civil perſon, for if he defend not himſelf, then he is a ſlayer of his own body. Secondly, The Emperor is no monarch nor ſole lord in Germany, but the Princes Electors, together with the Emperor, are temporal members, each of which is charged and commanded to take care of the Empire, to further the good thereof, and to reſiſt ſuch as would injure and prejudice the ſame, yet not as the principal head the Emperor. For although the Princes Electors are with the Emperor in equal power, yet they are not in equal dignity and worth. But the Princes Electors and other Princes of the Empire ought to reſiſt the Emperor, if in caſe he ſhould take any thing in hand that might tend to the hurt of the Empire, or againſt God and legal right. Moreover if the Emperor ſhould proceed to depoſe any one of the Princes Electors, then he depoſed them all, which neither ought nor muſt be permitted. Wherefore, before we anſwer, concluſively to this queſtion, whether the Emperor may depoſe the Princes Electors, or whether they may depoſe the Emperor: we muſt firſt rightly thus diſtinguiſh; a Chriſtian carrieth two kinds of perſons, namely, a believing or a ſpiritual perſon, the other a civil or temporal perſon. The believing or ſpiritual perſon ought to endure and ſuffer all things; he neither eateth nor drinketh, he begetteth no children, nor hath no ſhare and part in and about ſuch temporal doings and actions. But the temporal and civil perſon is ſubject to temporal rights and laws, and is tied to obedience, he muſt maintain and defend himſelf and his, according as the laws and rights do command. Now if in my preſence, a wicked wretch ſhould preſume to force my wife or my maid,

maid, as then truly, I would lay aſide the ſpiritual perſon, and would ſlay him in the act, or call for help. For in abſence of the magiſtrate, and when they may not be had, then the law of the nation is in force, which alloweth to call upon the neighbour for help, for Chriſt and the Goſpel do not aboliſh temporal rights and ordinances, but they confirm the ſame. To conclude, foraſmuch as the Emperor is no monarch, nor governeth alone, but that the Princes Electors with him are in equal power, therefore he hath neither power nor authority alone to make laws and ordinances, much leſs hath he power, right, or authority to draw the ſword thereby to overſway the ſubjects and members of the Empire without the acknowledgment of the law, or without the knowledge and conſent of the whole Empire. Therefore Emperor Otto dealt very wiſely in ordaining ſeven Princes Electors, who with and beſides the Emperor ſhould rule and govern the Empire, which otherwiſe thus long could not have ſtood and endured. This politick government (as Ariſtotle writeth) hath many different degrees and points, as, Firſt, *Monarchia*, when one alone is lord and ruleth, as in France: Secondly, *Ariſtrocatia*, when the chiefeſt and beſt have the government, who above others are endued with underſtanding, with honours and virtues, as in Germany, the Romiſh Empire, and at Venice, &c. Thirdly, *Democratia*, when many of the common people do govern, as in Swiſſia, and in Dittmarſs. Fourthly, *Oligocratia*, when few in a place have the government, as at Erfurt, &c. Laſtly, we ought to know, that when the Emperor intendeth to make war againſt us, then he doth it not of and for himſelf, becauſe of his office, but he doth it for the ſake of the Pope, to whom he is a ſworn leigeman, and undertaketh to maintain and defend the Pope's tyranny and abominable idolatry, for the Pope regardeth the Goſpel nothing at all. Therefore when the Pope raiſeth war againſt the Goſpel, then he intendeth to defend and preſerve his authority, power, and tyranny, through the Emperor. Therefore we ought therein not to be ſilent nor to ſit ſtill. But here one may object and ſay, Although David of God was choſen King, and by Samuel was anointed, yet he would not reſiſt King Saul, nor lay his hand upon him, therefore neither ought we to reſiſt the Emperor, &c. *Anſwer.* David at that time had but only a promiſe of his kingdom, he had it not in poſſeſſion, that is, he was as yet not ſettled therein, he was not in the government. But here in this caſe, we ſtrive not againſt Saul, but againſt Abſalom, againſt whom David made war, and the rebel by Joab was ſlain. I would willingly (ſaid *Luther*) diſpute touching this caſe, whether we may reſiſt the Emperor or no? And although the lawyers, with their temporal and natural rights, do approve thereof, yet by us divines it is a queſtion of danger, in regard of theſe ſentences, Matt. v. *Whoſo ſmiteth thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other alſo. And ſervants be ſubject to your maſters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but alſo the froward*, &c. We muſt beware that we take nothing in hand againſt God's Word, and afterwards in our conſciences be plagued and tormented in ſuch a dangerous caſe. But we are ſure of this, that theſe times are not like the times of the martyrs, when Diocleſian reigned and tyrannized againſt the Chriſtians; now there is another manner of kingdom and government. The Emperor's authority and power, without the ſeven Princes Electors is of no value. The lawyers have made the Emperor an evil game, he hath parted with the ſword, and given us poſſeſſion of that ſword, *Gladium traditum poſſeſſorium*, the Emperor over us hath but only *Gladium petitorium*, he muſt ſeek and deſire it of us when he intendeth to puniſh, for by right he can do nothing alone. If his government were a Diocleſian, then we would willingly yield unto him and ſuffer. I hope that the Emperor, for the Pope's ſake, will not make war upon us; but if in caſe he ſhould play the part of an Arrian, and openly fight againſt God's Word, not like

a Chriſtian, but as a heathen, then we ought to give place, to depart from him and to ſuffer. To conclude, I (ſaid *Luther*) do ungirt the ſword from the Pope's ſide, not from the Emperor's; for the Pope ought to be neither governor nor tyrant.

Of Luther's concluding Speech concerning Forced Defence.

FIRST, Princes are no ſlaves.

Secondly, The Emperor ruleth upon certain parts and conditions.

Thirdly, He is ſworn to the Empire, to the Princes Electors, and other Princes.

Fourthly, He hath by oath bound himſelf unto them, to preſerve the Empire in its dignity, honour, royalty, and juriſdiction, and to defend every perſon by that which juſtly and rightly belongeth unto him; therefore it is not to be tolerated that he ſhould bring them into ſervitude and ſlavery.

Fifthly, We may well uſe the benefit of the laws.

Sixthly, He ought to yeild to Chriſtian's laws and rights.

Seventhly, Our Princes by oath are bound to the Empire, truly to maintain the privileges and juriſdictions of the ſame in politick and temporal caſes, and not to permit that any thing touching the ſame be taken and drawn away, nor to yield thereunto.

Eighthly, Theſe caſes are among equals where one is neither more nor higher than another: therefore if the Emperor with tyranny dealeth contrary to equity and juſtice, then he maketh himſelf equal with others; for thereby he layeth aſide the perſon of a governor, and juſtly loſeth his right over the ſubjects, *Per naturum relativorum*, i. e. *By the nature of relatives*; for Princes and ſubjects are equally bound the one to the other, and the Prince is obliged to perform what he hath ſworn and promiſed, according to the common proverb, Faithful maſter, faithful ſervant.

Ninthly, The laws and rights are above and more than a Prince and tyrant; for the laws and ordinances are not wavering, but always ſure and conſtant: on the contrary, an human creature is of a wavering mind and unconſtant: he for the moſt part mindeth and followeth his luſts and pleaſure, if by the laws he be not reſtrained; therefore we are more bound to follow the laws and rights, then to follow a tyrant.

Of Forced Defence.

IF (ſaid *Luther*) a robber on the highway ſhould fall upon me, then truly I would be judge and Prince myſelf, I would with joy uſe my ſword, becauſe no body were with me that were able to defend me; I would thereupon take the holy ſacrament, that I had accompliſhed a good work. But if one fell upon me as a preacher for the Goſpel's ſake, then with folded hands I would lift up mine eyes to heaven, and ſay, My Lord Chriſt! here I am, I have confeſſed and preached thee, &c. is now my time expired? So I commit my ſpirit into thy hands, and in that way I would die.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXIV.

OF THE NOBILITY.

That Noblemen are Contemners of good Arts.

NOBLEMEN conceive themſelves to be wiſe, from whence they contemn God's miniſters: well! on (ſaid *Luther*), God will contemn them again. A nobleman thinketh he underſtandeth the Goſpel better than St. Paul.

That true Noblemen do carry themſelves nobly.

THE Lord Marſhall (ſaid *Luther*) is a great Thraſo, a roarer and boaſter, who balleth and crieth with high prancing words, whereas great, upright and true noblemen and brave captains do carry themſelves far otherwiſe; they are ſilent, they neither brag nor boaſt, but make a matter good with the deed: as Lord Bernard of Mila, who is an excellent man, he hath a lion in his heart, yet nevertheleſs he is baſhful and modeſt with words. Our nobility are aſhamed to ſtudy, therefore they are not able to govern; their greateſt diligence and ſtudy is to ride great palfreys, to feaſt, to play, to hunt, and with unneceſſary taxations to vex and trouble their ſubjects. They would willingly rule, but they underſtand not how to govern.

In ſome meaſure I have ſeen the court at Rome, and I find it is the kingdom of Satan, who ruleth powerfully; the Biſhop of Mentz is the chiefeſt piece and member of this body, who now is paſt repentance; he is accuſtomed to robbing and murdering; he dareth to take in hand any miſchief whatſoever without all fear or ſhame.

CHAP. LXV.

OF LAWYERS.

Luther's *Diſcourſe of Lawyers.*

BEFORE my time (ſaid *Luther*) that is, before I wrote againſt the abominations of the Pope, no lawyer knew what was right and juſt before God; what they have, the ſame they have of me. Before the world I will permit them to have right, but before God they ſhall be under me. Am I able to cenſure Moſes, and to caſt him under me; of what value then are the lawyers? I will do the lawyers no harm (ſaid *Luther*), I will take but only the little catechiſm, and will therewith ſo buſtle among them, and make them ſo afraid, that they ſhall not know where to remain with

with their laws. I will not ſo much as once touch the Goſpel, but will keep that for a ſtab. If the Lawyers will not pray for the remiſſion of ſins, nor fall before the croſs, then I will make them err and confuſed, inſomuch as they ſhall not know which way to wind themſelves. I underſtand not the law, but I am a maſter in thoſe laws that concern the conſcience. The Lawyers ſay, It is a dangerous thing to define, to deſcribe, and to ſhew a thing properly, uprightly, and briefly; but the Divines ſay, It pertaineth to them to teach always that which is ſure and certain without doubting; otherwiſe, what courſe ſhould a poor trembling conſcience take, that ſeeketh peace and comfort, if we produced and ſhewed not unto him a ſure and certain doctrine out of God's Word, but left a trembling, quaking conſcience, hanging between heaven and earth.

Of Luther's earneſt Diſpute with the Lawyers.

TWO Doctors in the Law came to Luther at Wittemberg, whom he received and ſaluted in this manner, O ye Canoniſts! I could well endure you, if ye meddled but only with Imperial, and not with Popiſh Laws. But ye Doctors of both Laws do maintain the Pope and his canons. I would give one of my hands, on condition, that all Papiſts and Canoniſts were compelled to keep the Pope's Laws and Decrees, I would wiſh them no worſe a devil.

The Biſhop of Mentz cannot boaſt, that with a good conſcience he hath three Biſhopricks; but ye maintain it to be lawful and right. I prove that ye Doctors which meddle with Popiſh Laws are nothing, for the Papiſtical Laws are nothing; therefore a Doctor in the Popiſh Laws is nothing; he is a *chimeræ*, a monſter, that is, a fable, nothing. A Doctor in the Imperial Laws is half lame, he hath had a ſtroke on the one ſide; but the Pope's Laws and Decrees do altogether ſtink, and ſmell of ambition, of pride, of own profit, covetouſneſs, ſuperſtition, idolatry, tyranny, and of ſuch like blaſphemies; for the Pope is but a Doctor of Ceremonies, which he only teacheth, and which God hath not commanded, yea he hath forbidden human toys.

That an honeſt Lawyer is a ſtrange Beaſt.

LAWYERS oftentimes (ſaid *Luther*) are enemies to Chriſt; as they uſed to ſay, A right Lawyer, an evil Chriſtian; for he applauded the righteouſneſs of works, as if we were juſtified thereby, and ſaved before God; but if it chance that he be enlightened and regenerate, that is, if he be a true Chriſtian, then he is like a monſter among the Lawyers: he muſt be a beggar, and by other Lawyers be held rebellious. Ye Lawyers take heed that ye tread not us Divines under your feet, if ye do, then be aſſured that we will ſting your heels. If I intended to ſtudy but two years in the Laws, I would be better learned therein than Dr. Jeronymus Schurf; for I would diſcourſe touching cauſes, as in truth they are and ought to be underſtood of themſelves either uprightly, or unjuſtly; but he conteſteth only about words, he goeth not upon the ground to ſpeak of the plain truth, but he reſteth upon a *Quos*, which he may ſcrew every way: they talk much, and make many words, but without underſtanding. Dr. Schurf may juſtly be called Dr. *Quos*. The doctrine of the Lawyers is nothing but merely a *Niſi*, that is, *unleſs this or that*; *Niſi* muſt be in every caſe: but divinity goeth not about with *Niſi*, but it is certain, and hath a conſtant and ſure ground which neither faileth nor deceiveth. Lawyers have need of the help and aſſiſtance of Divines, but we have no need at all of their voice and part-taking.

That

That the moſt Part of the Lawyers are the Pope's Servants and Creatures.

ALL thoſe (ſaid *Luther*) that ſerve the Pope are damned: for next the devil, no worſe human creature is, than the Pope with his lying and deceivable human traditions, as thoſe which directly are againſt Chriſt. The greateſt part of the Lawyers (eſpecially of the Canoniſts) are the Pope's ſervants, and although they will not have the name, yet they approve it with the deed; they would willingly rule the church, and would trample upon her true and faithful ſervants, therefore they are damned.

What Lawyers are.

A LAWYER is wiſe according to human wiſdom, but a Divine is wiſe according to God's wiſdom; Many (ſaid *Luther*) are more learned than I am, but that they ſhould be more learned than I am in God's Word which I preach and teach, that is impoſſible.

When a Lawyer knoweth no more than *Terminos juris*, that is, *the term of the Law*, he is a mere ideot. A wiſe Lawyer ſaith, If one before a judge be accuſed, and the judge knew that the accuſed were innocent, and notwithſtanding he be convicted by witneſſes, yet the judge muſt pronounce the cenſure according to the teſtimony of the witneſſes; for the Scripture ſaith, In the mouth of two or three, every witneſs ſhall ſtand; therefore (ſay the Lawyers) the judge muſt condemn the innocent, becauſe there are two or three witneſſes.

The groſs aſſes (ſaid *Luther*) know not what the ſenſe of Scripture is. What muſt the judge do in this caſe? He knoweth the innocency of the accuſed, muſt he condemn the innocent party upon the evidence of ſuch witneſſes againſt his own conſcience? In this caſe, the worldly-wiſe Lawyers give comfort to the judge in this manner, and do ſay, Foraſmuch as thou judge knoweſt that wrong is done to the accuſed, the ſame thou knoweſt as a private perſon, not as a judge, who muſt pronounce *Secundum allegata et probata*, according to the evidence and proof. Moreover it concerneth thee (as a judge) nothing at all, thou art not called to be a witneſs, &c. And they cheer up, and comfort alſo the accuſed in this ſort, Foraſmuch as thou knoweſt thou receiveſt wrong, ſo yield thyſelf with patience to the ſeat of juſtice, and ſuffer wrong, &c. But (ſaid *Luther*) were I the judge in ſuch a caſe, ſo would I open my mouth, yea, would cry out, and ſay, I bear witneſs that this perſon is innocent, and although ten thouſand witneſſes ſhould ariſe againſt him, yet I know his innocency for certain, therefore I neither can nor will condemn him. Then cometh the Lawyer again with his profound wiſdom, and ſaith, Thou (judge) doeſt herein againſt the Emperor's Laws, &c. I anſwer that Lawyer, and ſay, A ſir-reverence on ſuch a Law which doth a man open wrong. But ſaith the Lawyer there are ſo many witneſſes againſt him. Anſwer. How many falſe witneſſes have been from the beginning of the world? Chriſt by falſe witneſs was ſlain; Stephen was ſtoned, &c. Witneſſes may be falſe and ſuborned, and with money may be corrupted; many examples are extant, that falſe witneſſes have riſen, &c. To conclude, the Lawyers have no conſciences; a Lawyer will take ten dollars, and ſerve in an evil cauſe under colour of right, therewith they trim the ſame; the Lawyers make their clients noſes of wax, though the cauſe be loſt, yet they have deſerved the money.

This I ſpeak (ſaid *Luther*) to you young fellows that intend to be Lawyers, not to diſcourage and affright you, but to admoniſh you that ye would deal juſtly, and be honeſt and upright Lawyers; follow not your preceptors in abuſes and evil points; flutter not in wrongful cauſes, as if a man could not be a Lawyer except he practiſed ſuch evil cuſtoms. God hath not given Laws for that end, to make out of right wrong, and out of wrong right, as the unchriſtian-like Lawyers do, which ſtudy in Law only for the ſake of gain and profit. Let not this diſmay you, but ſtudy diligently.

Faithful Admonitions and Warnings, eſpecially to the Lawyers, and how they may ſtudy well and happily.

THE Lawyers are ſorely vexed at me (ſaid *Luther*) becauſe I preach ſo harſhly againſt them, but what ſhall I do? I as a Preacher, muſt reprove what is wrong and evil, under the loſs of my ſoul and ſalvation (as God earneſtly commandeth in the Prophet Ezekiel), I muſt give an account for thee, and if by reaſon of thy vices and ſins I reprove thee, wilt thou then be angry with me? If I reproved thee (as Martin Luther), then thou needeſt not to regard me, but foraſmuch as I do it, as a ſervant of Chriſt, and ſpeak unto thee by God's command, thou oughteſt juſtly to hearken unto me; for if thou repenteſt not, nor amendeſt thyſelf, thou ſhalt everlaſtingly be damned; but I, when I have declared thy ſins and reproved thee, ſhall be excuſed. If I were not conſtrained to give an account for thy ſoul, believe me I would leave thee unreproved; moreover in any caſe I truly admoniſh you, that ye take heed of the Pope (the Antichriſt) for many are ſtill found in every place, that hold his filth and ſtink for holy relick: therefore ye Lawyers ought to bleſs yourſelves from him, and be obedient to Chriſt; him only we ought to hear.

That Equity muſt be in every Cauſe.

ANNO 1546, February 15, Luther continuing his diſcourſe concerning Lawyers, ſaid, Ariſtotle wrote no better book than *Quintum Ethicorum*, i. e. the fifth book of Ethicks, and he deſcribeth a fine definition, *Quad juſtitia ſit virtus conſiſtens in mediocritate, prout ſapiens eam determinat*; that is, *That juſtice is a virtue conſiſting in mediocrity, as a wiſe man determined it.* There he caſteth in a Greek word and ſaith, *Legiſlator rudi materia rem determinat; & ſi omnes prævidiſſet, tum eas ſignaſſet; ergo prout ſapiens determinat, &c.* i. e. *A Lawyer determines a thing by the rude matter; if he had foreſeen all, he had determined all; therefore as the wiſe man determines it.* This (ſaid *Luther*) is very finely ſpoken. But the Lawyers now will have ſhort and roundly, *Quod juſtitia ſit virtus conſiſtens tantum in medeocritate*; they will not permit, *prout ſapiens determinat.* But what is *Bonus magiſtratus, vel bonus princeps? Reſpondeo, eſt viva lex:* i. e. *But what is a good Magiſtrate, or a good Prince? I anſwer, He is a living Law.* If he will be *Mortua lex*, a dead Law, and do only according to that which on the parchment is written, then oftentimes enſueth an evil government; therefore we muſt have equity.

Baldus wrote, That he was a beaſt who would ſuffer himſelf to be an arbitrator, becauſe he ſuffered that burthen to be transferred on himſelf, which otherwiſe would be left to be conſulted of by many wiſe men. Whereupon *Luther* ſaid, It is better that one man be a beaſt, than that many be beaſts. What are evil Lawyers elſe but beaſts? *Mantuanus vocat juriſconſultos legem tyrannos, cum dicit, legumque tyrannri abulæ forenſes:* i. e. *Mantuanus calls Lawyers the tyrants of the Law, when he ſaith, the tyrants of the Law, the court brablers.*

Of

Of a ſtrange Caſe.

ANNO 1546, A caſe in Law was related to Luther; namely, that a miller had an aſs which ran out of his yard and came to river ſide, where he went into a fiſher's boat that ſtood in the river, and would drink thereout. But as the boat was not tied faſt by the fiſher, it ſwam away with the aſs; inſomuch that the miller loſt his aſs, and the fiſher his boat. The miller thereupon complained of the fiſher, in that he neglected to tie his boat faſt: again, the fiſher accuſed the miller for not keeping his aſs at home, and therefore deſired ſatisfaction for his boat: *Nunc ſequitur quid ſit juris?* i. e. *Now it is a query what the law is?* Took the aſs the boat away, or the boat the aſs? Whereupon *Luther* ſaid, Theſe are called *Caſus in jure: ambo peccaverunt:* i. e. *Caſes in law: they both were in an error*; the fiſher, in that he tied not faſt his boat; the miller in not keeping his aſs at home. *Culpa eſt in utraque parte, eſt caſus fortuitus, uterque peccavi negligentia: tales caſus & exempla illudunt ſummum jus juriſtarum: non enim practicandum eſt ſummum jus, ſed æquitas. Omnia ſunt gubernanda ſecundum æquitatem. Ita theologi quoque prædicare debent, ne homines omnino ligent aut ſolvant:* that is, *There is a fault on both ſides: it is a chance medly: there was negligence in both: ſuch caſes and examples wave the rigour of the Lawyers: for the extreme rigour is not to be exerciſed, but only equity. All things are to be governed by equity. And ſo Divines ought to preach, that they neither bind nor looſe men.*

Æquitas habenda non ſummum Jus: *Equity muſt be uſed, not the rigour of the Law.*

LUTHERUS aliquando dicebat, qui litigant ad æquitatem debent confugere, non ad ſummum Jus, quia debet eſſe remiſſio peccatorum: that is, *Luther ſaid, They that go to Law muſt fly to Law muſt fly to equity, not to* Summum Jus, *not to the rigour, becauſe there ought to be forgiveneſs of offences.* Rather than we ſhould fall at debate, we ſhould ſuffer half our right to be taken from us. *Æquitas enim præcedit*, for equity precedes. *Summum Jus, eſt ſumma injuria:* item, *Summa medecina, ſumma infirmitas: & ſummus theologus, eſt ſummus peccator:* i. e. *The extremity of the law, is extreme injury:* likewiſe, *the ſharpeſt phyſick, is the greateſt diſeaſe: and the higheſt biſhop is the greateſt ſinner.*

CHAP LXVI.

OF SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES.

From whence Preachers and Miniſters muſt be had.

SCHOOLS (ſaid *Luther*) muſt yield preachers and miniſters; but what cometh to cathedrals and vicarages, the ſame is lazy ſtuff in Popedom, and doeth no good. Preachers and miniſters muſt edify and preſerve the church. Schools and miniſters are better than the councils; therefore in my little book *De Conciliis*, I have

have preferred them before and above the councils, which will ſorely vex the Papiſts.

The youth have now good and convenient times to ſtudy; for every art is taught fine, orderly, and uprightly, inſomuch as they may ſoon and eaſily comprehend the ſame, except they be blockheads. Neither are the boys now held ſo ſtrict and harſhly as in former times, ſo that they were called martyrs of the ſchools; eſpecially, they were plagued with the *Lupus*, with *Caſualibus*, and with *Temporalis*, which were altogether unprofitable, very irkſome and unpleaſing, wherewith they conſumed time, and ſpoiled many a fine and expert brain.

Of the Univerſity at Erfurt.

THE Univerſity at Erfurt (ſaid *Luther*) hath been in ſuch eſteem, that in compariſon thereof all others were termed but only ſmall-ſhot ſchools. But now this majeſty and fame is gone, and the Univerſity is dead. Truly it was a great glory and majeſty when they promoted *Magiſtros*, and carried torches before them; I hold no temporal joy was comparable thereunto. They held alſo a very great and pompous ceremony when they made *Doctores*, then they rode about the city in brave apparel and trim veſtments, all which is now gone, but I would wiſh the ſame were ſtill obſerved.

Woe be unto Germany (ſaid *Luther*) that thus forſaketh the ſchools, and ſuffereth them to decay and fall. Woe to the Biſhop of Mentz, who ſuffereth the Univerſities at Erfurt and Mentz to be devaſted, whereas with one word he is able to preſerve them; woe unto him in that he ſuffereth ſo many head churches and foundations to be ſpoiled. He will in time have leiſure to build up the ſheepfolds, when the wolves have devoured the ſheep.

Of the Univerſity at Paris.

PARIS in France (ſaid *Luther*) is the moſt famous and ſurpaſſing ſchool, wherein are above twenty thouſand ſtudents. The divines have the moſt pleaſant place in the city, a particular ſtreet, at both ends are ſtrong gates, called the Sorbona; named, as I take it, of the Sorbis apples that grow on the dead ſea, which on the outſide are very fair to behold, but within they are full of aſhes. Even ſo is the Univerſity at Paris, where a multitude of ſcholars are, but ſhe is the mother of many errors. When they diſpute, then they cry confuſedly among themſelves like drunken country clowns at a May-game, Latin, Italian, and French, one through another. Afterwards they ſtamp with their feet, to the end ſilence may be kept. No man may be made a Doctor in Divinity except he hath ſtudied ten years in their unprofitable ſophiſtry. The reſpondent muſt ſit a whole day, from ſix in the morning until ſix at night, and attend the diſputation; muſt anſwer every one. When they publickly promoted Doctors of Divinity at Burgis in France, they gave to each of them a fiſh angle, therewith to catch people. I believe (ſaid *Luther*) that univerſities and ſchools were firſt founded by the Saracens; as, at Alkair was a famous ſchool; afterwards our Emperors, Potentates, and Princes, followed them therein; the monaſteries are the ancient ſchools.

Of the Univerſity at Wittemberg.

AH, (ſaid *Luther*) how bitter an enemy is the devil to our church and ſchool here at Wittemberg, which in particular he oppoſeth more than the reſt, tyranny and hereſy do encreaſe and get the upper hand by force, in that every member of the church are againſt one another, yea alſo we, which are a piece of the heart, do vex and plague one another among ourſelves. I am verily perſuaded, that many wicked wretched and ſpies are here, which do watch over us with an evil eye, and are glad, when diſcord and offences do ariſe among us, therefore we ought diligently to watch and pray, it is high time, pray, pray. This ſchool (ſaid *Luther*) is a foundation and ground of pure religion, therefore ſhe ought juſtly to be preſerved and maintained with lectures, and with ſtipends againſt the raging and ſwelling of Satan. Anno 1539, an Italian of Senis dined with Luther, diſcourſed much with him, and remained there certain weeks; he came to Wittemberg on purpoſe to inform himſelf, whether ſuch filthy and wicked things were done and committed by us, as was divulged and reported about. Luther ſaid unto him, We entertain you willingly, for we deal openly and ſhun not the light.

Of Luther's earneſt Diſcourſe touching the Authority of the Univerſity at Wittemberg.

WHOSO after my death (ſaid *Luther*) ſhall contemn the authority of this ſchool here at Wittemberg, if it remaineth as it is now, both church and ſchool, the ſame is an heretick and a perverted creature; for in this ſchool God firſt revealed and purified his Word. This ſchool and city, both in doctrine and manner of life, may juſtly be compared with all others, nevertheleſs we are not altogether complete, but are ſtill faulty in our kind of living. The higheſt and chiefeſt divines in the whole empire do hold and join with us, as Amſdorf, Brentius and Rhegius, they all deſire our friendſhip, and ſalute us with their loving and learned letters. Few years paſt (ſaid *Luther*) nothing was of any value, but the Pope. The churches mourned, cried, and ſighed; theſe awaked our Lord God in heaven, as in the Pſalm God ſaith, *For the trouble of the needy and the groans of the poor, I will now ariſe.* Our nobility do now exhauſt people and countries with uſury, inſomuch that many poor people are conſtrained to ſtarve for want of food, and as the cry goeth, I would willingly take a wife, if I knew but how to maintain her, ſo that a forced *Cælibatus*, ſingle life, will hereout enſue. This is not good; theſe wicked courſes, will cauſe the poor to cry and ſigh, will rouſe up and awaken God and the heavenly Hoſt, wherefore I ſay, Germany take heed. I oft make my account, and always find, that I come nearer and nearer to forty years, then I think with myſelf, now cometh an alteration, for St. Paul preached not above forty years; likewiſe alſo, St. Auſtin; and always, when forty years were expired, wherein God's Word was purely preached, then it ceaſed and great calamity enſued thereupon.

What Dialectica is.

DIALECTICA is an high art, it ſpeaketh ſimply, upright and plainly, as when I ſay, Give me to drink. But *Rhetorica* adorneth it, and ſaith, Give me of the acceptable juice in the cellar, which finely frotheth and maketh people merry. *Dialectica* is, when one declareth a thing diſtinctly and ſignificantly with ſhort words. But *Rhetorica* conſiſteth in counſelling and adviſing, perſuading, and diſſuading, ſhe

hath her *locos* and fountain head from whence a thing is taken; as, this is good, honeſt, profitable, eaſy, neceſſary, &c. Theſe two arts St. Paul faſtened briefly and taught where he ſaith, Tit. i. *That he may be able by ſound doctrine, both to exhort and to convince the gainſayers.* Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) when I ſhould teach a farmer concerning the tilling of his land, then I define and deſcribe briefly and plainly his kind of life, his houſekeeping, fruits, profits, and what belongeth to the being of his life, *Dialectice*; but if I intended to admoniſh him according to *Rhetorica*, then I muſt council and adviſe him, and muſt begin to extol and praiſe his kind of life in this manner; namely, that it is the moſt quiet, the richeſt, ſecureſt, and moſt delightful kind of life, &c. Again, if I intend to chide or to find fault, then I muſt ſhew and highly blame his miſconduct, evil impediments, failings, groſs ignorance, and ſuch like defects which are in the ſtate of farmers. Philip Melanchon hath illuſtrated and declared good arts, he teacheth them in ſuch ſort, that the arts teach not him, but he the arts; I (ſaid *Luther*) bring my arts into books, I take them not out of books. *Dialectica* is a profitable and neceſſary art, which juſtly ought to be ſtudied and learned; it ſheweth how we ought to ſpeak orderly and uprightly in cauſes, what we ſhould acknowledge, judge, and cenſure to be right or wrong; as if I intended to maintain this propoſition, Faith only juſtifieth and ſaveth; herein I muſt proceed *Dialectice*, according as that art teacheth and ſheweth; namely, that no man is juſtified before God through the Law, or good works, for no man keepeth nor accompliſheth the Law; therefore faith juſtifieth which dependeth on God's promiſe, and taketh hold thereof, and which God giveth and offereth for nothing, but merely out of grace, without all merits and deſerts, for Chriſt's ſake, his loving Son; this faith, which the Holy Ghoſt alone worketh through the Word, juſtifieth and ſaveth, and maketh a joyful conſcience. This juſtification is moſt ſure and certain.

Dialectica is not only neceſſary in ſchools, but alſo in conſiſtories, in courts of juſtice, and in churches; and there ſhe is moſt neceſſary. For oftentimes a plain and ſimple argument caſteth a miſt before the eyes; but when it is rightly looked into, punctually, and in particular, then errors and deceits are eaſily ſeen and prevented. As that argument which Demoſthenes, the moſt eloquent Grecian, alledged againſt Philip of Macedon, father to Alexander the Great, and although the ſame had a great luſtre and painted colour, yet it was hurtful to thoſe of Athens, and to all Greece, namely this, Whoſo hath an evil cauſe, the ſame hath no good fortune: Philip King of Macedon hath an evil cauſe, therefore he ſhall have no good fortune. This argument made them of Athens ſecure and preſumptuous, for they knew not, that the ungodly wretches commonly are moſt fortunate and happy in this world, according to the common proverb, The greater knave, the better luck. Therefore we cannot want *Dialecticam*, for it produceth great profit to the youth, when they are well practiſed therein.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXVII.

OF MUSIC.

Luther's Diſcourſe of Muſic.

MUSIC (ſaid *Luther*) is one of the faireſt and moſt glorious gifts of God, to which Satan is a bitter enemy, therewith many tribulations and evil cogitations are hunted away. It is one of the beſt arts, the notes give life to the text; it expelleth melancholy, as we ſee on King Saul. Kings and Princes ought to preſerve and maintain muſic, for great Potentates and Rulers ought to protect good and liberal arts and laws; and although private people have deſire thereunto and love the ſame, yet their ability cannot preſerve and maintain it. We read in the Bible, that the good and godly Kings maintained and paid ſingers. Muſic is the beſt ſolace for a ſad and ſorrowful mind, through which the heart is refreſhed and ſettled again in peace, as is ſaid by Virgil, *Tu calamos inflare leues, ego dicere verſus:* Sing thou the notes, I will ſing the text. Muſic is an half diſcipline and ſchool-miſtreſs, that maketh people more gentle and meek, more modeſt and underſtanding. The baſe and evil fidlers and minſtrels ſerve thereto, ſo that we ſee and hear, how fine an art muſic is; for white can never be better known, than when black is held againſt it. Anno 1538, the 17th of December, Luther invited the ſingers and muſicians to a ſupper, where they ſung fair and ſweet *mutetæ*; then he ſaid with admiration, Seeing our Lord God in this life ſcattereth abroad and preſenteth unto us ſuch precious gifts, what then will be done in the life everlaſting, when every thing ſhall be complete, and in the moſt delightful manner: here is onely *materia prima*, the beginning. I always loved muſic (ſaid *Luther*); whoſo hath ſkill in this art, the ſame is of good kind, fitted for all things. We muſt of neceſſity maintain muſic in ſchools; a ſchool-maſter ought to have ſkill in muſic, otherwiſe I would not regard him; neither ſhould we ordain young fellows to the office of preaching, except they have been well exerciſed and practiſed in the ſchool of muſic. Muſic is a fair gift of God, and near allied to divinity; I would not for a great matter be deſtitute of the ſmall ſkill in muſic which I have. The youth ought to be brought up and accuſtomed to this art, for it maketh fine and expert people.

Of Singing.

SINGING (ſaid *Luther*) is the beſt art and practice; it hath nothing to do with the affairs of this world, it is not for the law; neither are ſingers full of cares, but merry, they drive away ſorrow and cares with ſinging, I am glad (ſaid *Luther*) that God hath bereaved the country clowns of ſuch a great gift and comfort, in that they neither hear nor regard muſic.

Of David's Muſic.

LUTHER, upon a time, bade his Harper play ſuch a leſſon as David played. I am perſuaded (ſaid he) if David now aroſe from the dead, he would much admire how this art of muſic is come to ſuch great perfection. She never came higher than ſhe is now. How is it that in carnal things, we have ſo many fine poems and verſes, but in ſpiritual things, we have ſuch cold and rotten compoſitions? and he rehearſed ſome German ſongs. I hold this to be the cauſe, as St. Paul ſaith, *I ſee another law in my members.*

That we ought not to contemn Muſic.

WHOSO contemneth muſic (as all ſeducers do), with them (ſaid *Luther*) I am not content; next unto *Theologica* I give the place and higheſt honour to *Muſica*. For thereby all anger is forgotten, the devil is driven away; inchaſtity, pride, and other blaſphemies by muſic are expelled. We alſo ſee how David, and all the Saints brought their divine cogitations, contemplations, their rhymes and ſongs into verſe. In the time of peace muſic reigns.

CHAP. LXVIII.

OF LANGUAGES.

Luther's Diſcourſe of Languages.

THE wiſdom of the Grecians, in compariſon of the wiſdom of the Jews, is altogether beaſtial, for without God no true underſtanding nor wiſdom can be. The wiſdom of the Grecians conſiſteth in an external virtuous and civil converſation; but the end of the wiſdom of the Jews (ſuch as are upright and godly) is to fear God, and to truſt in him. The wiſdom of the world is the wiſdom of the Grecians: hence Daniel nameth the kingdoms of the world (according to their kind) ignorant beaſts. The Grecians have good and pleaſing words, but not ſentences; their language is amiable, and of a courteous kind, but not rich. The Hebrew tongue, above other languages, is very plain, but withal it is majeſtical and glorious: it containeth much in few and ſimple words, and therein ſurpaſſeth all other languages. The Hebrew tongue is the beſt and richeſt in words; it is a pure language, which neither beggeth nor borroweth of others. She hath her own proper colour; Greek, Latin, and the German tongue do beg of others; they have many *Compoſita*, that is, words ſet together, or compounded words; as for example, where the Germans have one ſingle, or ſimple word, ſo have they at the leaſt twenty compounded words iſſuing thereout, as *Lauffen* (in Engliſh, to run) they have, *belauffen*, *inlauffen*, *ablauffen*, *weglauffen*, *umblauffen*, *entlauffen*, &c. But the Hebrew hath no compounded, but a proper word for the ſame; the

the Hebrew tongue, after the Babylonian captivity, fell away in ſuch ſort, that never ſince it could again be brought to perfection, but for the moſt part they ſpeak the Chaldean language, yet corrupted, mingled, and unpure, as the Walloons ſpeak Latin. Languages of themſelves make not a divine, they are only helps unto him; for when one intendeth to ſpeak of a thing, he ought to know and underſtand the buſineſs before. For my part, I uſe the common German tongue, to the end both high and low country people may underſtand me; I ſpeak according to the Saxonian chancery, which is imitated in the Courts of all German Princes, inſomuch that it is the general German language. Maximilian the Emperor, and Frederick Prince Elector of Saxony, drew the German tongue into the Roman empire. I learned more Hebrew (ſaid *Luther*) when, in reading, I compared one place and ſentence with another, than when I directed the ſame upon and towards the grammar. If I were young, I would contrive a way and means for the perfect learning of the Hebrew tongue, which is both glorious and profitable, and without which the Holy Scriptures cannot rightly be underſtood; for although the New Teſtament be written in Greek, yet it is full of the Hebrew kind of ſpeaking, from whence it is truly ſaid, *The Hebrews drink out of the fountain, but the Grecians out of the ſprings that flow from the fountain; the Latins out of the pits.* I am no Hebraiſt according to the grammar rules, for I permit not myſelf to be tied, but go freely through. Although one have the gift of languages and underſtandeth them, yet he cannot ſo ſoon bring one into another well to tranſlate them. To traſlate, is a ſpecial gift and grace of God. The ſeventy Grecian interpreters that tranſlated the Hebrew Bible into Greek, were unexperienced and unpractiſed in the Hebrew language; their tranſlations are very doltiſh and impertinent, for they contemned the letters, the words and manner of ſpeaking, inſomuch that the tranſlation and interpretation of Hieronimus is to be preferred before them; yet nevertheleſs whoſo nick-nameth Hieronimus, and calleth him an Hebrew, the ſame doth him much wrong. I am perſuaded (ſaid *Luther*) that if Moſes and the Prophets ſhould now ariſe again, they would not underſtand their own words and language, as now the ſame are ſcrewed. Even ſo the Latin tongue was ſpoiled by the Goths, inſomuch that Cicero, and others who lived in their times, would not underſtand their own mother tongue, if now they were alive. Lyra (ſaid *Luther*) above all others was the beſt Hebraiſt, and a diligent tranſlator of the Old and New Teſtaments. He that will ſtudy in the Hebrew tongue, let him take the pureſt and beſt *Grammaticos*, as, David Kimchi and Moſes Kunckey which are the beſt and pureſt; afterwards let him read Moſes, in regard he ſpeaketh altogether properly concerning things; then let him read alſo the Pſalter and the Proverbs of Solomon; and at laſt, let him read the Prophets, who uſe many coloured ſpeeches and words.

That the Tongue is the Inſtrument of ſpeaking.

THE tongue of man is a wonderful work and creation of God, which is able to ſhew the words ſignificantly, diſtinct and apprehenſively. Every country hath its particular kind of language and ſpeaking; the Grecians pronounce the letter R only in the throat, with an H; inſomuch as it was a very difficult and hard matter for Demoſthenes, the moſt eloquent ſpeaker in the Greek tongue, to pronounce this R without rattling in the throat, yet at laſt practice overcame nature, ſo that he was able to pronounce it plainly. For the ſuperfluity of the moiſtneſs of the brain hindereth the tongue, as we ſee on the drunken. Thus God gave to his creature, man, a working tool.

No language (ſaid *Luther*) hath ſo many coloured and figured words as the Hebrew. In St. Peter's Epiſtle is almoſt no proper word. Moſes and David wrote plain and ſimply; Solomon doth quite contrary. The Grecians have many *propria*, that is, own ſignificant words.

As I took in hand to tranſlate the Bible into High Dutch, I preſcribed and laid down theſe rules for my help; Firſt, The Holy Scripture ſpeaketh of divine works and things; Secondly, When a ſentence and meaning agreeth with the New Teſtament, then to accept thereof; Thirdly, That the grammar be well regarded.

CHAP. LXIX.

OF ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY.

Luther's Diſcourſe of Aſtronomy and Aſtrology.

ASTRONOMIA, and to know the courſes of heaven, is the moſt antient art; eſpecially it was very common among the Hebrews, for they diligently regarded and noted the courſe of heaven, as God ſaid to Abraham, *Behold the heavens; canſt thou number the ſtars? &c.* Heavens motions are threefold; the firſt is, *primi mobilis & raptus*, that the whole firmament moveth ſo ſwiftly, inſomuch as even this moment it runneth certain thouſands of leagues, which, doubtleſs, is wrought by ſome angel. It is wonderful that ſo great a vault or building ſhould run and go about in ſo ſhort a time. If the ſun and ſtars were compoſed of iron, ſteel, ſilver, or gold, they muſt needs ſoon and ſuddenly melt in ſo ſwift a courſe, for one ſtar is greater than the whole earth, and yet they are innumerable. The ſecond motion is, of the planets, which have their particular and proper motions. The third is, a quaking or a trembling motion (as they call it) *trepidantem*, which is lately thought of, the ſame is merely uncertain. I applaud (ſaid *Luther*) *Aſtronomiam & Mathematicam*, which conſiſt in demonſtrations, or in ſure proofs. As touching aſtrology, I hold nothing at all thereof.

How far we ought to allow of Aſtrology.

ASTRONOMIA verſatur circa materiam et genus, non circa formam et ſpeciem, It dealeth with the matter, and with what is general; not with the manner, nor what is particular, how it will weather, &c. God himſelf ſhall and will be alone the Maſter and Creator; he will be only Lord and Governor, although he hath ordained the ſtars to be ſigns. And ſo long as aſtronomy remaineth in her circle whereunto God hath ordained her, ſo is ſhe a fair gift of God: but when ſhe will ſtep out of her bounds, that is, when ſhe will propheſy, and ſpeak of future things, how it will go with one, or what fortune and misfortune one ſhall have (as the Aſtrologers uſe to ſay), as then ſhe is not to be juſtified. But Palmeſtry, that is, to look in one's hands, and to tell what ſhall happen, we ought utterly to reject.

True it is, the ſoothſayers and ſtar-peepers are able to make known to an ungodly perſon, what death the ſame ſhall die; for the devil knoweth the cogitations and enterpriſes

priſes of the ungodly, and hath them in his power, ruleth, and driveth them as he pleaſeth, he being a Prince of the world. Therefore the ſigns are two fold, of the time, and of the event, what weather ſhall happen, and how it ſhall fall out with one. I am now informed (ſaid *Luther*), that a new aſtrologer is riſen, who preſumeth to prove, that the earth moveth and goeth about; not the firmament, the ſun, moon, nor the ſtars: like as when one ſitteth in a coach, or in a ſhip, and is moved, thinketh he ſitteth ſtill and reſteth, but the earth and the trees go, run, and move themſelves. Therefore thus it goeth, when we follow our own fooliſh fancies and conceits. This fool will turn the whole art of aſtronomy upſide down: but the Scripture ſheweth, and teacheth him another leſſon, where Joſhua commanded the Sun to ſtand ſtill, and not the earth *. In the ſtars (ſaid *Luther*) is neither ſtrength nor operation, they are but only ſigns. Therefore they have juſt cauſe to complain of aſtrologers and ſtar-peepers (the ſoothſayers), who attribute unto them a particular ſtrength and operation, and bind on them that which God hath not given and attributed unto them. The aſtrologers commonly aſcribe the worſt to the ſtars, which they ought to attribute to the planets that ſignify only evil events, except that ſtar which appeared to the wiſe men in the Eaſt, the ſame ſhewed, that the revelation of the Goſpel was at the door. In the year 1542, the 8th of December, one named Minckwitz had a public declamation in the ſchool, wherein he extolled the art of aſtronomy, but therewithal he oppoſed the ſentence in the Prophet Jeremiah, chap. x. *Be not diſmayed at the ſigns of heaven*, &c. as if that ſentence were not againſt the aſtrologer, but that it ſpake only touching the images or pictures of the Heathen. Luther having gotten notice thereof, ſaid, Sentences may well be oppoſed and contradicted, but they are not ſo ſoon convinced and overthrown. This ſentence in Jeremiah ſpeaketh touching all the ſigns on heaven, on earth, and in the ſea, and ſo doth Moſes likewiſe; for the Heathen were not ſo ſilly, as to be afraid of the ſun and moon, but they ſtood in fear of the miraculous ſigns and horrible viſions, which they worſhipped and honoured out of fear. Moreover aſtrology is no art, for it hath no principles nor demonſtrations whereupon we might ground, and take ſure footing; the aſtrologers direct themſelves according as haps and chances fall out. They ſpeak much of that which once or twice happeneth, and thereout conclude, that it muſt of neceſſity always happen ſo; but touching thoſe things that fail, thereof they are ſilent and mute.

Philip Melancthon holdeth ſtrictly over aſtrology; but (ſaid *Luther*) he never was able to perſuade me thereunto; for he confeſſeth himſelf, and ſaith, The event indeed is extant, and at hand, but no man hath obtained the ſame, for it hath neither experience nor ſure grounds, except they intend to call *eventum*, experience. But experience is this, when we conclude out of particular and ſingle points, and proceed to the general, *Ex ſingularibus ad univerſalia*; as when I ſay, This fire burneth, that fire burneth, and ſo on, therefore every fire burneth; but Aſtrology hath not this ground and experience, but it cenſureth only according to caſual events, and as now and then it happeneth. I am come ſo far into

* Joſhua, commanding the Sun to ſtand ſtill (Joſh. x. 12, 13.), expreſſed his deſire that the Sun might not change his ſituation towards the earth. Thus the Scripture is to be reconciled to the true courſe of nature. For the ſyſtem of *Tycho de Brahe*, who taught that the earth ſtands in the centre, and that all the heavenly bodies move round it, has, in modern times, been univerſally rejected by all the aſtronomers who have adopted the ſyſtem of *Copernicus*, which is, that the Sun is placed in the centre, and that the planets move round him. The phænomena, and motions of the heavenly bodies, can be more eaſily explained by the latter ſyſtem than by the former.

aſtrology (ſaid *Luther*), that I believe it is nothing. For Philip Melancthon, againſt his will, confeſſeth unto me, that the art is extant or at hand, but there are none that underſtandeth it rightly. But they will be ſure in their almanacs to teach and ſhew, that we ſhall have no ſnow in ſummer time, nor thunder in winter, and this the country clowns know as well as the aſtrologers. Philip Melancthon ſaith, That ſuch people as are born in *aſcendente Libræ*, in the riſing of the Scales towards the South, are unfortunate people; whereupon Luther ſaid, The aſtrologers are ſilly unhappy creatures, who dream that their croſſes and miſhaps proceed not from God, but from the ſtars, therefore they are not poſſeſſed of patience in their troubles and adverſities. Aſtrology is uncertain; and like as the *predicamenta* are feigned words in *Dialectica*, even ſo aſtronomy hath feigned aſtrology; and like as the ancient and true divines knew nothing of the fantaſies and divinity of the ſchool-teachers, even ſo the ancient aſtronomers knew nothing of aſtrology. The nativities of Luther, of Cicero, and of others (printed at Nuremburg), being brought before Luther, he ſaid, I hold nothing thereof, neither do I attribute any thing unto them; but I would willingly, that the aſtrologers anſwered me this argument, Eſau and Jacob were born both together, of one father and one mother, at one time, and under equal planets, yet, nevertheleſs, they were wholly of contrary natures, kinds, and minds. Therefore what is done by God, and is his work, the ſame ought not to be aſcribed to the ſtars. The upright and true Chriſtian religion oppoſeth and convinceth all ſuch riddles and fables. The world, without religion, is Lucianical and full of Epicuriſm, as Eraſmus Rotterodamus hath been: he diſputed, whether a philoſopher and learned man profitably might be adviſed to undergo the yoke of matrimony and take a wife? Well is he (ſaid *Luther*) that in faith hearkeneth to God's Word. Aſtrology hath need of good expoſitions and conſideration, as now our Prebends at Meyſen do; they will maintain and defend all their things with conſtruing, expounding, and with ſignifications. When the nativity (as they call it) was ſhewed unto him, he ſaid, It is a fine fantaſy, and acceptable to natural ſenſe and reaſon. The way and manner to make nativities and to caſt theſe accounts, is like the proceedings in Popedom, where the outward ceremonies and pompous ordinances are pleaſing to human wit and wiſdom; as the hallowed water, torches, organs, cymbals, ſinging, ringing, &c. But there is no right nor certain knowledge in theſe knacks. Likewiſe ſuch do very ſorely err, that endeavour out of theſe fantaſies to frame a certain art and an acknowledgment, when as there is none; for aſtrology (as they call it) proceedeth not out of the nature of aſtronomy, which is an art, but it is merely a human tradition. Neither Philip Melancthon, nor no man living (ſaid *Luther*) ſhall make me believe, that aſtrology is a ſure acknowledgment and an art: the whole buſineſs concerning aſtrology is oppoſite to philoſophy. I oftentimes have diſcourſed with Philip Melancthon, and in order have related unto him the courſe and manner of my whole life, and how I have lived. I am the ſon of a farmer; my father, my grandfather, and great-grandfather, were farmers; but my father left his farm, and went towards Mansfield, and there he became a miner in the ſilver mines, one mile from which place, at Eiſleven, I was born and bred. But inſomuch as I became a *Baccalaureus*, a Bachelor in Arts, a *Magiſter*, a Maſter, a Friar, &c. the ſame was not written in the planets. Did not I (ſaid *Luther*) purchaſe great ſhame, in that I laid aſide the brown bread and became a naſty Friar, which much vexed my father, and it was very grievous unto him; yet, nevertheleſs, I fell to buffets with the Pope, and he again with me; I took a wife (a fled Nun), and on her I begat certain children; now I demand, who ſaw theſe things in the ſtars?

Who

Who told me before, that thus and thus it ſhould happen with me. An aſtrologer and a ſtar-peeper, is to be likened to one that ſelleth dice, and ſaith, Behold here I have dice that always run upon twelve; the reſt of the fifty caſts, they run upon two, three, four, five, ſix, ſeven, eight, nine, ten, eleven. Even thus it is with the aſtrologers; when once or twice their conceit and fantaſies do hit, then they cannot ſufficiently extol and praiſe the art; but touching the other ſo often failing, of the ſame they are altogether ſtill and ſilent. I accept of aſtronomy (ſaid *Luther*), it pleaſeth me well for the ſake of her manifold profits. David, in the 19th Pſalm, remembereth the wonderful works and creatures of God in the firmament of heaven, he taketh therein his delight; Job alſo remembereth Orion, which they call Jacob's ſtaff, the ſeven ſtars, &c. To conclude, the example of Eſau and Jacob maketh aſtrology merely a juggling and confounded work, therewith the aſtrologers always have enough to do to plaſter themſelves.

Concluding Arguments againſt Aſtrology.

FIRST, that doctrine which dealeth and handleth a matter is uncertain; for *materia eſt informis*, is without ſhape and form, without any quality and fitneſs; the doctrine of the aſtrologers and ſtar-peepers dealeth and handleth touching matters, therefore aſtrology is uncertain. Secondly, General prophecies and declarations, when they will declare a thing generally before what in future ſhall happen, neither do accord nor draw themſelves upon ſingular and particular things or perſons; *non competunt ſpecialibus & individuis*, they agree not to ſpecials and individuals; but the aſtrologers and ſtar-peepers do teach general predictions and preſages which cannot be directed to and upon particular things and perſons, therefore the aſtrologers and ſtar-peepers do wrong, in drawing and directing their predictions to and upon particular and certain perſons and things. Thirdly, When at one time many are ſlain together in a battle, are ſhot, ſtruck dead, &c. No man can truly affirm, that they were all born under one planet, yet they die altogether in one hour, yea oftentimes in one moment, eſpecially before the mouths of great cannon and ordnances.

Againſt Aſtrology.

FOR the firſt, aſtrology is valued at ſuch a rate, as that of the Sophiſts, *de decem predicamentis realiter diſtinctis*, of the ten words which they call *predicamenta*, ſubſtantially to diſtinguiſh; whereas all is falſe and feigned: howſoever, ſuch fopperies accord with arguments, *ſolutionibus*, and with other caſes, inſomuch that for the ſpace of many hundred years among ſo many ſects, as the Thomiſts, Albertiſts, Scotiſts, &c. they held nothing ſo true as the ſame. Secondly, They teach not what chiefly we ought to know, but they ſpeak touching the time of one's life, how long he ſhall live, yet nothing certain neither of time nor place, only they point at the perſons, and oftentimes they fail therein. Thirdly, God hath appointed a certain and ſure end, otherwiſe Babylon might have ſaid, I will remain and ſtedfaſtly continue; Rome would ſay, To me is the government and rule given without ceaſing and intermiſſion. To Alexander and others were given empires and kingdoms; aſtrology taught nor ſhewed nothing of theſe things, namely, that ſuch great kingdoms were to be raiſed, nor how long they were to laſt and continue. Fourthly, Aſtrology is found out and feigned by the devil, to the end people might be ſcared and affrighted from entering into the

ſtate of matrimony and from every divine and human office and calling; for the ſtar-peepers preſage nothing that is good out of the planets, they affright and terrify people's conſciences in regard of misfortunes to come, which notwithſtanding is altogether uncertain, and ſtandeth in God's hand, and through ſuch miſchievous and unprofitable cogitations they vex and torment the whole life. Fifthly, Great wrong is done to God's creatures through the ſame, for God hath created and placed them in the firmament, to the end they may give light to the kingdoms of the earth, that is, to make people glad and joyful in the Lord, and to be good ſigns of years and ſeaſons, as is written, *And God ſaw that it was good*, &c. And which the Lord thy God did ordain and appoint to all nations under the whole heaven. But theſe ſtar-peepers do falſely feign that thoſe creatures, of God created, do darken and trouble the earth and are hurtful; for all creatures of God are good, and by God created only for good uſes, but mankind maketh them evil by abuſing them. The eclipſes indeed (ſaid *Luther*) are monſters and like to ſtrange and untimely births. To conclude, to believe the ſtars, to truſt thereon, or to be affrighted thereat, is idolatry, againſt the firſt commandment.

CHAP. LXX.

OF SIGNS IN THE AIR.

Luther's *Diſcourſe concerning Signs and Weathers.*

ANNO 1517, when the Goſpel aroſe, there was ſeen at Weymar a fair and bright crucifix in the moon by the Prince Elector of Saxony, &c. Anno 1516, John Prince of Saxony ſaw, at Weymar, a great red ſtar, which was changed firſt into a clear and bright ſtar, afterwards into a crucifix, thirdly into a yellow ſtar, at laſt it became again a common and an accuſtomed ſtar.

This fell out the year before the Goſpel went on. Luther ſignified the ſame upon the Goſpel: the ſame at the firſt went up red, afterwards it burned and produced the croſs, for it was eclipſed and darkened through rebellion and ſects; but (ſaid *Luther*) I hold nothing certain of ſuch ſigns, for commonly they are deviliſh and deceitful ſigns. Anno 1536, the 16th of September, on Saturday evening, between ſix and ſeven of the clock, it lightned very much, and thereupon came a fierce thunder-clap, whereas eight days before it had been very cold; the *Mathematici* called it *Chaſma*, and ſaid, that it ſignified great drought in the air. Luther heard and ſaw the ſame at home; and ſaid, It is wonderful, and not far from the ſeven ſtars towards the North, it were enough, if it had been done in Africa, Aſia, and in the hot countries under the Tropic of Cancer. It is merely deviliſh, I hold the devils intended to prepare a diſputation, and that it was hindered by an angel through *Chaſma*, who tore a hole through the propoſition. Anno 1539, the 18th of April, towards evening, about four of the clock, was an eclipſe of the ſun, which Luther beheld to the end, ſighed and prayed, that God would give a better event than is feared, and that through theſe and other ſigns all people may be ſtirred up to pray.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXI.

OF STUDYING.

Luther's Diſcourſe concerning Studying.

LUTHER adviſed all that intended to ſtudy in what art ſoever, that they ſhould betake themſelves to the reading of ſome ſure and certain ſort of books over and over again, for to read many ſorts of books, produceth rather confuſion than any thing certain and perfect, like as thoſe that dwell every where, and remain in no place, ſuch do dwell no where, nor are no where at home. And like as in company we uſe not daily the community of all good friends, but of a ſelect few; even ſo likewiſe, we ought to accuſtom ourſelves to the beſt books and to make the ſame familiar unto us, to have them (as we uſe to ſay) at our fingers ends. Anno 1538, a fine expert ſtudent fell into a frenzy, laboured, and made himſelf faint with continual watching and talking; the cauſe of his diſeaſe was, that he laid himſelf out too much upon books, and was in love with a maid. Luther dealt very mildly and friendly with him, expected an amendment, and ſaid, Love is the cauſe of his ſickneſs, ſtudying brought upon him but little of his diſorder, in the beginning of the Goſpel it went ſo with myſelf.

Of artificial Pieces and Handicrafts.

AT Wittemberg certain hand-writings of the Auguſtian Fuggers, written with ſtrange kind of letters and cyphers which no man there could read, being ſhewed to Luther, he ſaid, Theſe are invented by high, ſharp-witted brains, they are ſigns of very evil times.

We read of Julius Cæſar that he wrote ſuch kind of letters. Likewiſe, Emperor Charles the Fifth uſed in important affairs to write two ſorts of letters and writings, by reaſon of the infidelity of his clerks, with contrary ſenſes and meanings; the one ſort to be ſealed unknown unto them.

CHAP. LXXII.

OF LEARNED MEN.

Luther's Diſcourſe of Learned Men.

IN a few years (ſaid *Luther*) ſuch want will be of learned people, that they would willingly dig them nine ells deep out of the ground if they could but get them; but all is in vain, we too ſorely provoke God to anger.

That the World cannot be governed without learned People.

WISDOM, underſtanding, learning, and the pen, theſe do govern the world. If God were angry, and took out of the world all the learned, then all people would become merely like wild and ſavage beaſts; for without wiſdom, underſtanding, and laws, neither the Turks nor Tartars were able to ſubſiſt.

That there are few Writers of Hiſtories.

WHO could be ſo mad (ſaid *Luther*) in theſe evil times as to write hiſtories, and the truth? The brains of the Grecians were ſubtle and crafty; the Italians are ambitious and proud; the Germans rude and boiſterous. Livius deſcribed the hiſtories and acts of the Romans, not of the Carthaginians. Blandus and Platina only flattereth the Popes. Before the Italians came to the government they were more civil and modeſt; but after they came to be monarchs, they then altered their condition and nature; and they being now again humbled, they gaze again after the Empire: for the Pope not in vain permitteth Charles and Ferdinand to take poſſeſſion of ſpiritual livings.

Of Cicero and Ariſtotle.

CICERO (ſaid *Luther*) far excelleth Ariſtotle in philoſophy and teaching. *Officia Ciceronis* are far better then *Ethica Ariſtotelis*. And although Cicero lived in great care, and had upon him great burthens, labour, and pains in the government, yet he was far above Ariſtotle; who had money, wealth, and eaſy days.

Cicero handled the beſt and fineſt queſtions in philoſophy; as, Whether there be a God? What God is? Whether he dealeth with human affairs? And that there muſt be an everlaſting mind, &c. Indeed Ariſtotle was a good and crafty logician, who handled touching the method and upright orderly way in teaching; but he taught not the buſineſs, the caſe, nor the kernel, ſo exquiſitely as Cicero did. Whoſo intendeth to learn upright philoſophy, let him read Cicero.

Cicero was a very wiſe man, he wrote more than all the philoſophers, and read all the

the Grecian books through. I marvel that he was able to read and write ſo much in ſo many great dealings and buſineſſes. No man rightly underſtandeth Cicero's Epiſtles except he hath been exerciſed in government twenty years. Cicero, a wiſe and diligent man, ſuffered and performed much; I hope (ſaid *Luther*) God will be merciful unto him and to ſuch as he was, howſoever it is not our duty to ſpeak certainly touching that point, but to remain by the Word revealed unto us; namely, *Whoſo believeth and is baptized, the ſame ſhall be ſaved.* Yet, neverthelefs, God is able to diſpenſe and to hold a difference among the nations and heathen, but our duty is not to know nor to ſearch after time and meaſure. For there will be a new heaven and a new earth, much more extenſive than now they be: God can give to every one according to his pleaſure.

Of the Strength of God's pure Word.

EXPERIENCE ſheweth (ſaid *Luther*) how powerful God's truth is, the more we read the ſame, the more it worketh; yet Cicero with all his wiſdom and eloquence was not able to comprehend this, who notwithſtanding was a very high ſurpaſſing man in human wiſdom, but that will not aſcend upwards, it muſt remain below.

Of Strabo.

THE hiſtories and writings of Strabo are very good, for he lived in the time of Cæſar-Auguſtus, and had ſeen all the actions and exploits in the camps and wars. But he wrote touching Moſes that he was a conjuror who invented much idolatry: indeed (ſaid *Luther*) the land of Canaan lieth between Egypt and Syria, the inhabitants were ſuperſtitious people and full of idolatry, therefore Canaan, doubtleſs, was alſo fouled and ſtained with witchcraft.

Of Writers of Hiſtories and Poets.

IT is a pity that ſo many great and excellent acts and deeds are ſunk which are not deſcribed; only the Grecians and Romans have writers of hiſtories. Of Livius is ſcarcely left a ſmall parcel, the others are darkened, loſt, and deſtroyed. Sabbellicus intended to imitate and follow Livius, but fulfilled nothing. Ovid was an excellent poet, he excelled all the reſt with fair ſentences, which, maſter-like and ſweetly, he faſtened in verſe, as,

Nox, amor, vinumque nihil moderabile ſuadent.
Night, love and wine lead to exceſs.

Virgil ſurpaſſeth all other in glory and agility; *Heroicâ gravitate*, in heroick gravity, he is prince-like and ſeriouſly important.

Of Lucanus.

LUTHER reading Lucan, ſaid, I know not whether he be a poet or a writer of hiſtories; for they are thus diſtinguiſhed: a writer of hiſtories ſaith what is true, an orator and he that is eloquent ſaith what is like to truth; but a poet writeth neither what is true, nor what is like to the truth. Therefore Ariſtotle ſaith, The poets do lie much, for when they have a ſmall reaſon and ground, then they make a thing very

very great, and ſtretch it high and far; thereunto muſt needs belong much lying, like a painter who pictureth a perſon much fairer than ſhe is. Julius Cæſar ſaid, When I read the writings of Brutus, then I take myſelf to be eloquent; but when I read the orations of Cicero, then I am uneloquent, I drawl like a child.

Of Æſopus.

AS Luther read his preface upon Æſop, he extolled that book exceedingly, and ſaid, It is full of good doctrine, manners, nurture, and experience. Whoſo can ſpeak well, the ſame is a man; for to ſpeak well is wiſdom; and wiſdom is, to ſpeak well. Speaking is derived of counſelling, *a conſilio*, otherwiſe it is called prating and not ſpeaking. So Æſope ſpake, he prated not, he produced the truth of a thing under another ſhape and form, as fables, yet he was perſecuted by reaſon of the ſame.

What Books ought to be rejected.

IT were very neceſſary (ſaid *Luther*) that the books of Juvenal, of Martial, of Catullus, and *Priapeia Virgilii* were caſhiered, baniſhed, and rejected out of the land and ſchools, for they write ſuch groſs and ſhameleſs things, that without great offence to the youth they may not be read.

Of certain particular Speakers.

LICENTIATE Amſdorff (ſaid *Luther*) teacheth upright and purely, he delivereth his mind ſincerely. At the princely aſſembly at Smalkalden he made a ſermon, and ſaid, This Goſpel belongeth to the ſick, weak and poor ſinners, but here are none; for great, rich, and powerful Princes and Potentates are not ſenſible of their ſickneſſes and weakneſſes, &c. Even ſo he proceedeth uprightly in his diſputations; he is a divine by nature. Dr. Crutziger, and Dr. Juſtus Jonas, are made and conceived divines. Anno 1536, Luther wrote upon his table theſe words following: *Res & verba Philippus*; *verba ſine re Eraſmus*; *res ſine verbis Lutherus*; *nec res, nec verba Caroloſtadius*; that is, what Philip Melancthon writeth, the ſame hath hands and feet, the matter is good, and alſo the words are good; Eraſmus Roterodamus maketh many words, but to no purpoſe; Luther hath good matter, but the words are not good; Carlſtad hath neither good words nor good matter. Philip Melancthon unawares coming to Luther at that time, reading the ſame, he ſmiled upon Dr. Baſil, and ſaid, Touching Eraſmus and Carlſtad it was well judged and cenſured, but too much is attributed unto me alſo; good words ought to be aſcribed to Luther, for he ſpeaketh exceeding well, and hath ſubſtantial matter.

What and how we ought to preach before young Chriſtians.

LUTHER reproving Dr. Maior, in that he was faint-hearted and diſcouraged by reaſon of his ſimple kind of preaching in compariſon of other divines, as in himſelf he conceived, admoniſhed him and ſaid, Loving brother, when you preach, as then behold not the Doctors and high-learned, but behold yourſelf and the common people, have regard that you teach and inſtruct them uprightly. For in the pulpit we ought to draw out the teats and feed the common people with milk, for every day a new church increaſeth and groweth up, who ſtand in need of plain and

ſimple

ſimple ſincere informations uprightly in the children's doctrine; therefore we ought to drive on the catechiſm and diſtribute the milk; but our high, ſubtle, and neat reaſonings, and the ſtrong wine, we will keep and preſerve for the witty.

That ſimple and plain Preachers are the beſt.

THAT famous painter, Albrecht Durer uſed to ſay, He took no delight in ſuch pictures which were painted with many colours, but in thoſe that were made moſt plain: even ſo (ſaid *Luther*) I likewiſe take delight in thoſe ſermons that enter fine and ſimply, ſo that they may be well underſtood and comprehended of the common man.

Of Brentius.

NO divine in this our time (ſaid *Luther*) declareth and handleth the Holy Scripture in ſuch ſort, as Brentius inſomuch that I often very much admire his ſpirit, and deſpair of my ability; I verily believe none among us were able to perform what he did, in the expoſition of John's Goſpel, howſoever now and then he ſomewhat hangeth upon his opinions, yet he remaineth in the true and upright ſenſe and meaning, and ſtrideth not over the plain ſimplicity of God's Word, therefore he is to be borne with, and in no wiſe to be upbraided.

Of Bucer.

TO tranſlate my books into Latin (ſaid *Luther*) no man is better, more diligent and well qualified, than Dr. Bucer, he giveth my meaning and underſtanding ſo properly, if therewith he mingled not his buzzing concerning the ſacrament, that I myſelf were not able to ſhew my heart and mind nearer nor better.

Of Ammerbach.

OUR diſputing with Dr. Ammerbach (ſaid *Luther*) is like to that of our Saviour Chriſt's with Nicodemus, for Ammerbach ſaith, My meaning, yea my opinion is, that mankind ſhall be acceptable, juſtified, and ſaved before God, for the ſake of good words.

Of the Differences of Gifts.

DISCOURSE was held how great differences were amongſt the learned, whereupon Luther ſaid, God very finely hath divided his gifts, in that the learned ſerve the unlearned, again the unlearned muſt humble themſelves before the learned in what is needful for them. If all people were equal, then we could not ſubſiſt, no body would ſerve another, neither would there be any peace. The peacock complaineth becauſe he wanteth the nightingale's voice, therefore God with the inequality hath made the greateſt equality; for we ſee, when one is excellent and hath more and greater gifts than another, ſo is he proud and haughty, will rule and domineer over others, and contemn them. God therefore very finely ſheweth by the members of the body, human ſociety, and that one member muſt reach out the hand to the other and help, none can be without the other: in the face are the moſt honourable

honourable members, yet the noſe, notwithſtanding, is placed above the mouth and under the eyes. If but only two people in the world had noſes, they would be held for monſters, but foraſmuch as we are all ſnivelings, therefore the noſe humbleth us; and ſo on with reſpect to ſeveral other parts of the body.

Therefore St. Paul ſaith, *Thoſe members of the body which ſeem to be more feeble, are neceſſary; and thoſe which we think to be leſs honourable, upon theſe we beſtow more abundant honour.*

Of Ariſtotle and Cicero.

ARISTOTLE (ſaid *Luther*) is altogether an Epicure; he holdeth that God careth nothing for human creatures, neither regardeth how we live, he permitteth us to proceed according to our pleaſure, he meddleth nothing at all therewith; he alledgeth God ruleth the world like as a ſleepy maid rocketh a child. But Cicero attained to a further ſcope, I believe that he collected and brought together what he found to be good in the books of all the Grecian writers. For this is a very good argument, which often moved me much and went near my heart, where he proveth, there is a God, in that the living creatures, beaſts and mankind, beget on one another their own likeneſs. A cow always produceth a cow; a horſe, a horſe, &c. Therefore it undeniably followeth, that ſome Being exiſts which ruleth every thing. We may juſtly acknowlege God to be the unchangeable and certain motion of the ſtars of heaven; we find the ſun every year to riſe and ſet in his place, alſo by the certainty of time, we have winter and ſummer, but ſeeing the ſame is done continually, therefore we neither admire nor regard it.

CHAP. LXXIII.

OF THE JEWS.

Luther's Diſcourſe of the Jews.

THE Jews do boaſt that they are Abraham's children, and indeed (ſaid *Luther*) it was a high honour and praiſe unto them, as the rich glutton in hell ſaid, *Father Abraham*, &c. and he ſaith again to him, *My ſon*, &c. But our Lord God well and fitly can diſtinguiſh and ſeparate theſe children, for to ſuch as the glutton was he giveth them their wages here in this life, but the rewards and wages for the other he reſerveth until the life to come.

Of the Trading and Superſtition of the Jews.

THE Jews are the pooreſt people among all nations on earth, they are plagued every where, ſcattered to and fro in all countries, they have no certain place, they ſit as on a wheel-barrow, have no country, people nor government; yet they attend with great deſire, they cheer up themſelves and ſay, It will ſoon be better with us. In ſuch a way are they hardened, that in the higheſt ſhame they dare preſume therewith

with to brag and boaſt. But (ſaid *Luther*) I adviſe them to know aſſuredly, that there is none other Lord nor God, but only he that already ſitteth at the right hand of God the Father. The Jews are not permitted to trade nor to keep cattle, they are only uſurers; they maintain themſelves by horſe-courſing and brokery; they eat nothing of what the Chriſtians kill and touch, they drink no wine; they have many ſuperſtitions, they waſh the fleſh moſt diligently, whereas they cannot be cleanſed through the fleſh, for fleſh is nothing elſe but a piece of livered blood, how diligently ſoever they waſh it, neither did God ſpeak touching the ſame, but only concerning bloodſhed. And even under that colour of worſhipping, they neither eat milk nor fleſh, for God ſaid, *Thou ſhalt not boil the young kid in his mother's milk.* Such ſuperſtitions proceed out of God's anger. For they that are without faith, have laws without end, as we now ſee by the Papiſts and Turks; but they are even juſt and rightly ſerved, for ſeeing they refuſed to have Chriſt and his Goſpel, therefore inſtead of freedom they muſt have ſervitude.

Of the ſtiffnecked Boaſting of the Jews.

IT muſt needs be a great wrath of God (ſaid *Luther*) that the Jews in ſuch ſort go ſcattered to and again in countries, and are driven from one place to another; they lead a poor and miſerable kind of life, and they expect, attend and gape after Meſſias; they boaſt of their glorious prerogative wherewith God graced them above other nations. Againſt this St. Paul ſtriveth with great pains, where he ſaith, *Behold thou art called a Jew, and reſteſt in the Law, and makeſt thy boaſt of God, and knoweſt his will,* &c. and Romans ix. he ſaith, *To whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the Law, and the ſervice of God, and the promiſes, whoſe are the Fathers, and of whom (as concerning the fleſh) Chriſt came.*

Truly this was great honour and glory; it was a hard taſk for St. Paul to let go, and to reject the ſame. For we ſee, and find by experience, how heavy and hard a matter it is to aſſault Popedom, and to thunder againſt the ſame out of God's Word, which notwithſtanding is ſure, and ſaith, *He is called to the Gentiles.* If I (ſaid *Luther*) were a right Jew, the Pope ſhould never perſuade me to his worſhipping; I would rather ſuffer myſelf ten times to be racked. Popedom with their abominations and falſe worſhippings, have given to the Jews innumerable offences. I am perſuaded if the Jews heard our preaching, how and in what manner we handle the ſentences in the Old Teſtament, that many of them might be won, but through diſputing they are made but more ſtiff-necked and angry, for they are too haughty and preſumptuous. If but one or two of the Rabbies, and chief of them, fell off, then we ſhould ſee a falling of one after another, for they are almoſt weary of expecting.

That the Jews are poor People.

AT Franckfurt on the Main are very many Jews; they have a whole ſtreet in poſſeſſion, where every houſe is filled with them; they are compelled to wear little yellow rings on the outſides of their coats and garments, thereby to be known; they have neither houſes of their own, nor grounds, only they have moveable and flitting goods; they dare not to lend any thing upon houſes or grounds, but only at great hazard.

Touching Sentences of Scripture againſt the Jews.

I HAVE the chief ſentences of Scripture, and which are the grounds upon which the Jews bring againſt us, as where God ſaid to Abraham, *I will make my covenant between me and thee, and with thy ſeed after thee, in their generations, for an everlaſting covenant*, &c. Here the Jews ſtart up and brag, like as the Papiſts do upon that ſentence, *Thou art Peter*, &c. I would willingly (ſaid *Luther*) bereave the Jews of this bragging, in rejecting the Law of Moſes, inſomuch that they ſhould not be able to gainſay it. We have againſt them the Prophet Jeremiah, where he ſaith, *Behold the time cometh, ſaith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the houſe of Iſrael, and with the houſe of Judah, not as the covenant which I made with their fathers*, &c. *But this ſhall be the covenant which I will make with the houſe of Iſrael; after this time, ſaith the Lord, I will give my laws into their hearts, and will write it in their minds*, &c.

Here the Jews muſt needs yield, and ſay, The law of Moſes continued but for a while, therefore it muſt be aboliſhed. But in the covenant of the circumciſion (which was given before Moſes's time, and was made between God and Abraham, and his ſeed Iſaac in his generation) that muſt and ſhall be an everlaſting covenant; the ſame they will not ſuffer to be taken from them.

And although Moſes himſelf rejecteth their circumciſing of the fleſh, and preſſeth upon the circumciſing of the heart, yet, nevertheleſs, they boaſt of that everlaſting covenant out of God's Word; and when they yield that the circumciſion juſtifieth not, yet, nevertheleſs, ſay they, it is an everlaſting covenant, thinking that it is a covenant of works; therefore we muſt leave unto them their circumciſion, and let us truly rejoice, and be thankful to God for this new covenant of his grace.

I for my part (ſaid *Luther*), as alſo all God-fearing Chriſtians, have this ſure and ſtrong comfort, namely, that the circumciſion was to continue but for a while, until Meſſias came; but now ſeeing he is come, ſo hath that commandment alſo an end, and ceaſeth. Moſes was wiſe, he kept himſelf within his bounds, for in all his four books after Geneſis, he wrote nothing of circumciſion, he only preſſeth upon the circumciſing of the heart in his fifth book. In the firſt book he relateth only the hiſtories; he preſſeth not thereupon, as upon a commandment, whereas he preſſeth hard upon the Sacrifices, upon the Sabbath, and upon the ſhew-bread; he leaveth this covenant of circumciſion quite out, maketh no mention thereof, as if he would ſay, It is not much to be regarded. If it had been of ſo great importance and weight as the Jews make it, he would doubtleſs have preſſed more fiercely thereupon. To conclude, Chriſt another Prophet will come; in his mouth will I lay my word, him ſhall ye hear.

Afterwards in the Book of Joſhua mention is made again touching the circumciſing of the heart. The Papiſts as blinded people who know nothing at all of the Scriptures, are not able to confute ſo much as one argument of the Jews, it is in them a fearful blindneſs.

That the haughty Boaſting of the Jews concerning God's Word is caſt down.

THE verſe in the 115th Pſalm is uttered exceedingly maſter-like by the Holy Ghoſt, where he ſaith, *He ſhall bleſs them that fear the Lord both ſmall and great.* For the holy Spirit is a fierce thunder-clap againſt the proud, boaſting Jews and Papiſts, who brag that they alone are God's people; will allow of none, but of thoſe that are of

of their church. As if the Holy Ghoſt ſhould ſay, The poor, contemned people are alſo God's people, for God ſaved many of the Gentiles without the Law and circumciſion, and alſo without Popedom; but theſe preſumptuous people ceaſe not to torment and plague the Chriſtians, would force them to be circumciſed as the Jews in Moravia, the Sabathees.

I am angry (ſaid *Luther*) with Ferdinand, who will not ſuffer the Goſpel to come into the church, whereby he utterly devaſteth it. The pride of the Jews is great, who boaſt that they are juſtified only and alone, becauſe they be circumciſed; they ſee not that Abraham was declared juſtified only through faith; Abraham believed God, and that was imputed unto him for righteouſneſs. God with circumciſion intended to confirm his covenant with this nation but only for a certain time, namely, until Meſſiah ſhould come. True it is, the circumciſion of the Jews before Chriſt's coming had a great majeſty; but in that, without the ſame, they will have none other to be God's people, the ſame we utterly deny; for the Jews themſelves in the circumciſion were of God rejected, and no more his people. If fifteen hundred years ago the Jews had not been of God rejected, and Jeruſalem not deſtroyed, then no man had been able to bereave the Jews of ſuch their ridiculous boaſting; they have merely a painted, or a ſeeming colour to uphold the ſame, therefore the Ebonites (who were the poor Jews, after Jeruſalem was devaſted, and they ſcattered and hooted into all countries) obſerved both Teſtaments, the Old and New, the circumciſion, the baptiſm, and what elſe therein is written.

By what Authority Chriſt drove the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple.

CHRIST drove the buyers and ſellers out of the Temple, not by any temporal authority, but by the juriſdiction and power of the church; which authority every High Prieſt in the Temple had, to whom it was appropriated. The glory of this Temple was great, that the whole world muſt worſhip there. But God out of ſpecial counſel cauſed this Temple to be deſtroyed, to the end, the Jews might be put to confuſion, and no more ſhould be able to brag and boaſt thereof.

Concerning the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and of the Secureneſs and Preſumption of the Jews.

THIS fair and glorious city was beſieged by Titus Veſpaſian with a powerful army, and taken by an aſſault, laid in the duſt, and deſtroyed. This vexed the Jews very ſorely, for thereby they would needs make God a liar. The Jews underſtood all the promiſes of God in a carnal manner, as this ſentence in the Prophet Jeremiah, *The holy relick of the Lord ſhall never be rooted out.* Upon this, and many more ſentences, the Jews boaſted, and depending thereupon, ſlaughtered the Prophets; but at laſt they ſaw, yea, found by experience, that their ſecureneſs and preſumption was turned to confuſion.

That Germany and Italy in former Times were full of Jews.

CICERO, the eloquent Gentile, complained of the ſuperſtition and multitude of the Jews in Italy; we ſee likewiſe their footſteps throughout Germany, there is not a city nor village but it hath names and ſtreets of the Jews. The Jews (ſaid *Luther*) inhabited Ratiſbon a long time before the birth of Chriſt. It was a mighty nation.

That

That the Jews are Blaſphemers.

THE Jews (ſaid *Luther*) at this time do read our books, and thereout do raiſe objections againſt us, it is a nation that do ſcorn and blaſpheme, even like as the lawyers, the Papiſts, and other adverſaries do, in taking out of our writings the knowledge of the cauſe, and uſe the ſame as weapons againſt us. But (God be praiſed) our cauſe hath a ſure, a good and ſtedfaſt ground, namely, God and his Word.

The Jews cannot endure to hear the name of Jeſus crucified.

TWO Rabbies of the Jews (ſaid *Luther*), named Schamaria and Jacob, came to me at Wittemberg, deſiring of me letters of ſafe-conduct, which I granted unto them. With the ſame they were well pleaſed, only they earneſtly beſought me, that I would leave out the word *Tola*, that is, Jeſus crucified; for they cannot forbear, but muſt needs blaſpheme the name Jeſus; they exceedingly hate that ſong which we uſed to ſing in the church, *Chriſt is riſen from the dead.* They ſaid, It is moſt wonderful that ſo many thouſands of innocent people have been ſlaughtered, touching whom there is no mention made, only Jeſus, the crucified, muſt always be remembered; his death cannot be forgotten.

Of powerful Arguments againſt the Jews.

THE Jews (ſaid *Luther*) muſt be encountered with ſtrong arguments, as where Jeremiah ſpeaketh touching Chriſt, *Behold the days come, ſaith the Lord, that I will raiſe unto David a righteous branch, and a King ſhall reign and proſper, and ſhall execute judgment and juſtice in the earth, in his days Judah ſhall be ſaved, and Iſrael ſhall dwell ſafely, and this is his name whereby he ſhall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.* This argument the Jews are not able to ſolve; and foraſmuch as they refuſe to grant that this ſentence is not ſpoken of Chriſt, therefore of neceſſity they muſt give and ſhew unto us another King deſcended from David, who ſhould govern ſo long as the ſun and moon endure, as the promiſes of the Prophets do ſound.

Another Argument againſt the Jews.

EITHER God muſt deal unjuſtly, and be an unrighteous God, or elſe the Jews muſt be wicked and ungodly; for ye have been thruſt into miſery, hunted and ſcared longer than ye were in the Land of Promiſe, where ye continued not above three hundred years as the Temple of Solomon yet ſtood; but ye have been hunted into miſery above fifteen hundred years. The example of the Babylonian captivity can yield no comfort unto you, for during the appointed time of ſeventy years, ye had both Prophets and government, yea more was accompliſhed and performed by you at Babel than at Jeruſalem. For Daniel was a greater and more powerful Prince at Babel than either David or Solomon were at Jeruſalem. Therefore the Babylonian captivity was unto you but only a fatherly rod, but this laſt puniſhment was the upſhot, it was your utter extermination. The two aforeſaid Rabbies (Schamaria and Jacob) harkening with attentive ears to this diſcourſe of Luther, and therewith ſtruck to the heart, put to ſilence and convinced, they forſook

forſook their errors, inſtantly were converted, and the day following, in the preſence of the whole Univerſity at Wittemberg, were baptized and became Chriſtians.

The Jews (ſaid *Luther*) do hope, that we intend to join with them in their opinions, in regard we teach and learn the Hebrew language, but their hope is merely vain, they muſt be conſtrained to accept of our religion and of the crucified Chriſt, and overcome all manner of offences, eſpecially in that the Sabbath is removed, which ſorely ſtartleth them: the ſame was ordered by the Apoſtles to the honour of the Lord's Reſurrection.

That the Jews imagine they do obſerve the Law.

THE poor blind and hardened Jews do boaſt of the righteouſneſs of the Law, whereas they are not able to fulfil the ſame; yea, ſuch is their zeal for the Law, they really blaſpheme God, for out of the Land of Promiſe they were not to obſerve the Law. To conclude, inaſmuch as the Jews have been forſaken now above fifteen hundred years; a nation without government, without laws, without Prophets, and without temple. This argument they are not able to ſolve, it ſtriketh them to the ground like a thunder-clap; they are able to ſhew none other reaſon nor cauſe for the ſame than their ſins.

That the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem was the greateſt and moſt fearful Wrath.

THE deſtruction of Jeruſalem was altogether horrible, moſt lamentable and fearful; inſomuch as the plagues and puniſhments of all other monarchies, empires, and kingdoms, as the Deluge, that of Sodom, of Pharoah, &c. was nothing in compariſon of that deſolation: for this city was God's habitation, his garden and bed, as the Pſalm ſaith, *Here will I dwell, for I have choſen her, &c.* There was the Law, the prieſthood, the Temple, that is, David, Solomon, Iſaiah, &c. many prophets were there interred, inſomuch that the Jews had juſt cauſe to boaſt and brag of ſuch privileges. What are we poor miſerable Gentiles and Rome, in compariſon of Jeruſalem? Did God give over and forſake that glorious Jeruſalem, which in ſuch ſort was adorned with his Word, with his laws, with his blood, friends, and conſanguinity, &c. Truly, let us make that reckoning, it will alſo light upon us. This deſtruction of Jeruſalem was more horrible and fearful than all the plagues that ever happened on earth or that ſhall happen. And indeed (ſaid *Luther*) it was too much that God's own nation ſhould lead out of the city his only Son and crucify him.

It is enough to break one's heart to ſee the Jews ſcattered and diſperſed up and down the whole empire, inſomuch that almoſt all the blood-kindred of Chriſt burn in hell, they are rightly ſerved, and even according to their own words which they ſpake to Pilate, *We have no King but Cæſar*, &c. The Jews have haughty prayers, wherein they praiſe and call upon God, as if they alone were his people, they condemn all other nations, whereunto they uſe the 23d Pſalm, *The Lord is my ſhepherd, I ſhall lack nothing*, &c. As if that Pſalm were written chiefly and properly concerning them. The poor people are not to be helped, they refuſe to hear God's Word, but only follow their own cogitations and conceits. They flatter themſelves that they are holy by nature and kind, like as the Gentiles, out of the will of the fleſh. But the Papiſts dream of a middle way, they are neither Jews nor Chriſtians, they will be juſtified neither out of the will of the fleſh, nor by nature and

kind, but by reaſon of the name and title, Catholic. But all this is rejected and damned, as St. John ſaith, *They are God's children and juſtified, which are born of God.*

That the Jews know no more their Deſcent.

IT is merely a vain boaſting which the Jews make, in regard they have been bereaved of their privileges above fifteen hundred years. For, during the time of the ſeventy years, when they were captives at Babel, they were in ſuch ſort devaſted, confuſed, and mingled together, that at the ſame time they hardly knew out of what tribe one were deſcended, what then ſhould now be in ſo long a time, when they have been ſo often hunted and captivated by the Gentiles? When the ſoldiers ſpared neither their wives nor daughters? Inſomuch that now they are in a manner all baſtards, none of them knowing out of what tribe he is. Anno 1537, I being at Frankfurt, a great Rabbi ſaid unto me, My father (ſaid he) was a chief Rabbi, he read very much, and waited for the coming of the Meſſiah; but at laſt he fainted, was out of hope, and ſaid, If Meſſiah came not, within the term of fifteen hundred years and more, which now are expired, then (ſaid he) moſt certainly, Chriſt Jeſus muſt be the Meſſiah.

That the Jews had great Privileges.

THE Jews above all other nations had great privileges, they had the chiefeſt promiſes, the higheſt worſhipping of God, the ſame was more pleaſing to human nature, than God's ſervice of faith in the New Teſtament. The Jews agree better with the Turks than with the Chriſtians, for both Jews and Turks confeſs and agree in one, that there is but only one God; they believe not, that three perſons are in one divine ſubſtance, they alſo are at an union touching bathing and waſhing, circumciſing and other external worſhippings and ceremonies.

Truly the nation of the Jews had excelling men, as, Abraham, Iſaac, Jacob, Moſes, David, Daniel, Samuel, Paul, &c. Who (ſaid *Luther*) would not grieve that ſo great and glorious a nation, ſo lamentably ſhould be deſtroyed and loſt? The Latin church had no excellent men and teachers, but only Auſtin; neither the churches towards the Eaſt, but Athanaſius; however, he was nothing particular, therefore we are twigs grafted into the right tree. The prophets call the Jews eſpecially thoſe of the line of Abraham, a fair ſwitch or a little twig out of which Chriſt himſelf came. Comparatively, we Gentiles are no more *Orthodoxi*, upright believers, we are onely talkers.

No ſtronger argument is againſt the Jews than David's ſeat, nothing dazzleth them more than the ſame, for during the ſpace of fifteen hundred and thirty-five years, they have had neither government nor prieſthood.

Of a baptized Jew, who in former time was Dean at Coln.

IN the cathedral church at Coln ſtandeth a Dean cut out in ſtone-work, who in the one hand holdeth a cat, in the other hand, a mouſe; this Dean had been a Jew and cauſed himſelf to be baptized, and gave himſelf to Chriſtendom; he would ſhew by this picture, that ſo little as a cat could be good to a mouſe, even as little could a Jew be good to a Chriſtian.

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That

That the Jews boaſt they are God's People, and yet have ſlain their Meſſiah.

THE Jews knew well that the Meſſiah ſhould come, and that they were to hear him, but they could not be perſuaded that this Jeſus was the Meſſiah; indeed they deſired the preſence of the Lord Chriſt their Meſſiah, they knew he was at hand, but they thought that all their things ſhould ſo remain as formerly they had them in poſſeſſion. And foraſmuch as they ſaw, that Chriſt took another courſe contrary to their expectation, therefore they crucified him; yet, nevertheleſs, they boaſt of themſelves and dare preſume to ſay, They are God's people.

The greater part of the Jews have blaſphemed God and murdered the righteous Prophets. Alſo the loving fathers had blaſphemers in their houſes; Abraham had Iſhmael, Iſaac had Eſau, &c.

Of a Jew who deſired to be baptized, but would firſt go to Rome.

ANOTHER Jew repaired unto me at Wittemberg (ſaid *Luther*), and told me, He was very deſirous to be baptized, and made a Chriſtian, and ſaid, He would firſt go to Rome to ſee the chiefeſt head of Chriſtendom. From this his intention, myſelf, Philip Melancthon, and other Divines, laboured to fruſtrate and hinder in the ſtrongeſt meaſure: for we feared, when he ſhould behold the offences and knaveries at Rome, that he might thereby be ſcared from Chriſtendom. But the Jew went to Rome, and when he had ſufficiently ſeen abominable things acted there, he returned unto us again, deſiring to be baptized, and ſaid, Now I will willingly worſhip the God of the Chriſtians, for he is a patient God. Can he endure and ſuffer ſuch wickedneſs and villainy at Rome, ſo can he ſuffer and endure all the vices and knaveries in the world.

Of the Jews Arguments.

THE Jews and Turks hold one only argument; namely, curſed are all thoſe that worſhip more than one God; the Chriſtians worſhip more than one God, therefore they are curſed; the minor (ſay they) is proved herewith, for they believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, &c. Let us ſay what we will (ſaid *Luther*), yet cannot they believe that three are one.

CHAP. LXXIV.

OF THE TURKS.

Luther's Diſcourſe of the Turks.

THE Turks (ſaid *Luther*) have not been much above two hundred years; the Saracens ruled near eight hundred years according to Daniel's prophecy. I ſhould be very glad to ſee the great Turk marching towards Rome, for the Prophet

phet Daniel writeth thus, *He ſhall bear his bow and ſhall encamp between two ſeas, upon the holy Mount:* now Rome by reaſon that many ſaints lie buried there, is called holy; the ſame hitteth right, for the abomination of deſolation (the Pope) muſt place himſelf upon the holy Mount; therefore when the Turk marcheth towards Rome, than the laſt day is not far.

Chriſt delivered at the firſt our ſouls, he will alſo deliver our bodies; for the Turks muſt give Germany a clap, me thinketh I ſee him marching through and through: I often meditate thereupon, and thinking on the great miſery which will happen, I ſweat thereat. Nevertheleſs, Germany goeth on in ſin, it refuſeth to be helped. No human creature beateth the Turk, but only that man who is named Chriſt, the Lords Prayer and the Creed; as for the Emperor King Ferdinand and the Princes they will accompliſh nothing. I lately received news (ſaid *Luther*) that the Turk cauſed four of his ſons to be circumciſed, and held a great and pompous feaſt, to which he invited the great Elias, Preſter John, the King of Perſia, and the Venetians; he is held of his people in great reverence, for whoſo hath the Turks ſign or letters of ſafe-conduct, which they call Viet, written with letters of gold, the ſame may ſafely paſs through all territories.

He holdeth Chriſt for a great Prophet, yet that his Mahomet is greater and higher, for (he ſaith) Chriſt committed a ſin againſt God, when he ſaid, *I am the way, the truth, and the life.*

A man named Smalts, a citizen of Hagenaro, who by the Emperor had been ſent to the Turk in a legation, ſaid, The great Turk demanded of me what manner of man Luther was, and of what years? I anſwered him, Luther was about eight-and-forty years of age; the Turk ſaid, I would wiſh that he were younger, for he ſhall have of me a gracious lord; this being ſignified to Luther, by the Prince Elector of Saxony, he ſaid, God preſerve and bleſs me from that gracious lord. The Turk is a crafty and ſubtle enemy, who warreth not only with great power and boldneſs, but alſo much more with craft and deceit; he maketh his enemies faint and weary, he keepeth them waking with often ſkirmiſhing, he ſeldom fighteth a complete battle except he have aſſured hope of the victory, he giveth only for the ſake of advantage; he hath a muſical and ſinging brain; when a battle is offered unto him, then he trotteth away, he dependeth only upon deceitful ſtratagems; therefore he is named a fox, who ſneaketh and ſwipeth out of the hole *Caucaſo.* The power of the Turk is great, who is able to maintain and pay two hundred thouſand ſoldiers, which requireth at the leaſt fifteen millions of rix dollars yearly.

The Turks are very haughty and proud, they always boaſt of their fortune and victory in overcoming Conſtantinople, thirty years paſt they ſwallowed up the Saracens, the Sultan being ſlain. They have cogitations like the Papiſts, namely, they think they are only and alone God's people; they ſay, Abraham offered Iſhmael not Iſaac; they are the ſeed of Iſaac, to them belong the kingdoms of the earth, as to whom it was promiſed; they call us Idolaters, by reaſon of the article of the Holy Trinity; they alſo ſay, there is but one God, at whoſe left hand Chriſt ſitteth, but Mahomet at his right hand. Chriſt's doctrine and laws were too heavy and impoſſible, therefore Mahomet gave more mild and tolerable, as not to condemn evil luſt and deſire. They have ſtrict worſhippings, they eſteem much of Chriſt, they honour the mountain Horeb, but they will not re-edify Jeruſalem. Anno 1536, the 21ſt of December, Marquiſs George of Brandenburg came to Wittemberg, made report to Luther of the lamentable defeat and horrible ſlaughter which the Turks had given our armies in Hungary, wherein the beſt ſoldiers were betrayed

and

and ſlain, threeſcore brave captains taken priſoners and with great joy and triumph carried away; the poor Chriſtians pitifully plagued, their noſes ſlit, and uſed in moſt ſcornful and baſe manner; whereupon Luther ſaid, This concerneth us Germans; God's anger is before the door; we may haſten to repentance while the time of ſaving health is at hand; we ring after miſchief, and it will alſo happen unto us. The Turk hath mightily encreaſed within the ſpace of one hundred years; by degrees he ſuppreſſed the Saracens, who before were Lords in Syria, in Aſia, Jeruſalem, in the Land of Promiſe, in Africa and Greece.

In this manner God playeth with kingdoms, as in Iſaiah it is ſaid, *I the Lord am a ſtrong God over kingdoms, whoſo ſinneth I deſtroy.* This (ſaid *Luther*) God hath well made good and fulfilled; for firſt, he deſtroyed Nineveh and Aſſyria, the kingdom of the Chaldeans; afterwards Nineveh devoured Babylon, Aſſyria ſwallowed it up. Likewiſe when the Perſians thought that they were *fac totum*, then came Alexander the Great, and conquered them. And afterwards Alexander was brought to nothing by the Romans. The Roman Empire (which was moſt powerful), through inteſtine war was devoured by the Saracens, Goths, the Vandals and Huns; thus our Lord God can pay great Monarchs, Emperors, Kings, and Princes. I hope (ſaid *Luther*) the world draweth towards an end, for Charles and Solyman are the dregs of the Empire which cannot ſtand many hundred years longer. The Turk never yet brought it ſo far and high as the Roman Empire, which in the ſpace of fifty years aroſe and encreaſed exceedingly. Chriſt approacheth, for we have no Scripture more; alſo the ſigns are at hand. The great Turk boaſteth, that he is deſcended from the ſtock and blood of Ottoman; the Roman Emperors never had any ſuch line and deſcent, for Emperor Julius left no male heir. Auguſtus, Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius following after him, were deſcended but only of women, and yet had the Empire in poſſeſſion; but the Turk hath his male ſtock from Ottoman. The Germans now are Roman Emperors and Kings only in title; in the mean time, the Pope taketh poſſeſſion of Italy, and other parts. The great Turk Selim murthered his brethren, to the end he might rule alone; it is fearful, that one brother deſtroyeth another, becauſe he is a brother; it is too tyrannical. I hope that government of the Turk, which riſeth ſo powerfully by tyranny, muſt fall ere long.

The Turks deride and ſcorn our Chriſtian religion; they uſe this ſentence of Scripture, where Chriſt ſaith, *I am come in my Father's name, if another ſhall come in his own name, him ye will receive*, &c. Upon this word (*alius*) they reſt and depend.

Luther receiving letters from Vienna, informing him, that the Emperor's General in Hungary had received fourſcore thouſand ducats of a Jew, to betray the Chriſtian army to the Turk, and promiſed to deliver the King into the enemies hands, ſighed deeply, and ſaid, Ah! where will not covetouſneſs drive the heart of an human creature? This traitor everlaſtingly muſt burn in hell; I would not betray a dog. I ſtand much in fear of Ferdinand's proceedings, who hath cauſed ſo great a multitude to be thruſt into the throat of the Turk, through a perjured Malmaluck, who heretofore fell from the Turk to the Chriſtians, and doubtleſs will fall again from the Chriſtians (when he findeth opportunity) and will become a Turk.

Ah! (ſaid he) Princes and Rulers ought otherwiſe to be qualified and armed againſt ſo powerful an enemy, and march themſelves in perſon into the field, and not to encounter him with ſo ſmall a heap, for the Turk ought not to be ſlighted and contemned. Daniel ſaith, *It is given unto him to go againſt the Saints of God:* therefore his fortune and victories are ſo great, and hath an aſpect as if he were a God. He maketh three thrones and ſeats of God; he placeth Chriſt at God's left hand, and Mahomet at the right, who followed upon Chriſt's kingdom, and now is come; therefore

therefore the Turks take their oaths by God, who created heaven and earth, by Mahomet his ſervant, and by the fourſcore-and-four Prophets ſent from heaven. The Turk in the ſpace of thirty years hath encreaſed ſo powerfully, that he is become a Lord in Egypt, in Arabia, Perſia, Aſia, and in all Greece. I fear it will go with Germany (which hitherto hath been held and eſteemed for the beſt country) as it went with Troy, inſomuch as it will be ſaid, It is out, *fuimus Troes, jacet Ilium ingens.* Let us pray to God that he would preſerve our conſciences by the pure doctrine in ſuch calamities, neceſſities, and misfortunes.

The Turkiſh kingdom was ſhewed in the Prophet Daniel, and in the Revelation of St. John, to the end, godly and upright Chriſtian's ſhould not be affrighted at his great power and tyranny. Daniel's prophecy is an excelling chronicle continuing to the world's end, he clearly deſcribeth the the kingdoms of Antichriſt and of the Turk. In the Revelation of St. John is written, *And it was given unto him to make war with the ſaints, and to overcome them,* Rev. xiii. Which directly ſoundeth of the Turk, not of the Pope; for the ſaints overcome not through their ſanctity but by patience, and in overcoming through faith, their bodies are murthered. Daniel ſaith further, *It ſhall be for a time, times, and half a time.* If time ſignifieth a year, as it needs muſt, then it maketh three years and an half, and hitteth juſt upon Antiochus, who raged and tyrannized three years and an half in the nation of Iſrael.

This wicked wretch Antiochus was given for a pledge to Rome, but he fled away from thence and took the kingdom of Iſrael in poſſeſſion, but he tyrannized over the Jews only three years and an half, at laſt he miſerably rotted and died in the ſtink of his diſeaſe, inſomuch that no body was able to remain about him: thus he was ſtruck and ſlain without hands. Even ſo (ſaid *Luther*) ſhall it go with the Pope, he ſhall alſo be deſtroyed without hands or of the ſword, he ſhall famiſh himſelf, for he hath not uſed great and powerful armies, but he hath thus long ſubſiſted by lyings and ſuperſtition, cloaked and trimmed with Scripture, as, *Thou art Peter, Feed my lambs,* &c. Upon ſuch deceitful grounds he encreaſed, and ſo ſhall fall again; therefore this prophecy, *He ſhall fall without power,* belongeth chiefly and properly to the Pope; for all other Potentates and tyrants proceed with power and force: howſoever, this prophecy comprehendeth both Pope and Turk, for they began almoſt at one time under Emperor Phocas, which is now about nine hundred years ſince, and then the Pope began to rule ſpiritually, and Mahomet began to encreaſe; but the Pope's temporal kingdom hath continued ſcarcely three hundred years, I mean ſince he began to rule over Emperors and Kings.

The Turks ſay, True it is, Iſaac was the right ſon of the promiſe, but when he ſhould have been ſacrificed, he fled from his father, as if he would go and fetch a ſlaughter knife, in the mean time Iſhmael came and freely ſuffered himſelf to be ſacrificed, from whence he became a child of the promiſe. This (ſaid *Luther*) is as groſs a lie, as that of the Papiſts concerning one kind in the ſacrament. Luther in his diſcourſe greatly complained of Emperor Charles his negligence, in ſuffering the Turk always to take one place after another, whereas an Emperor ſhould not have peace, as in hiſtory we ſee, that the Romans continually maintained a certain force and army which always lay in the field, like as at this day the great Turk hath his Janizaries the beſt and triedeſt ſoldiers. But we aſſemble and gather together a heap of baſe, deſpairing, inſolent wretches, that do miſchief to, and deſtroy thoſe whom they ought to defend and protect. Anno 630, Mahomet aroſe, therefore this year maketh nine hundred and twenty-three years ſince he ſtood up.

Luther's

Luther's Admonition, how we ought to War againſt the Turks.

LUTHER at that time wrote a letter to the Emperor's great General in Hungary, diligently admoniſhed him to conſider, that he had againſt him four powerful enemies, he had not to do only with fleſh and blood, but with the devil, who was the firſt; Secondly, with the Turk; and Thirdly, with God's wrath; Fourthly, with our own ſins; therefore he ſhould remember to humble himſelf and to call upon God for help. Luther got news, that Emperor Charles ſent into Auſtria eighteen thouſand Spaniards to defend the ſame againſt the Turk. Whereupon he ſighed and ſaid, Theſe are horrible deſigns, when that abominable nation (the Spaniards) ſhall come to defend us Germans, I would rather have the Turks for enemies, than the Spaniards for protectors, who tyrannize in the higheſt meaſure, the greater part of the Spaniards are Moranes, baptiſed Jews, that believe nothing at all. The greateſt hope I have (ſaid *Luther*) is, that the Turkiſh Empire will be brought to confuſion and fall *per inteſtinas diſſentiones*, by homebred diſſentions, for in that manner all the kingdoms of the world have fallen and been deſtroyed, as the Perſian, the Chaldean, the kingdoms of Alexander and of the Romans, all theſe thereby went to the ground, diſcord and diſſention have been their poiſon, and ſo it will go with Germany, for our Princes of the Empire will not agree among themſelves. Whoſo climbeth high, is in danger to fall, cunning ſwimmers may lightly be drowned; and although the Turk is climbed very high, yet when his time cometh, it is done as in a moment, that our Lord God layeth his kingdom in the aſhes.

CHAP. LXXV.

OF COUNTRIES AND CITIES.

Luther's Diſcourſe of Countries and Cities.

CORNELIUS Tacitus (ſaid *Luther*) deſcribed Germany very well, he highly extolled the Germans, by reaſon of their conſtancy in keeping promiſe, eſpecially in the ſtate of matrimony, touching which particular they excelled all other nations In former times it ſtood well with Germany, but now, alas! thoſe and the like fine good people are much decreaſed, are fallen from the kind, and become rude, proud, and inſolent. The beſt time and days were before the Deluge, when the people lived long, carried themſelves moderately in eating and drinking, they beheld God's creatures with diligence, both celeſtial and terreſtrial without waſting, without warring and debate, then a freſh cool ſpring of water was more ſweet, acceptable, and well reliſhed, than coſtly wines. Germany in time paſt was a fair country and nation; I hold the H, is turned into G, for heretofore they were called *Hermani*. Anno 1539, the 8th of January, in the evening, about ſix of the clock, a comet was ſeen here at Wittemberg which was eclipſed, but very long in twenty degrees, it ſtretched the tail after the ſign of the Fiſh from the Weſt towards the North, and the riſing of the ſun when it ſtandeth at the

the higheſt. This comet was beheld of Luther, of Philip Melancthon, Juſtus Jonas, and of Eraſmus the Mathematician, with great admiration. Then Luther ſaid, I will prophecy over Germany, not out of the Planets, but I will declare unto her God's anger out of the Divine Word, for it is impoſſible that Germany ſhould eſcape unpuniſhed, ſhe muſt receive a great ſcourge, there is no remedy, for God is daily provoked to deſtroy us, the Godly with the ungodly muſt be viſited and taſte of the rod. But let us pray without ceaſing, for the Lord doth the will of thoſe that fear him, and heareth their prayers, &c. This he hath thoroughly approved, how long hath peace hung as it were, even upon a ſilken thread againſt ſo many great practices and bloody conſultations of our adverſaries, and againſt all hope hath been preſerved? God hath reſiſted and hindered them, he hath broken their power and fruſtrated their deſigns.

That Germany wanteth a good Governor.

GERMANY (ſaid *Luther*) is like unto a brave and gallant horſe that hath provender to the full, but wanteth a good rider; now like as a ſtrong horſe runneth here and there aſtray, except he hath a rider to rule him; even ſo Germany is alſo a powerful, a rich, and a brave country, ſtrengthened ſufficiently with able people, but it wanteth a good head and Governor.

What Alteration of Apparel ſignifieth.

THESE often altering of apparel (ſaid *Luther*) and theſe new fangled faſhions, will produce alſo an alteration of government and manners, we ſeek too much thereafter. Emperor Charles frequently ſaith, The Germans learn of the Spaniards to ſteal, and the Spaniards learn of the Germans to feed and ſwill.

Of Jeruſalem.

ON St. Lawrence's day the 10th of Auguſt, the Temple at Jeruſalem was burned; afterwards on the nativity of Mary, the 8th of September, the other, inward, beſt fortified, and ſtrongeſt part of the city was devaſted and taken in. And foraſmuch as Jeruſalem was the moſt glorious city, from whence the holy Scripture and the original of the Chriſtian church proceedeth, therefore the devaſtation thereof is placed before our eyes, as a picture, to ſhew how it will fare with the Chriſtian church, for the Chriſtian church is that ſpiritual Jeruſalem wherein God ſtill daily walketh.

Of England.

I BELIEVE (ſaid *Luther*) England is a piece of Germany, I hold the Germans in former time were transfered and ſet therein; for to this day, the Biſhop of Coln ſtileth himſelf, Prince of Angaria, or Engern, where now Breme and Hamborough lie, ſometimes it was named Britania, afterwards Angaria, of the nation which were carried thither.

Of Swiſſerland, or Helvetia.

SWISSIA, is a dry and mountainous country, from whence many of them are conſtrained to ſeek their maintenance elſewhere. Dr. Jonas read the Swiſſers complaint at Lurich, againſt the forcible intentions of the other Papiſts, wherein at laſt they concluded, that they no longer would endure the ſame, but intended to be revenged, as God ſhould help them. Whereupon Luther ſaid, I like not their argument and ground on which they boaſt and depend, namely, they who have a good cauſe, may juſtly raiſe a war; they, the Swiſſers, have a good cauſe, therefore they may begin a war. Both the precedent ſentences (ſaid *Luther*) *major* & *minor* are falſe and doubtful, for the firſt permitteth not every man to begin a war, but only the neceſſity or conſtrained defence. The other propoſition, *minor*, is uncertain and doubtful, namely, whether they have a good cauſe or not; therefore followeth thereout alſo an uncertain and doubtful concluſion.

Touching Differences of Languages.

THE High Germans are ſimple, and do more affect the truth than the French, the Italians, Spaniards, Engliſh, &c. which their languages do alſo ſhew, in that they pronounce and utter their ſpeech in a hiſſing and lolling kind of manner; therefore it is ſaid, The French write otherwiſe then they ſpeak, and otherwiſe than they mean. But the High German tongue is the moſt complete, and hath much community with the Greek tongue; Latin is ſmall and thin enough, not regulated, for ſhe hath not double letters; next after Greek followeth High Dutch.

Of Walloons and Italians.

THE Italians (ſaid *Luther*) are very crafty and ſubtle people: they ought juſtly to be made aſhamed, and to have their filthineſs diſcovered, to the end they might be made to bluſh: they contemn all other nations, as if they only were wiſe. My advice is, and always hath been, that young fellows, when they thoroughly have learned their catechiſm, and are well inſtructed in God's Word, ſhould viſit Italy, ſhould know their tricks and knaveries, to the end afterwards they may take heed of them.

Italy is a very good and fruitful pleaſant country, eſpecially Lombardy, a valley of twenty miles in breadth, through the midſt of which the Eridanus floweth, an exceeding pleaſant water, ſo broad as from Wittemberg to Breta, on both ſides are the Alps and the Apennine mountains.

Of the Roman Empire.

THE Roman Empire (ſaid *Luther*) began to be rich and to increaſe in the Apoſtle's time, it came to the Germans under Charles the Great, ſeven hundred and fifty years ſince, for Charles had three ſons, to the firſt born he gave Germany; to the ſecond, France; to the third, Italy; but Germanicus, the Dutchman, remained Emperor. If (ſaid *Luther*) the preſent Emperor had France in poſſeſſion, then he would be able to anger the Turk. The Roman Empire flouriſhed not long, the Romans had it not two hundred years, afterwards it came to the French, at laſt the Germans wholly poſſeſſed it, who have had it above eight hundred years together, ſo much as concerneth the title. The greateſt, the richeſt, and moſt powerful cities, as

Antioch, Nineveh, and Babylon, &c. are now nothing but little cottages, like to old decayed walls and heaps of ſtones. Thus the kingdoms of the world do vaniſh. Our Lord God (ſaid *Luther*) dealeth with countries and cities, as I deal with an old hedge-ſtake, when it diſpleaſeth me, I ſay, I will pluck thee up and burn thee, and will ſtick another in thy ſtead. The Engliſh have had France in poſſeſſion, ſo far as Burges, and built many cities and houſes therein, but at laſt, they were driven out again by Monheri, between Paris and Orleans. But notwithſtanding, they have ſtill in poſſeſſion the beſt port in France, Calais, where all the inhabitants muſt be Engliſh people, and at certain hours, muſt ſpeak Engliſh, and not French, under pain of a nominated puniſhment.

Of the Venetians.

VENICE (ſaid *Luther*) is the richeſt city above all others; ſhe hath two kingdoms, Cyprus and Candia, but Candia or Crete ſometimes was full of robbers; for ſix hundred ruined or bankrupt merchants fled thither. But inſomuch as this iſland is very hilly, they were not able by force to keep it clean from robbers and purſers, therefore the Venetians cauſed a public proclamation to go forth, that they would ſecure and receive all the robbers again to favour, upon condition that each robber ſhould bring unto them the head of another robber. By which means one wretch being ſnapped by another, the iſland was cleanſed of thoſe vipers, which was a good and wiſe council. Venice, the richeſt city, regardeth neither modeſty nor civility, they ſeek only after their own profit; they always are neutrals; they carry on both ſhoulders; they hang the cloak according to the wind; they are no ſoldiers but pepper-ſacks. Now they hold with the Turk, ere long they will be for the Emperor; what party hath victory, therewith they do hold. They regard nothing more than coſtly and ſtately houſes, apparel, and covetouſneſs.

CHAP. LXXVI.

OF ROME.

Luther's Diſcourſe of the City of Rome.

FORASMUCH (ſaid *Luther*) as God hath brought me into this evil-favoured buſineſs and game, I would not take an hundred thouſand ducats that I had not ſeen Rome, otherwiſe I ſhould always ſtand in fear that I much wronged and abuſed the Pope; but what we ſee and know, the ſame we ſpeak. Bembus, an exceeding learned man (as he thoroughly had beheld Rome, and conſidered her), ſaid, Rome is a filthy, ſtinking puddle, full of the wickedeſt wretches in the univerſal world, and wrote as followeth:

Vivere qui ſanctè vultis, diſcedite Româ;
Omnia hic ecce licent, non licet eſſe probum.

He

He that would godly live, from Rome muſt haſte and flie;
All things are ſet to ſale, no room for honeſty.

In this time of the Goſpel, ſome have been at Rome who ſet their wickedneſſes and villainy abroach, and reproved the ſame As Lodowick, a Capuchin Friar, and Egidius, an Auſtin Friar; alſo two other preaching Friars, which found fault with the errors of Popedom openly in their ſermons. But the day following they were all found dead, their tongues cut out, and ſtuck in their tails. Whoſo in Rome is heard to ſpeak one word againſt the Pope, receiveth either a *ſtrappecorde*, or is puniſhed with death; for his name is *Noli me tangere.* Before the birth of Chriſt there were numbered in Rome forty hundred thouſand citizens; but not long after were numbered above fourſcore and ten hundred thouſand.

At Rome are two families, which always are at enmity, and debate the one againſt the other, the Columneſers, and the Urſiners. The Columneſers are of the Imperial faction, and moſt powerful; the other are leſs in eſteem and ſtrength. Pope Paul is an Urſiner. No man well knoweth where old Rome ſtood; the theatre is yet ſeen, and the Thermes of Diocleſian, which is conveyed twenty-five Dutch miles from Naples into a fair glorious building. There have been the treaſure and riches of the world, therefore they did what they pleaſed.

An ancient Miniſter ſupped with Luther, who ſpoke much of Rome; he had been there four ſeveral times, Luther aſked him, Why he went thither ſo often? He ſaid, Firſt, I ſought a knave there; Secondly, I found him; Thirdly, I brought him from thence; Fourthly, I carried him thither again, and ſet him behind St. Peter's altar.

St. Peter's church in Rome hath ſtood above thirteen hundred years, a great ſum of money hath been ſpent thereupon: for the Pope commanded the angels that they ſhould immediately carry into heaven the ſouls of all thoſe which died on the way going towards Rome to viſit St. Peter's church. This gave John Huſs ample occaſion to write againſt the Pope, ſhewing that he had no authority to command the angels. Anno 1511, a Capuchin Friar, in the preſence of Dr. Staupits and divers others, at Rome, related a dream which at that time he dreamed; namely, that a hermit ſhould ariſe under Pope Leo the Tenth, and ſhould fall upon Popedom: whereupon Philip Melancthon ſaid, This hermit is Luther, for the Auſtin Friars are called Hermits. When I was at Rome (ſaid *Luther*), they ſhewed me, for a precious holy relick, the halter wherewith Judas hanged himſelf; which ought not by us to be forgotten, to the end we ſhould conſider, in what ignorance our fore-fathers were.

Rome ſometimes was a holy city, but now ſhe is the ſpouſe of the devil, and Chriſt's enemy.

CHAP.

CHAP LXXVII.

OF VOCATION AND CALLING.

Luther's Diſcourſe of the Vocation and Calling.

WHEN thoſe that are in the office of teaching, have not joy and comfort from hence; namely, that they have not regard to him that called and ſent them; ſo is it with ſuch an irkſome work. Truly (ſaid *Luther*) I would not take the wealth of the whole world, that I ſhould now begin the work againſt the Pope, which thus far I have wrought by reaſon of the exceeding heavy care and anguiſh wherewith I have been burthened. Again, when I look upon him that called me thereunto, ſo would I not for the world's wealth but that I had begun it.

It is a caſe much to be lamented, that no man is content and ſatisfied with that which God giveth him in his vocation and calling: other men's things pleaſe us more than our own: as the heathen ſaid touching the ſame:

Fertilior ſeges eſt alienis ſemper in agris,
Vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet.

That is,

My neighbours corn more fertile is than mine;
None yield more milk than do my neighbours kine.

Even ſo do we poor human creatures in our vocations and callings: no man is content with his condition. *Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus*, that is, *the ſlow ox would have a ſaddle, and the horſe would go to plough.* The more we have, the more we deſire. To ſerve God (ſaid *Luther*) is, that every one ſhould remain in his vocation and calling, be it never ſo mean or ſimple; for firſt, it teacheth the hearing of God's Word in the church. Afterwards, it dependeth upon the word of the magiſtrate and of the parents, and to be obedient thereunto, this is to ſerve God aright.

That we ought not to neglect Occaſions or Opportunities.

IT is ſaid, occaſion hath hold before, but is bald behind. Our Lord in nature hath given plainly to underſtand the ſame in this manner. A country farmer or huſbandman muſt ſow out his barley and oats about Eaſter, if he deferred it unto Michaelmas, then it would be too late. When apples are ripe, then they ſhould be plucked from the tree, if it be neglected, then they be ſpoiled and loſt: procraſtination is a contrary vice to overmuch haſtineſs. Like as my ſervant Wolfe doth, when four or five birds fall upon the bird-hearth; he will not then draw the net, but ſaith, O, I will ſtay until more come; then they all fly away, and he getteth nothing. Therefore (ſaid *Luther*) occaſion is a great matter. Terence ſaith well, I came to her in time, which is the chiefeſt thing of all; this the young boys in ſchools

ſchools underſtand not, *Sunt ſeniles et imperatoriæ voces*, that is, They are ſtayed and imperial words. Julius Cæſar was a man, he underſtood occaſion; but neither were Pompey nor Hannibal ſuch men. We are not able to expreſs what *occaſio* is, therefore we underſtand it not; in High Dutch it is not to be uttered, for this word opportunity is rather tied to place and perſons than time; *occaſio* requireth *plus temporis*, i. e. more time; neither have the Latins any word wherewith they could rightly expreſs it, for the word *tempus*, i. e. time, is general; I hold the *etymologia eſt a cadendo*, that is, The derivation is of *cadendo*, falling out ſo; as when we ſay, an accident. The Grecians have but only one word, that is, καιρὸς; we may utter it in this manner, and ſay, Make uſe of the hour, and of what the hour bringeth or yieldeth.

It is a marvellous thing that we ſhould neglect ſuch an excellent thing, which was the firſt of all, viz. time; that we are not able to utter the ſame, and very few underſtand it, eſpecially youth, therefore they muſt have *Patres ac Præceptores*, i. e. Fathers and Maſters, who ought with the rod to hold them thereunto, that they neglect not the time, otherwiſe it is loſt. Many a young fellow hath a ſtipend during ſix or ſeven years, then ought he diligently to ſtudy; then he hath his tutors, and other means, but he thinketh, O thou haſt yet time enough, and mayſt well attain thereunto. But I ſay, No, fellow; it is ſaid, *Fronte capellata*, &c. What little Jack learneth not, the ſame neither learneth great John. Now the occaſion ſaluteth thee, and reacheth the hair unto thee, as if ſhe would ſay, Behold, here I am, take hold of me; but thou thinkeſt ſhe will come again; then ſaith ſhe, Well, ſeeing thou wilt not take hold of my fore-top, take hold therefore on my tail; and therewith ſhe flingeth away.

Bonaventura (ſaid *Luther*) was but a poor ſilly Sophiſt, yet he could ſay, He that neglects occaſion is neglected of it, and we uſe to ſay, take hold while it is time, now, now, while this now is preſent. The Germans have very fair proverbs touching the ſame, and ſay, When one offereth thee a pig, then open quickly the mouth of the poak *. Alſo, when our Lord God ſaluteth one, then he ought to thank him. This is very divinely ſpoken, that our Lord God giveth or ſendeth the occaſion and opportunity, but who underſtandeth it to be *donum Dei*, &c. The gift of God. Neither our Emperor Charles underſtood the occaſion when he took the French King priſoner before Pavia, in the year 1525. Afterwards alſo, when he got into his hands Pope Clement, and had taken Rome, Anno 1527, and Anno 1529, when almoſt he got the great Turk into his hands before Vienna; then was *occaſio*, Occaſion. But Emperor Charles refuſed to thank God who ſaluted him, therefore he is juſtly bereaved of all good fortunes. It was too much and great a negligence, that a monarch ſhould have in his hands the three moſt powerful heads, and ſo negligently to let them go, therefore I ſay juſtly unto him, Occaſion hereafter is bald behind. Luther, reciting a fable concerning this verſe, *Give but little belief, keep thine own, and what is loſt let it go*; ſaid, There was one that had catched a bird, the bird willing to be ſet at liberty, ſaid, Let me looſe, and I will ſhew thee a very fair and precious jewel, worth many thouſands; Yea, (ſaith the man) thou intendeſt to deceive me. No truly, (ſaid the bird) thou ſhalt go with me and ſee the precious ſtone. The man let go the bird, which flew upon a tree, ſate on the top thereof, and threw him down this jewel, *Crede parum, tua ſerva, & quæ periere relinque*. As if the bird ſhould ſay, When thou hadſt me, thou ſhouldeſt

* There is a proverb of that kind in Engliſh: *We muſt make hay while the ſun-ſhine.*

not have believed me; *Tua ſerva*, that is, What thou haſt, the ſame keep; *Et periere relinque*, Haſt thou loſt it, ſo have thou patience.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

OF DRUNKENNESS.

Luther's Diſcourſe concerning Drunkenneſs.

GERMANY (ſaid *Luther*) would be much richer than it is, if ſuch ſtore of velvets and ſilks were not worn among us, nor ſo much ſpice uſed; we might alſo be without barley, and inſtead of bear, drink water. But young fellows without their liquor have no mirth at all; for gaming maketh not merry, neither lecherous ſports do make people joyful, therefore they apply themſelves to drinking. At the Princely copulation lately held at Torga, they drank at one draught a whole bottle of wine, which they called a good drink. *Sic inventa lege, inventa eſt & fraus legis*, that is, *The Law being invented, the deceit of the Law is invented.* Cornelius Tacitus wrote that by the antient Germans it was held for no ſhame at all to drink and ſwill four-and-twenty hours together. A gentleman in the court demanded, How long ago it was, that Cornelius wrote concerning drinking? Anſwer was made, about fifteen hundred years; then the gentleman ſaid, Foraſmuch as drunkenneſs hath been ſo ancient a cuſtom and of ſo long deſcent; therefore let not us break nor bring down the ſame.

CHAP. LXXIX.

OF THE COURT LIFE.

Luther's *Diſcourſe of the Court Life.*

ANNO 1558, the 15th of November, Luther was ſent for to Court by the Prince Elector of Saxony, about important buſineſs. At his return from thence with Philip Melancthon, Francis Burckhard, of Weymor, Vice Chancellor to the Prince Elector, in perſon gave him a convoy, and with three fair horſes, which Henry King of England had given him, rode by his coach. Whereupon, Luther began to laugh, and ſaid to Philip Melancthon, this man's fortune will raiſe unto him great hate and envy at Court, for the roaring courtiers muſt behold, that this man is made a living Cavalier of St. George: for ſo they ſay, when ſcribes or learned men

men are made Knights. The King of England would willingly have kept Francis Burckhard in England, and have made him a Cavalier of the kingdom, but he refuſed it; at his departure, the King graced him with royal preſents, and ſo diſmiſſed him from thence.

Of the Slanders of the Court.

HOW went it (ſaid *Luther*) with Daniel at Court? There the courtiers ſought occaſion, and willingly would have ſet on his ſkirts. Daniel was a wiſe man, therefore the King intended to place him over the whole kingdom. This the Princes in Perſia could not endure, for whoſo ſerveth well and uprightly at Court, the ſame very ſoon getteth haters and enviers.

Of Court Verſes, oftentimes recited by Luther, profitable for Courtiers to know.

DA, capias, quæras, plurima, pauca, nihil.
Si te fucoſis invitat honoribus aula,
Semper erunt comites cura dolorque tibi.
Seu foribus ſubito mutatæ excluderis aulæ,
Soliciti tangunt anxia corda metus.
Sed ſi pertuleris animo faſtidia magno,
Non poterit longi temporis eſſe dolor.
Et muſis poſt hac tranquilla mente vocabis,
Barbara quas nunquam non vetat aula coli.

Give much, little take, nothing aſk.
If the Court allure thee with her painted honours,
Care and ſorrow will be thy perpetual companions;
Or, ſuddenly changing, if ſhe ſhuts her gates againſt thee,
Then fear and anxiety will ſeize thy troubled ſoul.
But if you bear her diſdain with a noble courage,
The grief can never be of long continuance.
And afterwards with mind at eaſe you may indulge the Muſes,
When the barbarous court forbids to be adorned, or cultivated.

Of the Court Life.

PHILIP Melancthon diſcourſed with Luther touching the Court life, and ſaid, The Court life is like books of tragedies, which without are adorned with gold and purple, but within are full of miſeries, and contain a thouſand miſeries for one purple. Whereupon Luther ſaid, Yet, nevertheleſs, every man ſtriveth to be at Court, they would all be made rich, powerful and great, and many a one hath the luck to hit it; for a great Prince can ſoon make a poor fellow rich.

APPENDIX.

Dr. JOHN AURIFABER's

PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST ORIGINAL EDITION OF THIS WORK.

THIS Preface is here ſubjoined as an Appendix, becauſe it contains not only a ſhort and conciſe view and deſcription of the ſtate of Religion before and after the time of the Reformation, but alſo many pious and pertinent remarks on this ſubject for Chriſtians of all times and denominations. The Reader, who minds the *matter*, will not be offended with ſome abſolete *words* in this Preface as well as in Luther's Diſcourſes; for even this ſimplicity in the manner of writing is characteriſtic of thoſe ancient times, in which *truth* was reſpected for her inward natural beauty, not for her dreſs. We have given the whole in its original form, without any material alteration: becauſe we were of opinion, that to poliſh the ſtyle and compoſition of ſuch a work by the more refined taſte of modern times, would be as unbecoming as to adorn an old Gothic temple with the decorations of a ſtage. The prophecies of Luther concerning a change of things after his time, have been fulfilled; and though arts and ſciences, literature and theology, have made great progreſs in the world during that period, yet it muſt be confeſſed, that the fundamental doctrine of Juſtification by faith, which is the very baſis of true practical Religion and Chriſtianity, is ſlightly thought of at preſent in our Proteſtant church. In this, and many other reſpects, the light, which ſhone at Luther's time, has been eclipſed by a ſucceeding darkneſs in our *enlightened* times; and we have not ſo much to dread now the horrors and ſuperſtition of Popery, as the total overthrow of the authority of the Word of God by conceited *Critics*, *Atheiſts*, *Enthuſiaſts*, and *Infidels*. It is however a great comfort to believers, what our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt ſaid to Peter, That his church ſhould be built upon his confeſſion, that he was the Chriſt, and the Son of God, as upon a rock, and that it never ſhould be overturned by all the powers of hell.

To

To the Honourable and Right Worſhipful the Head Governors, the Mayors and Aldermen of the Imperial Cities, Straſburg, Augſpurg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Lubeck, Hamberg, Brunſwick, Frankfurt on the Main, and Regenſperg, &c.

Grace and peace from God the Father, through Chriſt Jeſus our Lord.

THE holy and royal Prophet David, in the 78th Pſalm, ſaith, *God made a Covenant with Jacob, and gave Iſrael a Law, which he commanded our fathers to teach their children, that their poſterity might know it, and the children which were yet unborn. To the intent, that when they came up, they might ſhew their children the ſame. That they might put their truſt in God, and not forget the works of God, but to keep his commandments.*

In theſe words the great benefits of God are ſet forth and praiſed, in that he revealeth to mankind his holy Word, his covenants and laws, and maketh himſelf known; inſtructeth us of ſin and righteouſneſs, of death and life, of condemnation and ſalvation, of hell and heaven, and in ſuch wiſe he gathereth a Chriſtian church to live with him everlaſtingly; and the Prophet wills alſo, that we ſhould learn God's word with diligence, and ſhould teach others therein, and ſhould make it known to all people, and in no wiſe ſhould forget the wonderful works of God, but ſhould render thanks to him for the ſame.

Therefore, when God had ſuffered the children of Iſrael a long time to be plagued with ſevere ſervitude in Egypt, and thereby fall into idolatry and falſe ſerving of God, to ſuffer great perſecu ions, and many other miſeries; then he ſent unto them Moſes and Aaron, who kindled the light of God's Word again, and drew them from the abominable idolatry of the Heathens, and opened unto them the knowledge of the true God.

Then he led them alſo with a powerful hand out of the bondage of Egypt, brought them through the Red Sea, and before their eyes he overthrew and drowned the tyrant Pharaoh, with all the Egyptians. He ſhewed unto them great goodneſs alſo in the Wilderneſs; namely, he gave his commandments unto them on Mount Sinai; he fed them with manna, or bread from heaven, and with quails, and gave them water to drink out of the rock; and moreover, he gave manifold victories unto them, as, againſt the Amalekites, and other enemies.

Then he gave unto them ſtrict charge that they ſhould always remember thoſe unſpeakable benefits, that they ſhould ſpeak thereof unto their children, and ſhould be thankful for the ſame.

For this cauſe they were yearly to obſerve and keep the feaſts of Eaſter, of Whitſuntide, and of the Tabernacles, to the end they might always be mindful of God's goodneſſes towards them; as is written Exodus xiii. *Thou ſhalt ſhew thy ſon in that day, ſaying, This is done becauſe of that which the Lord did unto me when I came out of the land of Egypt. And it ſhall be for a ſign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes, that the Lord's Law may be in thy mouth; for with a ſtrong hand hath the Lord brought thee out of Egypt.* But the children of Iſrael, after their wonderful deliverance, gave no great thanks to God for ſo many and great benefits; for, not long after, they erected the Golden Calf, and danced about the ſame. As alſo at the Waters of Striſe they murmured againſt God, angered him, and drew his puniſhments upon them.

We ſhould alſo place before our eyes this admonition of the 78th Pſalm, and ſhould thoroughly conſider the example of the children of Iſrael, who ſo ſoon forgot

their deliverance out of Egypt. For we alſo may well rejoice, that now, in our days, we have reſtored to us again God's Word gloriouſly bright and clear; ſo that we ſhould ſhew this ineſtimable treaſure to our children's children, and how we are delivered and freed from the kingdom of Antichriſt, the Pope of Rome, and from the traditions of men, which was a right Egyptian captivity, yea, a Babylonian impriſonment; in which our fore-fathers were worſe tormented and plagued than the children of Iſrael were in Egypt. For God hath given alſo unto us in Germany a Moſes, to be our captain and leader, namely, the much enlightened and famous man Martin Luther, who, through God's ſpecial providence, hath brought us out of Egyptian ſlavery, and hath unveiled and cleared all the chief articles of the Chriſtian religion; and hath ſo powerfully protected and defended this doctrine of Luther, that the ſame (as God's Word) hath remained and ſtood faſt againſt the gates of hell.

For although many learned men, Univerſities, Popes, Cardinals, Biſhops, Friars, and Prieſts, and after them Emperors, Kings, and Princes, did raiſe their ſtrong and powerful battery againſt this one man, Luther, and his doctrine, intending quite to ſuppreſs the ſame; yet, notwithſtanding, all their labour was in vain. And this doctrine, which is the true and ancient doctrine of Chriſt, and of his Apoſtles, remains and ſtandeth faſt to this preſent day.

And we ſhould look back, and conſider, how, and in what a lamentable manner it ſtood with us fifty years paſt, concerning the religion and government of the church, and in what miſerable bondage we have been in Popedom; for the ſame is unknown to our children, yea, we that are old have almoſt forgotten it.

And firſt in the temple of God ſat the Man of Sin, and the Child of Perdition, namely, the Romiſh Antichriſt, of whom St. Paul did propheſy, 2 Theſ. ii. *Who exalteth himſelf above all that is called God*, or that is worſhipped; he altereth and perverteth God's Word, Laws, and Statutes; and on the contrary, he inſtituteth all manner of divine ſervices, ceremonies, and ordinances after his own will and pleaſure, and in manifold ways and meanings, yea, oftentimes the one contrary to the other; ſo that in Popedom no man could know what was certain or uncertain, what was true or falſe, nor what was commanded or forbidden.

He ſold all theſe for money; he forced all people under his yoke, inſomuch that Emperors were conſtrained to kiſs his feet, and from him to receive their crowns; no King or Prince dared to oppoſe him, nor once to frown at his commands or prohibitions.

From hence he boaſted, in his decrees and bulls, that he was God's General Vicar on earth, that he was head of the church, ſupremeſt Biſhop, and a lord of all Biſhops and learned men in the univerſal world; that he was a natural heir and an inheritor of the Empire, and of all kingdoms when they fell void. His crown at Rome was named *Regnum mundi*, every man muſt bow to him as to the moſt holy Father and god on earth. And his hypocritical canoniſts, in their diſputes, maintained, that he was not only a man, but that he was both god and man together; who could not ſin, and who had all divine and human wiſdom in the cabinet of his heart; from whoſe ſtool or chair even the Holy Scriptures muſt have and receive their power, virtue, and authority.

He was the maſter of faith; and he only was able to expound the Sacred Writ, and to underſtand the ſame; yea, he was ſo ſanctified, and ſo far from reproach, that although he ſhould lead the third part of all the ſouls of mankind into the pit of hell, yet no man muſt dare to queſtion or reprove him, or to demand why he did it. For every one ought to believe, that his ſacred *celſitude*, and ſanctified power, neither would, ſhould, nor could err. He had authority to make void and to annihilate both the

the New and Old Teſtaments. The church was built upon him, he could neither err nor fail, from whence it followed of neceſſity that he was higher and more eminent than all the Apoſtles.

He had alſo power and authority to erect new articles of faith, which muſt be equal in value to the Holy Scripture, and which ought to be believed, if people intended to be ſaved.

He was likewiſe far above all Councils and Fathers, and to be cenſured by no terreſtrial juriſdiction, but all muſt be ſubject onely and alone to his judgments and decrees.

He made his Romiſh church the mother of all other churches, from whence it came that all the world appealed thither. He was onely and alone the governor of the church, as being far more able and fitter to govern than the Apoſtles themſelves if they had been living.

He had power to command all people on earth, the angels in heaven, and the devils in hell. To conclude, the chair of Rome was ſo holy of itſelf, that although a wicked villain had been elected to be Pope, yet ſo ſoon as he was ſet upon that chair, then inſtantly he was altogether holy.

Theſe boaſtings the Pope gave out of himſelf; and alſo his diſſembling trencher-chaplains, the recorders of his Decrees, Decretals, of his Clementines and Extravagants, propagated the ſame of him in writing; inaſmuch that his gorged paunch was puffed up, and he became ſo full of pride (as by his acts he ſhewed) that, as a Contra-Chriſt, he brought all into confuſion. For it is apparent in what manner he raged in and about the doctrine of the Law, or Ten Commandments, and how the ſame by him were demoliſhed and taken away.

He utterly threw down the firſt three Precepts; for he made a God of man's free-will, in that he taught, with his ſchool-divines, That the natural ſtrength of man, after the Fall, remained ſound and unſpoiled; and that a man by his own human ſtrength (if he did but that which only lay in his own power to do) was able to obſerve and fulfil all the Commandments, and thereby ſhould ſtand juſtified before God. He taught alſo, it was not grounded in the Scriptures, that the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, with his graces, was needful to accompliſh good works; but that every man, by his own natural ſtrength and ability, hath a free will, in divine duties, to do well, good, and right.

The other ſeven Commandments the Pope hath quite beaten down, and hath exalted himſelf above parents and magiſtrates, and above the obedience due unto them, and hath inſtigated and ſtirred up children againſt their parents, and ſubjects againſt their rulers (as it plainly appeareth by the Imperial hiſtories); which are great and fearful ſins and tranſgreſſions againſt the fifth Commandment.

He hath alſo uſurped and drawn to himſelf the temporal ſword, and taught, That it is right and lawful to reſiſt and drive away power with power: and that it is not an abſolute command (but only an advice) to love our enemies, to ſuffer wrong, &c. Such doctrine is quite oppoſite to the ſixth Commandment.

Then, contrary to the ſeventh Precept he forbad his holy Friars, Prieſts, and Nuns to marry; an m ade way for them to live in whoredom, and inlechery, without reproof; yea, and moreover he received a yearly income and rent of ſuch whoriſh wretches; and thereupon he diſpenſed with matrimonial cauſes, which God expreſsly hath forbidden.

Contrary to the eighth Commandment he hath alſo uſurped to himſelf kingdoms, principalities, countries, people, cities, towns, and villages, and hath taken poſſeſſion of the moſt delightful places and dwellings in the world; hath ſucked out the ſweat and

and blood of poor people, and filled his thieviſh purſe in ſuch manner, that thoſe of his ſpiritual ſhavelings are richer than temporal Princes.

He tore alſo in pieces, and made void all manner of ſolemn vows, promiſes, and covenants of peace, which were made without his Popiſh conſent and authority, directly againſt the ninth Commandment.

Laſtly, and againſt the tenth Commandment, he taught, that the wicked luſts and concupiſcence of mankind were no ſins, but proceeded only out of human weakneſs.

In ſuch a manner, and out of a diabolical inſtinct, did the Pope throw down all God's commandments, and inſtead thereof did erect human laws and precepts.

The like courſe he took alſo touching the preaching of the Goſpel. They preached nothing at all of Chriſt, of his perſon, works, precious merits, and benefits; neither did they any way comfort the diſtreſſed ſorrowful conſciences. And people were altogether ignorant how or where they might obtain true remiſſion of their ſins, eternal life, and ſalvation.

They declared alſo to the people, in their ſermons, that the only Mediator between God and man, our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, was a ſevere and an angry Judge; that he neither could nor would be reconciled with us, except we had other advocates and interceſſors beſides him.

By this doctrine people were ſeduced, and carried away to Heatheniſh idolatry; and they took their refuge in dead Saints that ſhould help and deliver them, and made them to be their gods; in whom they put more truſt and confidence than in our bleſſed Saviour Chriſt Jeſus; and eſpecially, they placed the Virgin Mary (inſtead of her ſon Chriſt) for a Mediatrix on the throne of grace.

From hence proceeded the pilgrimages to Saints, where they ſought for pardons and for remiſſions of ſins. Alſo they ſought for pardons of the Pope, of the Fraternities, of Friars, and of other Orders. And people were taught, that they muſt purchaſe heaven by their own making of ſatisfaction, by their own good works, ſtrict kind of lives, by faſtings, and ſuch like works.

And whereas prayer is the higheſt comfort of a Chriſtian, yea, his aſylum, his ſhield and buckler againſt all adverſities; therefore hath the Pope out of prayer made a naked work, a tedious babbling without ſpirit and truth. People prayed in Latin pſalters, and books which they underſtood not; they obſerved in praying the *Horæ Canonicæ* (or the ſeven times) with garlands of roſes, with ſo many Bridget prayers, and other collects to the dead Saints; and thereby they wrought terrors of conſciences, and from hence people received no hope, or true comfort at all, neither to be helped nor heard. Yet, notwithſtanding, they were made to Believe that ſuch deviliſh prating ſhould merit pardons and remiſſions of ſins for the ſpace of many thouſand years.

Baptiſm, in Popedom, likewiſe hath almoſt loſt its luſtre, for it was not only fouled and ſtained with human toys and additions, as with holy water, with ſalting, with lights, oil, or chrizume, but alſo it was celebrated in the Latin tongue; to the end the laity, ſtanding by, neither ſhould nor could underſtand it; and in its place they conſtituted Monkery as a ſecond baptiſm, in equal value and operation, through which they took themſelves to be as pure and clean as thoſe that received Chriſt's baptiſm; from whence they gave to them new names (as they uſed to give to the Popes in their elections) conceiving their firſt names to ſtink which they received in Chriſt's baptiſm.

The Lord's Supper, in Popedom, alſo was diſhonoured, corrupted, turned into idolatry, and wickedly abuſed; for they uſed the ſame not in remembrance of Chriſt

Chriſt, but it was made in the Maſs the offering of ſome wicked Prieſt, and a ſelf-merit of ſome deſpairing wretch that daily devoured the ſame without faith and the right uſe, and afterwards he ſold it (as his breakfaſt) to others for money, to be imparted to the ſouls in purgatory, thereby to redeem them therefrom. Inſomuch that out of the Lord's Supper they made merely a market or a peddling fair.

Moreover, the Pope treacherouſly ſtole away from the Laity, the one part of the Sacrament, namely, the wine, and the other part (which was left) was cloſely ſhut up and preſerved; and yearly, *in die Corporis Chriſti*, with great ſolemnity, was carried about and worſhipped, and therewith they wrought fearful idolatry.

With confeſſion the Pope likewiſe brought into confuſion the conſciences of the whole world, and the ſouls of many into deſpair, and impoſed upon people full abſolutions in regard of their own good works and merits; and thereby, inſtead of ſolace and comfort, he brought fearful frightings, diſquietneſſes, and diſcouragements, into the conſciences of diſtreſſed and ſorrowful people; and, inſtead of true keys, he made falſe thieviſh picklocks, of which he made uſe in all his wicked proceedings.

Now, when he had darkened and falſified God's Word, and the doctrine of the Law and Goſpel; had made fruſtrate and annihilated the ſweet and comfortable prayers and true devotion towards God; had diſhonoured baptiſm, the Lord's Supper; then, at laſt, he proceeded to tread under foot the divine ſtate and orders in the world; inſomuch that, of the pulpit, and church government, he made a temporal diſcipline, where he (the Pope) ſat as the head and monarch; and under him the Cardinals, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Prelates, Abbots, Friars, Nuns, Prieſts, and an innumerable multitude of many other orders, all which muſt be ſtyled holy Fathers, who lived in the ſtate of accompliſhing full ſatisfaction for ſins. On the contrary, the poor Laity ſtunk altogether in their ſacred noſes; for they (as holy Fathers) ſerved God day and night, early and late, with celebrating Maſs, which, obſerving the canonical hours, they ſung Latin in the churches, faſted and accompliſhed many other good works; therefore they ſold to the Lay people good works and deſerts (which they had in overplus) for money.

By this ſhort relation a man may eaſily collect in what ſtate and condition the Chriſtian church ſtood in Popedom. Such fearful darkneſs did God ſuffer to go over the wicked unthankful world as a juſt judgment. Inaſmuch that they refuſed to receive the light of the truth to ſalvation.

But God, who is abundant in grace and mercy, hath cauſed his Son and light of the Goſpel again to riſe in our time, and hath expelled ſuch dark nights; diſperſed thoſe gloomy clouds of human traditions; for having awakened that moſt famous man of God, Luther, who, with his preaching and doctrine, joined battle with Popedom, and (through God's Word) threw the ſame to the ground, and thereby delivered us from the captivity of Popedom, led us again into the Land of Promiſe, and placed us in a paradiſe where God's Word is cleared, and (God be praiſed) the church cleanſed from the cobwebs of men's traditions, and is purified and gloriouſly reformed, ſo that we never can be able to render ſufficient thanks to Almighty God for the ſame.

For God, through Luther, hath brought forth the Bible, or the Holy Scripture, which formerly lay (as it were) under the bench, and clearly hath tranſlated the ſame *ex ipſis fontibus*, out of the Hebrew into the High German tongue, which may eaſily be read and underſtood of young and old, rich and poor, clergy and laity.

And now a father or maſter may daily read the Holy Scriptures to his wife, to his children, and ſervants, and may inſtruct them in the doctrines of grace, and direct them in the truth and true ſervice of God. Whereas before in Popedom, the Bible was known to none; nay, the Doctors in Divinity themſelves read not therein,

as Luther oftentimes affirmed in my hearing, that Dr. Andrew Carlostad was a Doctor in Divinity eight years before he began to read in the Bible. And now we know the Pope to be that bear-wolf and devourer of people, and we know also how to take heed of him, and to warn our children and posterity of his tyranny.

Now, if we Germans were not blind like the moles, we should acknowledge these unspeakable graces and benefits of God; then should we justly consider these wonderful deliverances, that we are freed out of Popedom (as out of that miserable Egyptian servitude), and with bended knees should daily render hearty thanks to God for the same; and with the 34th Psalm we should say, *I will always praise the Lord, his praise shall ever be in my mouth: my soul shall ever make her boast in the Lord.* And we should also cheerfully sing with the 103d Psalm, *Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name: Praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not the good that he hath done for thee.*

We should also pray heartily to God, that he would not extinguish this light of the Gospel, but would suffer the same long to shine, that our children's children and posterity might walk also in this saving light, and might in the same rejoice, and with us eternally be saved.

The devil is a great enemy to this treasure of God's Word and his holy Sacraments, he assaulteth the same wonderfully in order to quench this light, as it plainly appeared after the death of this holy man of God, Luther: for first, strong attempt was made by the *Interim*, how and by what means the doctrine of Justification by faith, of good works and a Christian kind of living, of the Sacraments and well ordered ceremonies in our Christian church, might utterly be overthrown.

Afterwards approached the conciliators, or the qualifiers, who intended to mediate and to decide the controversies between us and the Pope, and would undertake to qualify the same. They taught, that the nearer one kept himself about the Pope, the better it was: and therefore they intended to restore again the jurisdiction of the church to the Popish Bishops; and, with great offence, they endeavoured to erect the decayed ceremonies, and whoso refused to follow them therein, the same fell into great danger.

These would willingly have lifted the Pope into the saddle, and would have brought him again upon his legs, to have domineered over us with his Egyptian captivity.

Neither were slack herein the Antinomians, Swenckfelders, Enthusians, co-agents, and the maintainers of the doctrine, That good works are necessary to salvation, with other philosphical divines. These were very diligent to eclipse again the true doctrines which Luther most excellently had cleared and brought again to light.

Now, here all that professed to be Christians and upright teachers and preachers should have resisted these false and wicked errors. But many of them were dumb dogs, that would not bark, nor set themselves against the ravening wolves to drive them from Christ's sheepfold, to feed the poor sheep, and to provide for them sweet and wholesome pasture. Neither were they any way careful of Joseph's miseries as the Prophet saith.

But others, who, like true and constant teachers, fought against those enemies of God, were reviled and held for rebels, for boisterous and stiff-necked, that would raise needless strifes and divisions, and would bring in *Bellum Grammaticale*, therefore they were hated of every one, persecuted and plagued.

In like manner the schools and universities began to fall again, and the pure doctrine of God's Word by them was not much regarded, but school-divinity was held again in great repute, and many new phrases and other eloquent arts were brought into the church, which gave occasion to falsities and errors.

Thereupon the politicians, the lawyers, and courtiers sallied out, these would rule the church and pulpits, they would put in and put out ministers and church-

wardens,

wardens, would cenſure and determine cauſes of Religion according to their own fancies, as in temporal affairs; inſomuch that, with grief, we plainly ſee the falſifying of the doctrine, and alſo the devaſtation of the well-diſciplined orders of the church in Germany; ſo that the captivity and tyranny of the Pope is again hard at the door.

Of this Luther in his life time did often foretel, and highly lament, that after his death the Word of God would be again ſophiſticated and brought down by falſe brethren, by ſectaries and ſeducers. For, *anno* 1546, Luther being at Man field, in the time of Chriſtmas, ſpake theſe words following to Philip Melancthon, to Juſtus Jonas, to Michael Cocleus, and to myſelf: I have (ſaid he) with great pains and labour brought to light again the doctrine of God's Word, and all the articles of faith, out of the filth and mire of the ſchool-divines, and out of the Pope's decrees, and I give and leave the ſame to you, and you have them pure and clean; ye now reap and gather in what I have ſowed. But it will coſt you many a ſour drop of ſweat to keep what I leave you; yea, ye will hardly keep it.

He was wont likewiſe oft times to ſay unto us: That as the doctrine of God's Word hitherto had grown and highly increaſed, ſo now again the ſame would leſſen and decreaſe when it had run its courſe. He ſaid alſo, That, *anno* 1530, at the Imperial Diet at Augſpurg, the true doctrine of the Divine Word was at the higheſt, and in full flouriſh, but now it would decline again; for (ſaid he) God's Word very ſeldom hath remained above forty years in one place, which he proved by many examples.

We read (ſaid *Luther*) in the book of Judges, that commonly in the ſpace of forty years happened an alteration of Religion among the Jews. In like manner it ſo fell out in the times of the Kings and Prophets. Neither was the doctrine of the Goſpel in the time of our Saviour Chriſt and his Apoſtles of longer ſtanding, in the land of Judæa, in Greece, Aſia, and in other territories, preſerved pure and unfalſified.

St. Paul preached but little above thirty years, yet nevertheleſs in that ſhort ſpace, yea, and in his life time, the church (which by him was ſo well ordered and diſciplined) was torn and in ſuch ſort devaſted, at Corinth, at Theſſalonica, at Epheſus and elſewhere, that he was conſtrained with great labour and pains to reſtore and to reedify it again.

In the time of the holy Fathers it went even ſo likewiſe, for St. Auſtin did preach and write not longer than forty years.

In theſe Diſcourſes is alſo ſhewed that the holy man, Luther, did prophecy touching the declination of the true doctrine of the Divine Word; for in the title, That the Bible is the head of arts, &c. he ſpake theſe words following: So long as this people do live which have heard me, Philip Melancthon, John Calvin, Dr. Pommern, and other upright and true preachers, ſo long (ſaid he) the caſe may ſtand well; but when we are gone, and when this time is paſt, then there will be a fall; we have an evident example concerning this point in the book of Judges, where, in the ſecond chapter, it is ſaid: *When Joſhua was dead, and all the Elders that outlived him and had ſeen the works of the Lord, then aroſe another generation after them which knew not the Lord, nor the works which he had done for Iſrael, and they did evil in the ſight of the Lord, and ſerved Baal*; and they forſook the Lord God of their fathers, which had brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other gods.

Therefore we ought to make good uſe of this light, and ſeriouſly to exerciſe ourſelves in the doctrine of God's Word, as Chriſt commandeth and ſaith: *Walk in the*

light while ye have the light, that ye may be children of the Light. And the holy Pſalmiſt alſo prayeth, *That the divine Word may be a lanthorn to his feet and a light to his paths*, that thereby he might direct his ways, and be preſerved from darkneſs and ſtumbling. And St. Peter chargeth us, *That we ſhould take good heed to God's Word, as unto a light that ſhineth in darkneſs.*

God Almighty, the Father of our loving Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, grant his holy ſpirit, that Chriſtian Kings and Princes, cities and towns, may acknowledge theſe unſpeakable benefits of the revealing again of the Goſpel, and the deliverance out of the Egyptian bondage, the kingdom of Antichriſt; and to be heartily thankful to God for the ſame, and to live thereafter in holineſs, and not to drive away God's Word by contemning thereof, and through ſinful and wicked actions to bereave ourſelves and our poſterity of the glorious liberty of the Goſpel, nor plunge ourſelves into ſuch diſtreſs and miſerable captivity of Popiſh tyranny, wherein our fore-fathers and predeceſſors have been.

But that this treaſure and *Depoſitum* of God's Word may remain in Germany, and that this begun work may be ſet forward, and proceed to God's glory, honour, and praiſe, and to the preſervation and ſalvation of the Chriſtian church, throughout all the world; which God of his infinite mercy grant for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. Amen*.

Your Honour's and Worſhip's

Moſt humble, faithful Servant,

And very loving Friend,

Anno 1569.

JOHN AURIFABER, D. D.

* Here follows the teſtimony concerning Luther's Familiar Diſcourſes, which is printed in this Edition, after Captain Henry Bell's Narrative.

THE

THE

CATECHISM

OF

Dr. MARTIN LUTHER.

I. THE FIRST HEAD.

The holy Ten Commandments of God, or the Decalogue.

God ſpake theſe words, and ſaid, I am the Lord thy God.

The Firſt Commandment.

THOU ſhalt have no other Gods but me. Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf any graven image, nor the likeneſs of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. Thou ſhalt not bow down to them, nor worſhip them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and viſit the ſins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me: and ſhew mercy unto thouſands in them that love me, and keep my commandments.

What doth this Commandment teach?

That we ought to fear and love God above all things, and to put our truſt in him only.

The Second Commandment.

Thou ſhalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for the Lord will not hold him guiltleſs that taketh his name in vain.

What doth this Commandment teach?

That we ought to fear and love God, and to avoid profane curſing, imprecations, conjurations, lies and deceits, by his holy name; and that in all our wants we muſt call upon that name, worſhip it, and praiſe it with thankſgivings.

The Third Commandment.

Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath-day. Six days ſhalt thou labour, and do all that thou haſt to do; but the ſeventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou ſhalt do no manner of work, thou, and thy ſon, and thy daughter, thy man-ſervant, and thy maid-ſervant, thy cattle, and the ſtranger that is within thy gates. For in ſix days the Lord made heaven and earth, the ſea, and all that in them is, and reſted the ſeventh day: wherefore the Lord bleſſed the ſeventh day and hallowed it.

What doth this Commandment teach?

That we ought to fear and love God, and not deſpiſe godly preaching or his Word; but that we account it holy, willingly hear and learn it.

The Fourth Commandment.

Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

What doth this Commandment teach.

That we ought to fear and love God, and not deſpiſe our parents or ſuperiors, neither provoke them to anger, but honour them, ſerve them, reverence them, love and highly eſteem them.

The Fifth Commandment.

Thou ſhalt do no murder.

What doth this Commandment teach?

That we ought to fear and love God, and not to moleſt or damage the life of our neighbour, but that we aſſiſt him and ſerve him in every want or danger both of ſoul and body.

The Sixth Commandment.

Thou ſhalt not commit adultery.

What doth this Commandment teach?

That we ought to fear and love God, that we may live modeſtly and chaſtely both in word and deed; and that all who are married do love and honour each other.

The Seventh Commandment.

Thou ſhalt not ſteal.

What doth this Commandment teach?

That we ought to fear and love God, and not take away from our neighbour his goods or money, or obtain them by fraud or bad wares; but that we labour to preſerve his ſubſtance, and better his circumſtances.

The Eighth Commandment.

Thou ſhalt not bear falſe witneſs againſt thy neighbour.

What doth this Commandment teach?

That we ought to fear and love God, and not to diſtreſs, betray, or traduce our neighbour by any falſehood, nor bring any infamy upon him; but that we excuſe for him, think and ſpeak well of him, and that we receive and interpret all things of him in a favourable light.

The Ninth Commandment.

Thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's houſe.

What doth this Commandment teach?

That we ought to fear and love God, and not ſeize by wicked cunning the inheritance or houſe of our neighbour, and under ſhadow of right or law annex them to our own; but rather we ought to aſſiſt him, that his property may be kept entire.

The

The Tenth Commandment.

Thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his ſervant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his aſs, nor any thing that is his.

What doth this Commandment teach?

That we ought to fear and love God, ſo, that we do not alienate from our neighbour, or withdraw from him his wife, his man-ſervants, his maid-ſervants, or his cattle; but that we exhort, urge and admoniſh them ſeverally with all diligence to diſcharge their duty.

What ſaith God generally concerning all theſe Commandments?

I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, viſiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and ſhewing mercy unto thouſands on them that love me, and keep my commandments.

What do theſe words mean?

God threateneth puniſhment to all that tranſgreſs and violate his commands; we ought therefore to tremble at and fear God's wrath, and to do nothing againſt his commands; again he alſo promiſeth his grace, and all good things to all who keep his commandments; therefore we ought to love God and truſt in him, and to frame earneſtly and diligently our lives always according to his commands.

II. THE SECOND HEAD.

The Apostles Creed.

The Firſt Article.

Of Creation.

I BELIEVE in God the Father Almighty Maker of heaven and earth.

What meaneth this Article?

I believe that God hath created me together with all creatures; that he hath given me a body, a ſoul, eyes, ears, and all my members, reaſon, and all my ſenſes, and theſe he ſtill preſerveth. Moreover that he plentifully and daily giveth me food and raiment, an habitation, wife, children, lands, flocks, and all good things, with all the neceſſaries of life; that he protecteth me againſt all dangers, freeth and delivereth me from all evils, and he doth all theſe things out of his mere fatherly and divine goodneſs and mercy without any deſert of mine, or any worth; for all which things I deſervedly ought with all my might to thank, to praiſe, to worſhip and obey him. This is moſt aſſuredly true.

The Second Article.

Of Redemption.

And in Jeſus Chriſt his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, born of the Virgin Mary, ſuffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried; he deſcended into hell; the third day he roſe again from the dead; he aſcended into heaven, and ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he ſhall come to judge the quick and the dead.

What

What meaneth this Article?

I believe that Jeſus Chriſt, the true God, and alſo true man, born of the Virgin Mary, is my Lord, who hath redeemed me a loſt and condemned man, and hath delivered me from all ſins, from death, and the power of Satan; not with gold and ſilver, but with his holy and precious blood, and by his innocent ſufferings and death, that I might be wholly his, and might live under him in his kingdom, and ſerve him in everlaſting righteouſneſs, innocency and happineſs, in like manner as he himſelf roſe from the dead, and liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. This is moſt aſſuredly true.

The Third Article.

OF SANCTIFICATION.

I believe in the Holy Ghoſt; the holy catholic church; the communion of ſaints; the forgiveneſs of ſins; the reſurrection of the body, and the life everlaſting. Amen.

What meaneth this Article?

I believe that I, by the ſtrength of my own reaſon, can by no means believe in Jeſus Chriſt, or approach or come unto him; but the Holy Ghoſt through the Goſpel hath called me and enlightened me with his gifts, ſanctified me by a true faith, and has preſerved me; even as he is wont to call, to aſſemble, to enlighten, and to ſanctify the whole church throughout the world, and to preſerve them by Jeſus Chriſt in the only true faith; in which church he daily doth moſt mercifully forgive all ſins to me, and all Chriſtians, and in the laſt day will raiſe us all from the dead, and will give everlaſting life to me, and to all that truly believe in Chriſt. This is moſt aſſuredly true.

III. THE THIRD HEAD.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Preface.

OUR Father, who art in Heaven.

What meaneth theſe words?

God lovingly inviteth us, in this little preface, truly to believe in him, that he is our true Father and that we are truly his children, ſo that full of confidence we may more boldly call upon his name, even as we ſee children with a kind of confidence aſk any thing of their parents.

The Firſt Petition.

Hallowed be thy name.

What meaneth this Petition?

The name of God truly is of itſelf holy, but we aſk in this petition, that it may be hallowed by us.

How doth that come to paſs?

When the Word of God is taught with purity and ſincerity, and we, as becometh children of God, live godly according thereto; which, that it may be the caſe, vouchſafe us, O my Father, who art in heaven! But whoſo teacheth and practiſeth it

it otherwiſe than God's Word teacheth, he profaneth God's name amongſt us; forbid this from coming to paſs, O my heavenly Father!

The Second Petition.

Thy Kingdom come.

What meaneth this Petition.

The Kingdom of God truly cometh of itſelf without our prayers, but by this petition we pray alſo, that it may come unto us.

How cometh that to paſs?

When the heavenly Father giveth us his Holy Spirit, who worketh by his grace ſo, that we believe his holy Word, and live a godly life both in time and eternity.

The Third Petition.

Thy Will be done in earth as it is in Heaven.

What meaneth this Petition?

The good and merciful will of God is done even without our prayers, but we aſk in this petition, that it may be done by us.

How cometh that to paſs?

When God breaketh and hindereth every evil counſel, will, and attempt, ſo working that we the leſs ſanctify the name of God, and whereby the coming of his kingdom to us is prevented; ſuch is the will of the devil, the world, and our own fleſh; but comforteth and preſerveth us ſteadily in his word and faith to the end of our life; this is the good and merciful will of God.

The Fourth Petition.

Give us this day our daily bread.

What meaneth this Petition?

God giveth indeed to all daily bread, though we aſk it not, and that to wicked men; but we pray in this petition, that we may acknowledge this benefit, and ſo may receive our daily bread with thankſgiving.

What do you mean by daily bread?

I mean by it every thing that belongeth to the want and ſupply of our life; that is, meat, drink, clothes, dwelling, gardens, lands, flocks, money, wealth, happy marriage, virtuous children, faithful ſervants, upright and juſt magiſtrates, peaceful government, wholeſome air, quietneſs, health, modeſty, honour, true friends, faithful neighbours, and other things of the like kind.

The Fifth Petition.

And forgive us our treſpaſſes as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us.

What meaneth this Petition?

We aſk in this prayer, that our Heavenly Father would not look upon and examine our ſins, and reject our prayers upon that account; ſeeing, we are worthy of none of thoſe things which we aſk, neither are we able to deſerve any thing, but that he would give us all things through his grace and goodneſs; becauſe every day we ſin many times, and deſerve only puniſhment: and on the other hand, that we may heartily forgive whatſoever others have done againſt us, and freely render good for evil.

The Sixth Petition.

And lead us not into temptation.

What meaneth this Petition?

God indeed tempteth no man; but yet we aſk, in this petition, that he would keep and preſerve us, leſt the devil, the world, and our own fleſh delude and draw us

away from the true faith, and throw us into ſuperſtition, diſtruſt, deſpair, and other grievous ſins and wickedneſſes; and that, if we ſhould be tempted therewith even to the higheſt degree, we ſtill may conquer, and at laſt triumph over them.

The Seventh Petition.

But deliver us from evil.

What meaneth this Petition?

We beg in this prayer as it were the whole, that our Heavenly Father would deliver us from all evils and dangers of body and ſoul, of goods, and of honour; and that, when the hour of death cometh, he would give us a happy departure out of this world, and through his gracious goodneſs would receive us out of this valley of miſery unto himſelf in heaven.

Concluſion.

For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever, Amen.

What is the meaning of this word, Amen.

Amen, meaneth aſſuredly, namely, that I am ſure that petitions of this kind are accepted by my Heavenly Father, and heard by him, becauſe he hath commanded us, that we ſhould pray after this manner, and hath promiſed that he will hear us. Amen, Amen: that is, truly, certainly, ſo be it.

LUTHER's DAILY MANUAL.

When you riſe in the morning, ſay devoutly:

IN the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. Amen.

Then ſay the Creed and the Lord's Prayer and the following collect:

I thank thee, O my Heavenly Father, by Jeſus Chriſt, thy well-beloved Son, our Lord, that thou haſt kept and preſerved me this night from all evils and dangers; and I beſeech thee, that thou wouldſt forgive me all my ſins, wherein I have offended thee, and preſerve me this day from ſin, and keep me from all evils, that all my actions and ſo my whole life may pleaſe thee. For I commend myſelf, my body and ſoul, and all things, into thy hands; let thy holy angel be ever with me, to preſerve me from the power of darkneſs. Amen.

Afterwards chearfully go to the employment of your calling, and ſing according to time and opportunity a pſalm or hymn, whereby your heart may be ſtill more lifted up to God.

In like manner, at evening, when you go to reſt, ſay devoutly:

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt. Amen.

Then ſay the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the following collect:

I thank thee, O my Heavenly Father, by Jeſus Chriſt, thy well-beloved Son, that thou out of free mercy and goodneſs haſt kept and preſerved me this day. And I beſeech thee, that thou wouldſt forgive me all my ſins, which I have committed and wherein I have offended thee, and that thou wilt this night by thy grace mercifully preſerve me, for I commend myſelf, my body and ſoul, and all things into thy hands. Let thy holy angel be ever with me, to preſerve me from the power of darkneſs. Amen.

And then go calmly and quietly to reſt.

GRACE

GRACE BEFORE MEAT.

Pſ. cxlv. 15, 16.

THE eyes of all wait upon thee, O Lord! and thou giveſt them their meat in due ſeaſon.

Thou openeſt thine hand, and ſatisfieſt the deſire of every living thing.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt.

As it was in the beginning, is now and ever ſhall be world without end. Amen.

Then ſay the Lord's Prayer, adding:

O Lord, our Heavenly Father, bleſs us and theſe thy gifts, which we receive out of thy great bounty through Jeſus Chriſt, thy dear Son, our Lord. Amen.

GRACE AFTER MEAT.

Pſ. cxxxvi. 1. Pſ. cxlvii. 9, 11.

O GIVE thanks unto the Lord, for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever.

He giveth to the beaſt his food, and to the young ravens, which cry.

He delighteth not in the ſtrength of the horſe: he taketh not pleaſure in the legs of a man.

The Lord taketh pleaſure in them that fear him, in thoſe that hope in his mercy.

Glory be to the Father, &c. Then ſay the Lord's Prayer, adding:

We thank thee, O Lord God our Heavenly Father, through Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord, for all thy gifts and benefits, who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.

RELATIVE DUTIES, EXPRESSED IN SCRIPTURE WORDS BY LUTHER.

I. *Clergy.*

A BISHOP muſt be blameleſs, the huſband of one wife, vigilant, ſober, of good behaviour, given to hoſpitality, apt to teach, not given to wine, no ſtriker, not greedy of filthy lucre, but patient, not a brawler, not covetous, one that ruleth well his own houſe, having his children in ſubjection with all gravity, not a novice, holding faſt the faithful word, as he hath been taught, that he may be able by ſound doctrine both to exhort and convince the gainſayers. 1 Tim. iii. 2. 6. Tit. i. 9.

II. *People.*

THE Lord hath ordained, that they, which preach the Goſpel, ſhould live of the Goſpel. 1 Corinth. ix. 14. comp. Luke x. 7.

Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth, in all good things. Be not deceived, God is not mocked. Gal. vi. 6, 7.

We

We beſeech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admoniſh you; and to eſteem them very highly in love, for their works ſake; and be at peace among yourſelves. 1 Theſſ. v. 13. comp. 1 Tim. v. 17.

Obey them that have the rule over you, and ſubmit yourſelves, for they watch for your ſouls, as they that muſt give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief, for that is unprofitable for you. Hebr. xiii. 17.

III. *Magiſtrates.*

LET every ſoul be ſubject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God; and they that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves damnation. For he beareth not the ſword in vain, for he is the miniſter of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Rom. xiii. 1, 2. 4. comp. Pſ. lxxxii. 3, 4. Pſ. ci. 6. 8.

IV. *Subjects.*

RENDER unto Cæſar the things which are Cæſar's, and unto God the things that are God's. Matth. xxii. 21.

Wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake. For, for this cauſe pay you tribute alſo: for they are God's miniſters, attending continually upon this very thing. Render to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due, cuſtom to whom cuſtom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour. Rom. xiii. 5, 6, 7.

I exhort therefore, that, firſt of all, ſupplications, prayers, interceſſions, and giving of thanks be made for all men; for Kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty, for this is good and acceptable in the ſight of God our Saviour. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, 3.

Submit yourſelves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the king as ſupreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are ſent by him for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well. 1 Peter, ii. 13, 14. comp. Tit. iii. 1.

V. *Huſbands.*

HUSBANDS, dwell with your wives according to knowledge, giving honour unto the wife as unto the weaker veſſel, and as being heirs together of the grace of life, that your prayers be not hindered. 1 Peter, iii. 7.

Huſbands, love your wives, even as Chriſt alſo loved the church. Eph. v. 25. And be not bitter againſt them. Col. iii. 19.

VI. *Wives.*

WIVES, ſubmit yourſelves unto your own huſbands, as unto the Lord, Eph. v. 22. even as Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him Lord; whoſe daughters ye are as long as ye do well, and are not afraid with any amazement. 1 Peter, iii. 6.

VII. *Parents.*

FATHERS, provoke not your children to anger, leſt they be diſcouraged. Col. iii. 21. But bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Eph. vi. 4.

VIII. *Chil-*

VIII. *Children.*

CHILDREN, obey your parents in the Lord; for this is right. Honour thy father and mother, which is the firſt commandment with promiſe; that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayeſt live long on the earth. Eph. vi. 1, 3.

IX. *Houſeholders.*

MASTERS, forbear threatening, knowing that your Maſter alſo is in heaven; neither is there reſpect of perſons with him. Eph. vi. 9. comp. Col. iv. 1. Deuter. xxiv. 14.

X. *Man-ſervants, Maid-ſervants, and Work-folks.*

SERVANTS, be obedient to them that are your maſters, according to the fleſh, with fear and trembling, in ſingleneſs of your heart as unto Chriſt. Not with eye-ſervice, as men-pleaſers, but as the ſervants of Chriſt, doing the will of God from the heart; with good-will doing ſervice as to the Lord, and not to men; knowing that whatſoever good thing any man doeth, the ſame ſhall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. Eph. vi. 5, 8. comp. Tit. ii. 9, 10. 1 Tim. vi. 2.

XI. *Youth of both Sexes.*

YOUNGER, ſubmit yourſelves unto the elder; for God reſiſteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. 1 Peter, v. 5. comp. Prov. xii. 1. Eccl. ix. 1. Prov. xxiv. 14. Luke ii. 52.

XII. *Old Men.*

BID the aged men to be ſober, grave, temperate, ſound in faith, in charity, in patience. Tit. ii. 2.

XIII. *Old Women.*

BID the aged women that they be in behaviour as becometh holineſs; not falſe accuſers, not given to much wine; teachers of good things, that they may teach the young women to be ſober, to love their huſbands, to love their children, to be diſcreet, chaſte, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own huſbands, that the word of God be not blaſphemed. Tit. ii. 3. 5.

XIV. *Widows.*

SHE that is a widow indeed, and deſolate, truſteth in God, and continueth in ſupplications and prayers night and day. But ſhe that liveth in pleaſure is dead while ſhe liveth. 1 Tim. v. 5.

XV. *General Duties.*

THOU ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf. All the other commandments are briefly comprehended in this. Rom. 13, 9. And continue inſtant in prayers for all men. 1 Tim. ii. 1 comp. Philip. iv. 8, 9.

Let each with diligence his duty know,
And in that dwelling happineſs ſhall flow.

GENERAL CONFESSION.

ALMIGHTY and moſt merciful Father; we have erred and ſtrayed from thy ways like loſt ſheep; we have followed too much the devices and deſires of our own hearts; we have offended againſt thy holy laws; we have left undone thoſe things which we ought to have done, and have done thoſe things which we ought not to have done; and there is no health in us. But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us miſerable offenders. Spare thou them, O God, which confeſs their faults. Reſtore thou them that are penitent. According to thy promiſes declared unto mankind in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. And grant, O moſt mereiful Father, for his ſake, that we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and ſober life, to the glory of thy holy name. Amen.

ANOTHER.

ALMIGHTY, everlaſting God, merciful Father in Chriſt Jeſus, I a poor, miſerable ſinner, confeſs unto thee all my ſins and iniquities, wherein ſoever I have offended thee, and deſerved thy puniſhment in time and in eternity. But I ſincerely mourn for, and repent of all my ſins. And I beſeech thee by thine infinite mercy, and by the innocent and painful ſufferings and death of thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, to be gracious and merciful unto me a miſerable offender, and graciouſly to grant the powerful aſſiſtance of thy Holy Spirit to amend my life. Amen.

BAPTISMAL VOW.

I RENOUNCE the devil, and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world; and I devote myſelf to thee, the Triune God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, to continue in true faith and obedience until my life's end.

Of Luther's *Comfortable Prayer which he made at his laſt End.*

ALMIGHTY, everlaſting, merciful Lord God, Father of our loving Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I certainly know that all which thou haſt ſaid, the ſame thou art able to keep and perform; thou canſt not lie, thy word is true; in the beginning thou promiſed me thy only begotten Son Jeſus Chriſt, the ſame is come, and hath delivered me from the devil, death, hell, and ſin; and for more ſecurity, out of thy gracious will, there are preſented unto me, the holy Sacraments, the Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper. I have made uſe of them, have received them, and ſtedfaſtly in faith I have relied upon thy Word. Wherefore, I make no doubt at all, but that I am ſecured and delivered from the devil, death, hell, and ſin. Is this my hour and thy divine will and pleaſure, ſo am I willing from hence to depart in joy and peace according to thy Word, and will go into thy boſom.

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FINIS.